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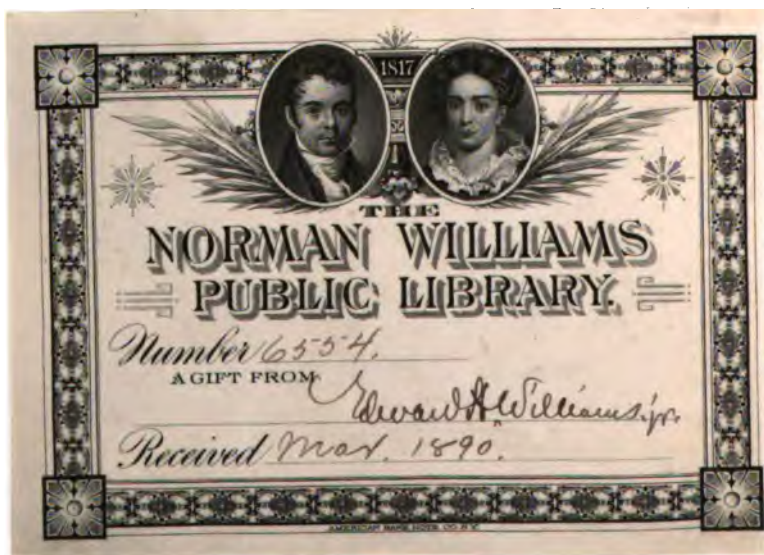
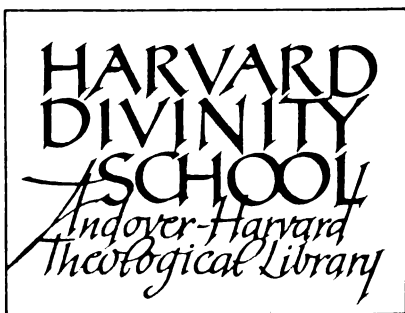
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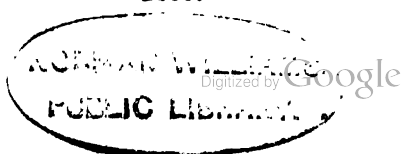
CHURCH REVIEW

REV. PROF. JOHN M. LEAVITT, A. M.
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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THE
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VOL. XX.

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No. 1.

ART. I.—ORGANIZATION.

THERE is one race that we admire,—a race that sprang up in the midst of barbarism—themselves barbarians but for one power and gift, and that put them at the head of the whole world ; and their one gift was organizing and administrative genius. We mean the ancient Romans. For mere intellectual qualities, they were nothing. Their poetry is imitation. Virgil, who did his best, is but a master of smooth writing ; his Epic is no Epic ; it has no movement, or living energy of action ; it has no living characters. It was written, because Homer was the great poet of the Greeks, and wrote an Epic. Therefore Virgil, having all the literary facilities of Rome, the capital of the world, and being what we should call the Poet-Laureate, wrote an Epic too, against the grain, *invitâ Minervâ*.

Take again the Roman Drama, and here we have the stilted sentimentality of Seneca, his Latin Tragedies—which no mortal reads except he is writing a Latin dictionary—against the three Tragedians of Athens, unmatched and unmatchable, since the world began and until it ends, in all that the Tragic Muse requires of terror and pity,—and shining, glowing and glittering, each one of them, in the polished splendor of a most glorious and harmonious diction ; each of them like a marble palace,

faultless in proportion, crowded with statuary, glorious in the noon-day sun.

Then, for the Greek Comedy—the Old, the Middle, and the New—all the best styles that have ever started in Europe—we have the rude buffoonery of Plautus, and the gentility without force of Terence. Both of them, we admit, men of genius, and, therefore, unlikely to be Romans ; for both, we must remember, had been slaves.

Take Cicero again, the Roman Orator, and compare him with Demosthenes. Oratory was a real requisite, a necessary qualification among the Romans as a thoroughly political people, and we suppose that Cicero made the best of it that any Roman could make. Consider his verbose grandiloquence, his piling up of swelling epithets, his insincere glittering commonplaces, and then his gorgeous stiff embroidery of rhetoric, which he manifestly measures out by the yard, retail and wholesale, and then compare all this with the dense thought, the compact forcible language, the intensity of feeling, and the energy of emotion in Demosthenes, which thunders and lightens,—that Greek *δαιμόνιος* no other language can express ;—and you see a stump-speaker of Kentucky or Tennessee, comparing himself with Daniel Webster. Phillips, the Irish orator (very Irish indeed), Thomas Marshall, of Kentucky, are, as Cicero was, stump-speakers, brilliant rhetoricians and advocates, perfect in their way. Webster, Henry Clay and Demosthenes are orators.

And then Cicero, the Philosopher ; and Seneca, the Philosopher ! The one a lawyer, training himself in Greek Philosophy as a literary exercise ; the other a courtier, rolling in wealth, and apologizing for the crimes of Nero, writing Philosophy, as Rosseau and Sterne wrote morality and sentiment. What a pair of Philosophers are these ! and yet the best that Roman Literature can produce. There is no earnestness about them, no sincerity, no faith. They expatiate and discourse upon Philosophy in a mere dilettantè style ; it never comes from their heart or touches their life in any way. The one is an Academic, the other a Stoic. They might as well be called by any other names. Compare them with Xenophanes of Elea, with Pythagoras, with Socrates and Plato, with Zeno the Stoic, or even with

Epicurus. Each of these men intensely earnest in his dogma, and preaching it to the Grecian world for its salvation (as St. Paul and St. Peter afterwards preached Jesus and the Resurrection), with a sincerity and a self-denial in its behalf that scorned and despised all power and wealth and fame. And then look at these two Roman Philosophers—the vain rhetorician, who thought of nothing but the glory and fame of **Marcus Tullius Cicero**; the money-greedy Stoic sophister, with his pretty tinkling antithetic style, whose whole admiration was **Marcus Annæus Seneca**.

Philosophy in truth was no natural growth of Roman soil. When they wanted a Philosopher, they had to import a Greek. Their language had not the distinctness, the subtlety, the discrimination of meaning, requisite for Philosophic thought and Philosophic discussion. Their temper was utterly averse to these, their talents unadapted to them.

And in the Arts they were just as far behind in capacity, as in Literature; in fact, far more deficient. For in Poetry and in the Drama they had good imitations—white metal, electroplated in the best style, looking very like genuine silver. The Gothic barbarians of Europe, for centuries, have talked of **Virgil** and **Homer**, **Cicero** and **Demosthenes**. The eloquent **Addison** has, in the *Spectator*, an elaborate parallel of the *Æneid* and the *Iliad*. All of us, in boyhood, have thought **Horace** the first lyric poet. But in the Arts—Painting, and Sculpture and Music—Rome is utterly and absolutely barren. Who can name a Roman Sculptor, a Roman Painter, or a Roman Musician? The imagination of form—that glorious gift and most dangerous temptation of the Hellenic race—was utterly wanting in the Roman. The imagination of color, the phantasy that paints all things upon earth in the hues of Heaven, they had not. No Music was in their souls. Even no spirit-stirring melody was in their march to battle. The solitary blare of the trumpet, unvaried by tune or melody, was their battle signal. The phalanx of Macedon, or the Spartan soldiers, might move to the Dorian melody; but the Romans had no battle music. And our present instruments, our regimental bands and music, come down in about equal measure

from the Tartar fife and kettle-drum, the Moorish and Saracen cymbal and attabal, the Church melodies and marching hymns of Crusading Templars in the East, and the battle-songs and clanging quidams of the Northmen. "Then Taillefer, the minstrel, went out before the host, flinging up his sword in the air, and singing the battle song of Rollo (*canens cantilenam Rollandi*). He slew two Saxon champions, and was slain himself by the third."* Thus began the battle of Hastings between William the Norman, and Harold the Saxon. A Roman army did its killing in so steady business-like a method, it had no need of military music to stimulate the heroic emotions or the savage passions. The Greeks of Leonidas or Epaminondas might move

"In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders, such as raised
To height of noblest tempers heroes old,
Arming to battle, and, instead of rage,
Deliberate valor breathed, firm and unmoved,
With dread of death to flight, or foul retreat."

And the Quidah or Death-song of Ragner Lodbrog, composed by his Queen Aslauga, and sang through all the North, flung upon the shores of England eighty thousand warriors to avenge his death. But the Roman was no poetic champion, no excitable warrior—he was a steady soldier.

"There was," as Döllinger remarks, "a certain dryness that ran through the Roman mind," a prosaic unimaginative temper that brought every thing down to a dry business character and method. This shut out at the very first the fine Arts even in war. In fact, of the fine Arts there was only one in which the Roman people had any skill, or in which they made any progress; and this was Architecture, Civil and Military. In this the Roman certainly excelled, in a certain grand and massive, although heavy and tasteless way. Aqueducts, Law-Courts, Amphitheatres and Bridges, still remain to show his powers in this.

How then did a people, so deficient in Literature and Science—for they were just as poor in scientific as in literary culture—a nation so despicable in the eyes of Athens and Boston, become the Lords of the world, European, Asiatic and African? The

* Henry of Huntingdon.

answer is manifest—lies upon the face of all History. The Roman had no fine Arts, no Music, or Sculpture or Painting. In all these no capacity, and at the best very bad taste. His Poetry, after the old Saturnian verses went out of fashion, was a mere imitation of Greek models and measures.

The Roman had none of all this. What had he then ? The Roman had three gifts, all subordinate to one great talent and faculty. In the first place, he had the sense and feeling of Law, and the genius and gift for it also. And this is a most peculiar and unfrequent national endowment. Three nations only are seen in all History to have this power and gift—the Romans, the English, and ourselves—the Romans, first and greatest. In fact we may say they were the only nation in the ancient world that had the genius for Law. The Greek had the forms and terms, but not the reality. His monarchy was despotism—tyranny its name and nature. And his democracy had no past and no future ; it was altogether of the present. A solemn Law, for instance, had been passed in one of the Greek States, was on their statute book, as we should say, having all the sanctions and solemnity of Law. With his eyes open, a rich or influential Athenian, or Corinthian, or Theban, broke that Law ; then rushed together the democratic mob of the city, Athens, Corinth or Thebes, and their vile orators and demagogues. The whole city foamed with eloquence, well paid by promises of money, place and power—and the Law was repealed forthwith, and the contrary Law enacted. And Cleon, a law-breaker, and a criminal yesterday, although not brought to trial, is a law-abiding citizen and a patriot to-day. Therefore these Republics vibrated from day to day between the most tumultuous democracy, and the arbitrary despotism of the most self-willed tyrants. Bishop Payne, our Missionary Bishop on the coast of Africa, told the writer of this paper that this was the condition of all the negro States on the West Coast, a compound of the most unbridled democracy, and the most despotic tyranny. What a curious parallel, a strange likeness ; the Athenian people and the swarming negroes in the West African villages,—the same mode of action, the same political constitution, if it may be so called, in both !

But the Roman knew the value of the past. "The wisdom of our illustrious ancestors" was, with him, as much a theme of praise, as it has been with the English constitutional Lawyers. His republicanism was no Athenian or negro democracy. The State, with him, had a fixed polity, and a rule of action for all men, clear and distinct. The past, therefore, in the shape of the Law, must overrule and mould the present. The Roman was the Churchman of Paganism ; he believed in the Roman State, just as we believe in the Church. He believed in the Roman Law, just as we believe in the Gospel. But he knew men. He knew the force of men's interests and of the passions of the moment. The Law, therefore, must *speak*, it must *bind* (*Lex* from *lego*, to speak ; as *edict* from *e* and *dico*, with an analogy very manifest to the verb *ligo*, to bind, the same word, originally, as *lego*). The State must *speak* to the private citizen, and *bind* his action by the Law. The Law must be written and passed, read to (some derive *lex* from *lego*, to read,) and accepted by the people. The Roman did not believe in private judgment or in individualism. The *Law of the State* must *bind the man*, and his momentary passions and interests.

In fact, take Hooker's celebrated Eulogy on Law, in the end of his first book, and Lord Coke's extravagant praises of it, in his Institutes, and similar passages can be brought from Cicero and other Roman Lawyers, showing the feeling and conviction in the nation that Law is something divine, an emanation from God, a revelation of His will to the whole human race, controlling the individual man, the passions and the interests of the moment, by the wisdom of the past, and by the great interests, the *salus populi* of the whole nation. When a nation has this feeling, and understands this fact, God has given it a work to do upon the earth.

But these unintellectual Romans had one or two gifts more. The Roman was the greatest business man in the ancient world ; in fact the most of an administrator, the best executive there ever was in the world. He understood it, too. His favorite description of the perfection of a Roman is "*aptus rebus agendis*," and every quality of an executive he had in superabundance, and of the best kind. He never lost time, but was

always on hand. He thought of every thing beforehand, and was never caught unprepared. No accident found him without resource. He met circumstances, unfortunate for him, in the very best way, and took the utmost advantage of those incidents that favored him. He was always hopeful to the degree of assurance. He never despaired of himself, or of the Roman State. They thanked their unsuccessful General after the battle of *Cannæ*, "*quia non desperasset de Republicâ.*" When Hannibal was before the city, they sold, in the Forum, the ground on which his camp was placed, for it was public land. The Roman was also adroit beyond all measure, knew when to yield and when to press his point, but was tenacious of the purposes and objects of the Roman State and Polity beyond measure, and everything he did he finished,—all things he put through.

And for a nation, not intellectual, not in any way critical, or of fine tastes, they seemed to have had the gift of understanding and managing in the best way the nations of Europe—Greek or Egyptian, British or North African, Germans, Spaniards or Gauls—the Roman understood and ruled them all. And these nations seem to have felt that Roman rule was better than their own, the Roman tyrants were better than their native tyrants, the Roman Law better than their own Law; and so Rome never lost a Colony. It was not until the head was crushed that the body was dismembered. With all other Empires the reverse has been the case. The Byzantine, the Mongol, the Spanish, the Turkish, Empires—from all these limb after limb has been torn away, province after province rent from the body, until the Empire died. Rome alone died entire and un mutilated. This Empire only could be slain by the mortal wound that crushed the head.

In fact the executive and administrative power, the national ability of managing business and men, in every way, was a peculiar Roman gift. It runs through the whole nation, and was in every individual as a national talent. Of course we must consider that they were a heathen race, their Law was a heathen Law, and their Polity a heathen Polity. But still, although tainted by these faults, it is delightful to see wisdom

and ability and consistent steadiness in the management of affairs. And it is wonderful to contrast this consistency of theirs with the cruelty and savagery of the Gallic and Germanic races, the vile corruption and disintegration of intellectual Greece, and the boundless luxury and merciless blood-thirstiness of Asia, whether ruled by Greek or native princes. The Roman did many a stern and hard thing ; but he conquered the European, Asiatic, and African world of his day. And he deserved to do it. And the powers that he overthrew were, in all respects of morality, of honesty and decency, far inferior to him. The princes and powers of the world of that era deserved to be overthrown ; and, for the nations of the earth, the Roman Government was a great gain.

His third gift, or rather his one great inclination and faculty, was the gift of ORGANIZATION. The Roman was the greatest organizer the world has ever seen. He enforced order, so that all parts of the machinery of the State should work readily. Equality of burdens and duties he placed upon all. He called up the powers of all the subjects, and all the resources of the country, to the aid of the State. Officers and magistrates he arranged in the most distinct and exact way. He enrolled and classified all property, all rights and privileges he brought out distinctly. All men fell into rank at once under the Roman rule. All must work, and work smoothly ; for the Roman rule was the perfection of Organization—the Roman was the most perfect Organizer. The machine of Government he put together in the best way ; he made it to work most steadily, most smoothly, at an uniform rate of expense and maintenance.

An European nation was generally benefitted by acceptance of the Roman dominion ; nay, all Europe itself was benefitted. Take one small instance : here is the Roman world, in the year four hundred, we will say ; it did not embrace the present Russia—but it had, beside Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, all North Africa and Morocco, countries then densely populated, a mass of territory and population that may well go against Russia—and all the standing army required to govern the entire Roman world was three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. The present European Kingdoms and

Governments have standing armies to the amount of four millions and a half !

Then again, take in regard to the matter of Peace, this wretched piece of organized brutality that we call the Feudal System of Middle Age Europe, (this, we may say, began to come into existence when the grand idea of an European Empire, which Charlemagne had taken from Rome, finally failed,) and compare it with the Roman system. That system certainly was a gain to Europe, when Egypt could not go to war against Syria, or Greece against Asia, or Germany against Gaul, because they were all integral parts of the great Roman Empire. But look at Europe since the date of Charlemagne. Since the Carlovingian Empire failed, has it not been ceaseless war ? Was there not, for eight hundred years together, a time when each Land-holder, Count or Prince, Graf or Herzog, Baron, Earl or Duke, had the right of war ? Five hundred Sovereignities at once existed in Germany alone—and all over Europe ceaseless murder and robbery went on under the name of legal war, as bad as in Dahomey and Ashantee.

Would it not even now be a gain to the tax-payers of Europe, that France and England, Austria and Russia, Denmark and Sweden—all these countries of Europe, which, for a thousand years, have been ravaging, murdering, robbing, destroying life and wasting property—were under one great Empire, had no right of making war upon one another, but simply enjoyed the powers and rights of internal self-government ?

If the Empire could have been converted and become Christian, it would have been for Europe the best thing in the world. For its destruction was the destruction of the most perfect organization of the European countries, as regards their relations to one another. But the Empire was essentially pagan, and it perished. It could not be converted, and Christendom since then has supplied no such arrangement of powers. Charlemagne got the idea, and was trying to restore Law and Order and Civilization to Europe ; but the savage self-will and greediness of the German races, backed up by new robber-floods of Northmen from the Baltic, and by the Saracen inroads from the South, defeated his purpose, and the result is, that Europe

is what it is, and in it, from the year eight hundred, to the present time,—one thousand years,—there have been more wars, more destruction of life and property in war, than in the four hundred years from Julius Cæsar to the downfall of the Empire, ten times over, century for century, year for year—and all this owing to the fact that the Romans had the peculiar gift and power of ORGANIZATION. The German races were endowed with the spirit of self-will and rebellion against all Law, which their philosophic descendants call the Old Northern spirit of individual freedom !

But the mark of the Roman Organizer is so plain on Europe, even when his greatest work, the Roman Empire, has been overthrown, that Palgrave, the greatest of English Historians, declares, that, “to all intents and purposes, the Roman Empire in Europe never perished ; the trunk of the tree was cut down, but from its undestroyed root sprang ten trees to supply its place.” Indeed, when we look at the matter steadily and fairly, our illustrious ancestors, the Teutonic robber tribes by land, and the Baltic sea-robbers, were an unmixed flood of savagery. They sank the whole European soil in barbarism, and civilization rose, not from them, as English and Germans vainly dream, not from Feudalism, “or the free spirit of the North,” “the personal feeling of freedom in the Teutonic races,” but from the remains of Roman Institutions. The Roman Municipia, that lay as islands in the flood, with their magistrates, their laws and their police, were the points from which civilization started again, and began to grow. All over Europe, these were its centres of origination and growth. And then, too, as to all the Law, all the rights and the justice of Europe : the great Civil Law of Rome, the Institutes, Code and Pandects, formed the working methods and the outer body of principles and doctrines, and the influence of the Bible and the Church the spirit. Take the Scriptures, the Roman Law, and the Roman cities that survived in Europe, and from them all Organization, all Civilization in Europe, originates. Goths and Burgundians, Vandals and Franks, Saxons and Angles and Jutes—their laws, their customs, their tempers, their traditions and usages, made up the savagery of Europe. Fierce

energy, strong brains, and strong bodies (no small gifts indeed), were all the merits they possessed. But to say, that Modern Civilization arose from them, or anything of theirs, is sheer absurdity. Their traditions are, to this day, the main impediments to progress all over Europe, in all its countries.

Having seen that the great gift of the Roman was the power of Organization, it is worth while to consider the means he made use of, the basis upon which he placed his machinery, the centres from which he worked. The City, organized under rule and law;—this was his centre, and his base of action. It was the *Municipium*, and from it the whole Roman Law is *Lex Municipalis*.

In fact, the city is the compulsory school of all legislation, all organization, as to property and life. Take a fertile country and scatter families over it at great distances, and savage life may endure for ages. Isolated tribes of hunters, as among the Indians of this country—the pastoral life, as over Asia, from the earliest ages—chieftainry and the tribal relations of the clan, as in Ireland—the feudal estates and castles of France and Germany—produce no civilization, no advance on barbarism. But let men be massed together in cities, and the lines of definite right, as to life and property, must be strictly drawn, public action upon them must be prompt and energetic and equal, or the city becomes a den of lust, robbery and murder. The Roman city had its original founders, of the *Prisci Latini*, a sober and grave race, and its first accession of growth was of wandering soldiers, outlaws, fugitive slaves, and pirates from the sea. Then came the Sabines, with their fierceness and rudeness; then the Etrurian chieftains, and finally the Celtic flood. A city of these elements must either bridle them by LAW, prompt and energetic, equable and vigorous, or perish. This necessity, for three hundred and fifty years, was the formative power of the national Roman character and the Roman State; the Kings first, the Patricians next, as a controlling and governing body, and finally the Plebeians and the whole Roman race. They are all the same class of character, all cast in the same mould, Organizers, Administrators, Legalists, all of them. Stern, prompt and ener-

getic in applying the remedy to wrong of all kinds, but still according to the Law, the only rule that they had. Justice without mercy was certainly the Roman rule, but still it was *Justice*.

Let any one that wishes a beautiful example of the Roman civic methods, read in Livy the account of the suppression, in Rome, in the year 186 B. C., of the Bacchanals, a fanatical, licentious, murderous secret society, that came from the East. Livy gives the whole account of the procedure of the action of the *Consuls*, *Albinus* and *Phillippus*, of the deliberations of the Senate and the Public Assembly, and of the complete and final rooting out of a whole secret society, seven thousand in number, of the punishments inflicted, and the decrees. We do not find anything more interesting in the course of Roman History than the account of this *cause celebre* in Livy, nothing that is more illustrative of the best qualities of Roman Justice.

In the city the Greek learned his fine Arts, his Poetry and his Eloquence. He learned also, in the city, in the agora and the dikasterion, to ruin his country. These Arts he completed in the space of one hundred years of Athenian city life. The Roman more slowly learned, in the city also, Law, and Equity, and Polity; to rule the Roman city, and organize it out of all the savage and barbarous elements he had to deal with, and thence to rule the European, Asiatic and African World, and *organize* it also. Hence the proud boast, and no less proud than true, of the rhetorical poet of the age and court of Augustus, that all Arts were inferior to this one gift—Sculpture, Poetry, Oratory, Science,—but small endowments compared with this one gift of *organizing* and *ruling* the European world, and making it a world of peace.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; oesque meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."*

The Roman understood his own gifts and his abilities. His

* Virgil's *Æneid*, Lib. VI., 847.

work was to organize, under the Law, all the nations of Europe, Asia and Africa, all the world then known to man. He did the work, and the City was his centre of organization, his base of action.

The Roman world was first a Republic of cities, then an Empire of cities. Everywhere through Europe, Asia and Africa, there was the Roman, the master of the world, with his Roman Law, his aptitude for business, his splendid organizing talents. He was a soldier also, but only in a business way—only as a master of the police of the world. The ancient Spartan was a trained soldier by profession, nationally. The Gauls were a race of warriors above all the nations of the ancient world. Greece and Asia, and all Europe, felt the military frenzy of the Celt long before the Christian era, as all Europe has in these latter days under the first Napoleon. And it was only the two greatest of the Romans, Cæsar and his uncle Marius, who saved Rome from the Gaul. But the Roman valor was deliberate and civil altogether. The Romans were the tamers and civilizers of the world, and they fought, as policemen fight, in a steady, professional way, in the line of their business, and only when absolutely necessary.

Over all Europe their cities were placed, copies of great central Rome. Only think of Roman Carthage, built by Julius Cæsar, rising on the site of old Phœnician Carthage, which had been utterly destroyed and laid waste without inhabitant, and finally becoming a city of nearly five hundred thousand people upon the now desolate shores of North Africa. Look at Londinum, the Roman city, among the barbarous Britons,

"Toto divisos orbe Britannos,"

and think how great it must have been, when, at one time, seventy thousand Roman citizens were slain there by Boadicea. And then the German cities of Rome, the great French and Spanish Roman cities, and all through Asia Minor, onward towards the East, there were the Roman cities, centres of civilization to all around them. We give just one instance of the telling effect of this system of the Romans: here is Mauritania, now Morocco, a country six hundred miles long, and as many broad, the

western shoulder of Africa, sloping from the mountains towards the Atlantic, a huge corn-plain that might give food to millions, but is now covered with weeds. Its commerce is nothing now. It hardly supports its people, a rubbish of scattered and scanty Mohammedan tribes. It was once the granary of the world ; for it came into the hands of the Romans in the days of Claudius Cæsar. They organized it, in their manner, with Roman Cities, Colonies, *Municipia* and *Oppida Latina*, one hundred and seventy in all ; so that Christianity found so many cities in that land to put Bishops in. In the present Morocco there were once one hundred and seventy Roman cities and as many Christian Bishops, and the whole country is now desolate.

The organizing talent is God-like. The Organizer, in his power and in his work, is like to God, Who rules and over-rules, and, at the same time that He permits natural and moral freedom, guides and governs by His Providence, and brings out His good purposes and general blessings, not simply by natural laws, but by the natural constitution, the free action, the consent of man. The grandest it is of all gifts, the most God-like of all faculties and powers, individual or national.

In the individual man it is the rarest of gifts (as we have seen), the most admirable. Only once or twice, in the course of a thousand years, has any people the gift of a born Organizer, and then at once it stands upon its feet endowed with limitless strength and capacity. The soul of the man becomes the nation, and, henceforth and forever, all that people are his sons, his children, as if they had come from his loins ; and a sort of divine worship is given the man forever, a reverence, that strikes those without as extravagant and ridiculous, and yet, nevertheless, it takes possession of all minds in the nation, from the highest to the lowest.

A single instance, within the limits of a single nation, is almost worshipped. But what shall we say to a whole race organizing an entire world, European, Asiatic, African ? What shall we say to that great race, in which generation after generation, consul after consul, tribune after tribune, censor after censor, all had the same extraordinary gift ? A nation, in

which men, who, as statesmen or warriors, would stand out forever in modern European History, are but names in the great succession of born Organizers. A nation, with no intellectual powers, with no fine Arts, no Sciences, no Literature; a nation springing up in the midst of barbarism, not mentioned or named by the famous Greeks, and yet the more we know of them the more we wonder at their work and their place in History. They had the one gift, and this one made them the greatest and the grandest nation in the life, in the history of the world.

Now one thing does appear strange in regard to this national gift of the Organizing Power, and its origin. It does seem the gift of a mixed race. Look at the Greeks, with their glorious powers and talents. It seems as if they were not only without this faculty, but possessed with the very contrary tendency. Each little town and precinct is a republic, and so restlessly fighting every other, so endlessly involved in sedition and faction, that the Historians and Philosophers of Europe make up their mind that Democracy is destructive, and tends to anarchy, and are astonished at a Democracy spreading over a continent, that has most intensely the feeling of unity. Democracy is disunited, intensely individual and disorganizing; "therefore," says solemn Lord John Russell, in the English Parliament, "it is not the desire of union, but simply the lust of dominion and conquest that actuates this American Democracy." The Greeks were an unmixed race—Hellenes, whether Ionian or Dorian—of one family.

Look then at these Romans, how mingled in blood and race they were—first, the grave sober *Prisci Latini*, by the Tiber; then, the Pelasgian rovers and Greek pirates, from the sea, the rugged Sabine and Samnite emigrants, the Tyrrhenian conquerors, with their mixed blood of Asiatic descent; and finally the Celtic conquest—more of a mixed race of kindred blood there could not be.

Now let us take our own people. Is there more of a composite people in the world? The English talk of us as their descendants, and yet, as far as we can make out, there is not more than thirty per cent. of English blood. Irish and German, we believe, preponderate over English, and then all the other Japhetic

racés have come in in masses ; Dutch here, Huguenot-French there, Scotch-Irish in one State, and Swedes in another—Canadian-French, Italians and Spaniards. There cannot be less than one hundred and fifty thousand Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, in the West, at this date. There are through the country large settlements of Welsh, of Belgians, of Swiss, and of Bohemians of the true Solavonic race, and, most curious of all, the Jews are coming over in large numbers,—fifty thousand of them in the City of New York—large numbers of them in every city of the West and East, and they are mingling their blood in the American stream, in a way one hardly thinks of. The writer of this Article knows at least twenty families who are partially of Jewish blood. Dutchman, Jew and New Englander, commingled, make an unrivalled native American, either in the State, or in the Church. Our race is forming of many elements, a new race in a new land. Our democratic principles, our great cities, our freedom as regards landed property (would we could say our commercial freedom !)—all these are moulding the many elements into one people.

And, while no drop of German blood went to the composition of that great Roman race, and our people are being formed under circumstances so utterly different, yet it is strange what points of similarity there are in these two nations ; a business people they were,—and so are we,—of immense resource and pliability, and yet of immense tenacity. The Gaul is now, as in the days of Julius Cæsar, a gossip and a news-monger. The German to this day is wrapped up in his domestic happiness and his philosophy. But the Roman was essentially a politician. He thought and spoke of *Res Urbis* and *Orbis*, the politics of Rome and the world, incessantly. He had also a supreme taste for Law, both in theory and practice. We ask, is not this an American gift ? Can we not see all these, even in our young boys at the Common School—the gift for Law, the intense interest in Politics, National and European, the taste for Writing and Debating, and the power and talent of taking part in public meetings of every sort and description ?

But all this business, and legal, and political, ability in the nation is far inferior, in fact merely subordinate to their gift of

Organizing. It needs to have been in the West for a time, to have cast your eye over the forest, or the treeless prairie without inhabitants, and then for a few years to have seen the native and foreign masses of labor flung upon them—each individual free and working for himself, and yet all under the Law, all in peaceful concert, urging on the common good; and then again, to see huge cities rising, twenty or thirty years doing for them, in this great West, the work that in Europe requires centuries—trade after trade, occupation after occupation, coming into existence in them—all wants supplied, all necessities satisfied—and, over all this restless energy, this force and hurrying enterprise, the native American Organizer presiding, controlling and guiding, with the American Constitution and the American Law in his hand.

We suppose no one at the time thought how great the Roman people was. It required their work to be done in this world, finished and completed, before men could have time to think and know how great it was, how great the ability that did it, and how seldom seen in men or nations. We believe no European now can understand how great this work is that the American people is doing, in *organizing* a new world, whose federal parts are great nations, and each of them, in the Roman fashion, a living image of the whole. Nay, we ourselves, who see it in the dust, and smoke, and turmoil of the present, know not how great it is,—but we know, that in our people is the gift for doing this work in all its parts and portions. The Organizing Power is in the native American of the United States, as it has never been in any modern nation of Europe—never in any people save the Roman race, lords of the European, Asiatic and African world.

We may take any profession, public or private, any public work to be done—the army or the navy, finance or commerce—anything, in short, in which the power of combining, controlling, guiding, is requisite, let it be as great as it may be, as delicate, as manifold and various, as long and tedious; and we will step into any one of our great cities, New York, or Chicago, or Philadelphia, or St. Louis, and we shall find, among our ordinary merchants and lawyers, men who have the

Organizing power in the highest degree, men who can set a-going and keep a-going the business of an Ocean or a Continent: and, furthermore, we see that the same power and talent are visible in the whole race, as it was in the Roman people.

But the English, whose language we inherit, have no gift for Organization. In fact, they rather detest the idea. They hate what they call abstract ideas, those grand cöordinate thoughts and clear principles that underlie Roman Civilization, and were, as it were, the plans and specifications, according to which the world-builders worked, generation after generation. But the idea of the Englishman is, that the individual man, his interests and passions, according to the circumstances of the day, and in conflict with the powers that be, are the best shapers of national destiny. The nearest idea the Englishman has to a principle, is a compromise. "You fight me, and I fight you, until we come to a dead-lock, and neither of us can stir; and then you must give up a little, and I must give up a little, and so the thing can move on—somehow, or anyhow, it will move on—and that we call a compromise." The English Polity is a succession of such conflicts, and the English Constitution is a clutter or muddle of such compromises; no mortal man can tell how many in number they are, and how they tell upon one another and the Law. For which important facts the scientific explanation is, that the Constitution of England is unwritten. In fact, the English have no Organizing Power; and, but that they are girded by the sea, isolated from the Continent of Europe; but for their intense spirit of personal freedom; but for their Church reading the Scriptures constantly in the audience of the people, in their own language; but for their industry and business powers, which are immense; and lastly, but for the manifest fact that, since the Reformation, God has held the nation in the hollow of His hand for His own purposes in the European world—the nation must long since have gone down, and been overthrown: for a nation, more destitute of this great power, considering its other extraordinary gifts, there is not.

In the State, things are got along with by compromises somehow, but in the Church, for hundreds of years, there has been

the most absurd work. Only imagine a Parish being the freehold of a clergyman ! Only imagine the state of that Law, that, in a Parish of, say fifty thousand people, in the Church of England, shuts out all her own Clergy (save two or three), and gives perfect and absolute freedom to Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists, as many of them, and as much and often as they please ! The Law that admits a foreigner, a Roman Catholic Priest, upon his conforming, to benefices in the English Establishment, and yet utterly excludes her own native born subjects, if ordained with her own Colonial orders ! The Law that orders the Dean and Chapter to elect a Bishop, and yet confiscates their goods, and imprisons them if they elect any one but the Government nominee ! The Law that establishes the Church in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and would undoubtedly establish Popery in Ireland, or Calvinistic Methodism in Wales, if it were pushed hard, and that certainly did at one time establish Hindooism in India ! The Edinburgh Review says, that an Englishman, of the name of Place, a Commissioner in Hindoostan, once elected Wardens and Vestrymen for Juggernaut ! And, lastly, that precious Law, which now enables Roman Catholic, Infidel or Jew, to legislate for the Church of England ! And that makes the final Court of Appeal, for all causes in the Church, to be a Committee of Privy Council, of which not one person need be, of necessity, a baptized member of the English Church ! And the reigning spirit in that Court, in a late most important case, was actually Lord Campbell, a Scotch Presbyterian ! The want of consistency, unity, combination and principle, in short, of all power of ORGANIZATION, is very manifest in all English Legislation, but, most of all, in everything that concerns their Church.

And we have suffered from it here. The old Roman organized his colonies, so that each city was modelled after Rome, the central city. They had the Roman Law, and were Roman citizens, with all the rights and privileges appertaining. The Church of England was Episcopal, but England kept her Church in the Colonies without Bishops, without Episcopal Government, without Law, in every way unorganized.

Now let us look, as Americans, to what we call the religious world in this land. Is it not essentially the continuation of the English religious world of this day? What is its deficiency? This one—it is *unorganized*; forms of Church Government mingled together and confused; unsteady in principle and in action—the Church, Romanism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism—eighty different Denominations, great and small. Again, forms of doctrine—the Prayer Book, the Westminster Confession, the Synod of Dort, the Decrees of Trent, the Saybrook Platform, Unitarian, Universalist, Mormon, Swedenborgian Doctrines, all huddled up in one mass, oftentimes ten or twenty different forms of belief professed in one village, and many times the professors do not know their own doctrine, that is written upon their standards. And then, look at the effect of this in the dozen or twenty starveling societies in every little village, East and West, where there might be one or two flourishing Churches—in the strife and enmity, that arise from the competition of sects—in the waste of men and money in this wretched competition—in the impression made against Christianity, and the increase of unbelief—in the indistinctness of Christian Faith and Principle—in the vast opportunity given to hypocrisy, and cant, and sectarianism!

And then, side by side with all these wretched evils, put the one great and most blessed fact, that Religion is free from the State, that the Government of the United States is the first Government, since the world began, that does not tyrannize over Religion, the first that warrants and assures to every man the right of worshipping God according to his conscience, and, therefore, gives absolute freedom, uncontrolled, before the Law. Put to this one great fact, the other, that, among those who do profess Religion, there is actually more sincerity of belief, more real earnestness, more generosity in contribution to Religion at home and abroad, than is to be seen in any country of the European world. And what is it that is wanting to this religious world, so full of personal virtues and personal faith, so deficient in unity of doctrine, of worship, and of action? This alone is wanting—ORGANIZATION.

The most perfect Organization that ever was seen, was that of the Christian Church, before Constantine. It insured the progress of Christianity over the whole world, its increase in numbers, and, at the same time, in Faith and Holiness. There was in it a perfect Religious Government, and yet ambition had no place and no opportunity; the lust of power was checked and bridled. In every city were the Apostle or Bishop, the Presbyters in their Congregations, the Deacons under the Bishop, as his ministers in his work, and the whole body of the laity were co-partners with the Clergy in legislation and government: and thus all the works of love and faith were done abundantly and steadily in that city; the systematic and kindly alms-giving to the poor and desolate; hospitals for the sick, that noblest work of Christian love, unheard of among the heathen, first invented by Christian benevolence; the instruction and catechizing of the young; the burial of the dead; all these grand enterprises of goodness going on at once in all the pagan cities of the ancient world. The Church in the city, thus organized, absorbed within itself, generation after generation, whatever was noble and kindly in temper, or lofty in affection, or sublime and profound in thought, of the whole heathen world. It was the Kingdom of God upon the earth, and every baptized man or woman felt it so to be; a Kingdom, with a King invisible, yet of eternal power and majesty, ever present to the eye of faith. Under His Law they were doing His Works, in that foul heathen world, in His Faith. They knew, as it may well be doubted whether any Christians now know, what it was to be a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, "In order that they might shew forth the praises of Him Who had called them out of darkness into His marvellous light."*

And then, just as beautiful and perfect as their Organization in the city, was their Organization in the State. We know that the Roman Empire was an Empire of cities. It conquered all the known world first, and then in the grand development, of which Julius Cæsar was the first great representative, all lands around the Central Sea became one country under the Roman

* I. Peter ii, 9.

Law. And each European, Asiatic and African country became an integral part of that Great Empire. The division of the Empire, therefore, was Italy and the Provinces. A country, subject to the Government of Rome, and an integral part of the Empire, not the State, was strictly a "Province."* This was the exact use of the word in the time of Augustus. Afterwards it seems to have changed its meaning, and, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, to have assumed somewhat of the present notion—that is, of a subordinate portion of a kingdom greater than a country, and of use for administrative purposes. In early days it was a State, which was a part of the Empire. Egypt, for instance, under Augustus, was a 'province,' under Honorius it contained six 'provinces.' Asia was one province in the one era, ten in the other; Gallia (not France simply, but the land of the Gaulish race) was first one province, then three, then seventeen. By this it will appear, that the first idea of the province corresponded exactly with our idea of a State, as regards ourselves, and meant a State in and under the great Roman Empire. And when we look at the Councils, we find them conforming to this idea rather than to the other. We see, for instance, in the Arian controversy, all the Bishops of Egypt meeting together, instead of merely those of the *Provincia* of that day in which Alexandria was placed. We can go over the early Provincial Councils, and shew that they were rather Councils of the integral parts of the Roman Empire, the *Provincia* of the earlier period, than of the *Provincia* of the later. The one corresponds to the State in our great Empire; the other more strictly is the modern European Province.

Now we find the Organization of the Christian Church, as it had first the "See," and thus took possession of all the cities, the centres of civilization in the Roman Empire, its Bishops being always in the city, and named from the city, and there being in every city, great or small, a Bishop; so in every divis-

*"The term 'Provincia' was used to express a territory beyond Italy, which had a regular organization, and was under Roman administration. When a conquered country was constituted a 'Provincia,' it did not become, to all purposes, an integral part of the Roman State; it retained its national existence, though it lost its (independent) sovereignty."—GEORGE LONG.

ion of the Roman Empire, Christianity was organized in such a manner that the Bishops, and Clergy and Laity, of every country, met and consulted for the common interest. We find Councils of Egyptian, of Gaulish, of German, and Spanish Bishops. And thus the force and influence of the Church over the whole Empire was by this means equalized. The little city in the mountains, or in the desert, has its Bishop ; but it is not left to its own resources ; for by means of the " Provincial " or " State Organization," the Church in a whole country, having a common interest, extended its powers over the whole region. The cities, great and small, in that country, may be taken as the brain and the great ganglions of the Church, nervous centres from which the whole life and energy of the Church work. But the Church and the people in the whole State, Egypt, Gaul, or Britain, or Spain, or Palestine, are one. And they have for the whole an Organization, wherein Bishops, Clergy and Laity meet from the whole country, and consult for it all. In this Council of the whole, irregularities, personal, official, and organic, were corrected, and justice done in the case of appeals. Mutual arrangements between the Dioceses were made in it, and all inconveniences that arose obviated.

Now, we ask our readers to look at this matter, and consider what it was that gave victory to Christianity, and converted the nations of Europe. First, we will say, the Gospel, the heavenly and healing Truth in the hands of the preacher, Apostle, Bishop or Deacon ; and next the Kingdom of Heaven, the Divine Organization upon earth adapted to the nature of man, to all his wants and all his natural habits in this world, —the Truth, and the Organization upon earth carrying out the Truth—the Gospel and the Church, or, more properly, the Gospel in the Church. A grand and glorious revelation is made, in its ultimate and consummate perfection, by God manifest in the Flesh, the everlasting Son of God, the Word Incarnate—a revelation that reaches and satisfies all man's wants, that explains all the problems of his humanity, that gives a solution to every question concerning himself, his relation to his fellow-men and to God, that has been put to man from the earliest ages to the latest time.

And then the Kingdom of Heaven, starting from obscure, despised Judea, takes possession of the whole Empire with an actual visible Organization, which outvies in wisdom the Roman Power. Age after age, for eight hundred years, had the wise Roman been building up his Dominion and his Law. And then at last, through the greatest mind of all the race, had come the thought, "that war and conquest must have an end. The world must become one Empire at last, and universal and perpetual peace ensue; each nation a part of that great Empire, under one great Law." Caesar was slain, but his ideas, every one of them, were fruitful, and were carried out; and the world at last was completely *organized*. And lo! the Kingdom of Heaven stands forth, confronting the kingdom of earth. It has the final and ultimate Truth for man. It has that Truth also written in a Book, the unchanging verity of a written revelation. With this it faces the Roman Power, which is the Kingdom of the world, and all the grandeur of its heathen wisdom. It has also its own Organization upon the earth, as the Kingdom of Heaven. As keenly as the Roman, did it understand the value of Cities as centres; Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, great Rome itself, Corinth, Thessalonica, Babylon—all these received forthwith the Apostle or Bishop. And, once established in these cities, the grasp was never given up—Bishop after Bishop might be slain, torn from the Church by the most cruel death,

"Sed uno avulso, hand deficit."

The man was slain, but the Bishop was there in the city, the Apostle of God's Church, once and forever. The rapid succession of our Bishops and Martyrs, in the early Church, is perfectly astonishing. In fact, at Jerusalem, there were forty Bishops down to the time of Eusebius, an average of only five or six years to each Episcopate! Indeed, the sagacity with which the early Church seized upon the city as the See, and the tenacity with which She held on to it, are most astonishing, and the courage and boldness, with which, generation after generation, they maintained their seat (Cathedra) are almost miraculous. The Roman himself did not understand the value of cities to civilization, more than the Christian comprehended

their worth and work in the extension and propagation of the Gospel.

In fact these three, the Apostle, or Bishop in the City, the Cathedral or Bishop's Church, as the centre, visible and manifest, of all the work of the Gospel in the city, and the Council of all the Sees within a given "*provincia*," the unit of the Roman Empire, as the State is of our new world, are the essential elements of all Church Organization, all Church growth and progress.

These are the same, at this day, as they were in the Roman Empire. These three are the only means, whereby the Bishop, the Priest, the Deacon, the Layman, are given full power of laboring for the Church of Christ freely, with all the strength that is in them ; all the zeal, the faith, the holiness, that they have,—the only means whereby one and all the elements of universal humanity are made to work together for Christ. ORGANIZATION causes the whole machine to move freely, without friction, or jar, and without noise. It distributes the power equally to the remotest part ; by means of it the greatest effort and the smallest are done alike. A manifold and complicated machine, of multiform parts, and doing the most varied work in the best way, because of the mutual cöordination of all. Such is a Government well organized. Such was the great Roman Empire when Christianity came into the world ; and such, also, in a most wonderful degree, was the Christian Church before the era of Constantine. And these were its elements,—the Bishop or Apostle in his See, the Cathedral, and the State or Provincial Council.

The English Church, from her slavery to the State, gave her subjects, in the colonies, no Church Organization, no Bishops, no Cathedrals, no Councils, no Church Courts, or Church Law; nothing, in fact, by which unity might be maintained, and progress insured. All the sects were perfected by their own constitutional right of voluntary action. The establishment of the Church in England crippled us here. By it, the Church in the Colonies was kept imperfect and unorganized. Only in England could our clergy be ordained ! No Bishop visited the Colonies ! If a man, or woman, or

child, in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, wanted to be confirmed, he had to go to London ! We were, perforce, under Congregational Organization and ideas, both Parishes and Clergy. And so unused had we become to our own principles, that, after the Revolution, one State consented to unite with the others in the application for the Episcopacy, only on condition that she should have no Bishop !

We obtained the Episcopate. Was it owing to ourselves, or to the way in which England had left the Church, in the Colonies, for hundreds of years, that, for a long time, the Bishop was looked upon as a sort of supernumerary, a minister whom it was necessary to have for nothing but to confirm and ordain—a kind of Corinthian capital, more ornamental than useful to the Church, which is the pillar of the Truth ? The feeling of self-existence, the progress of life and growth, began to put an end to this theory of the Episcopate. Councils were, at once, restored under the awkward and unbecoming name of Conventions. The wisdom of Bishop White,

“*Mitis sapientia Læli,*”

restored the Laity to their conciliar position, which they had in Nicene times, and secured us against the Romanist and Methodist mistake of an exclusively clerical legislation. And the energy and decision of Seabury gave us a Prayer Book, more free from faults, to say the least, than that of the English Church. And so we obtained the main elements of the Church, the Episcopacy, the Church tradition in the Prayer Book, a *Conciliar Organization*.

What did we want then ? First, the sense and feeling of what the Episcopacy really is,—that it is not a mere ornament, but the Apostleship of the Church, the ministry itself, instead of being a new adjunct to a congeries of Congregational parishes, an order of functionaries to ordain and confirm when called upon. This conviction also was arising, slowly, but surely, among the better class of Clergy and Laity. But we were wholly wanting in the sense of the relation the Episcopate bears to the city. We did not in any way know its value. Absolutely we had no idea, at all, that the Episcopate ought

to be in the city, to be called from the city; that the city was just as necessary a basis of Church progress, and of the growth of the Christian Religion in every way, as of civilization. We were excusable in this, as being originally scattered Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in her Colonies, who had been compelled by England to live as Congregationalists, without the Episcopate, without Councils, without Cathedrals.

When we were in this way deficient, through the fault of England, and the traditions of England, the self-consciousness of a living and working Church supplied us with the feeling of our wants,—and this REVIEW (we are proud of the fact, and exult in it) first held up to the Church the truth which we had forgotten. In October, 1857, we printed an Article upon the See-Bishopric. In that Article we shewed that the Episcopate was always in the city from the earliest times of the Gospel—that this is seen, even in the New Testament. The Angel (Apostle or Bishop) of each one of the Seven Churches was in the city, his Church named after the city, and not, as we had named it, after the territory. We shewed that, from the earliest times, all over the world, down to the present, this had been the only way of naming the Diocese and the Bishop; and that we had been the first and only Apostolical Church that had done otherwise. And then we shewed how appropriate it is to place the Bishop in the city, the central office of all administration and government in the Church in the centre of civilization and progress, of population, money, and ideas.

Our Article supplied a want, it pointed out the way, and multitudes in the Church felt its truth. In fact, we may say it began a movement which is now most powerful in the Church. The experience, the knowledge, the conviction of the Clergy and Laity of the Church everywhere, North and South, East and West, agree with and confirm our doctrine. They know that the Bishop, in the See, is the centre of growth and progress; and, therefore, there are, at this present time, making ready for application to the General Convention, at least nine several Episcopates. We hope that they will hold to the principle. We hope that no Episcopate will be named

henceforth territorially; that the only remains of the old title will be, that, as in the Council of Nicæa, we find the Bishops of Egypt, of Spain, of Gaul, of Britain and Palestine, the old provinces of the Roman Empire in the sense we have pointed out; so only shall we have the Bishops of New York, Virginia, and Ohio, and of all the other States.

But the great proof to us that our Article told, that God had given us the peculiar grace to open up a new work, to lead the mind of the Church in this great land to the old system of the Catholic Church, was the last General Convention and its consequences. The territorial system had been ours, one and uniform and unbroken. We had no Episcopate, from the beginning, called after a City. And the sense and conviction of the Church prevailed over the strongest of all feelings, that of system and precedent. As the result of that Convention, the See-Bishopric *has entered into the Church as a fact*. The Diocese of Pittsburgh is the one great argument, the one great instance that takes us out of theory into constitutional precedent and authority. This one fact opens up the possibility, nay, the certainty, of the whole Ancient System. Brooklyn and Albany, Cleveland and Wheeling, and Annapolis and Baltimore, Washington and Reading, and Utica and Rochester—all can follow this precedent, and every city in the United States finally have its Bishop. The Diocese of Pittsburgh has done that for the Church.

And to show how this system of the See is the system of the Catholic Church, legally and constitutionally, we give here, as not cited before in our other paper, the enactment of the Nomocanon, the code of Law, to this day, of the Eastern Church:—"Let each city (*ἐκαστὴ πόλις*) have its own Bishop (*ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπον*), and if, by means of a rescript of the Emperor, any one should dare to deprive the city of its Bishop, or its Diocesan Territory, or any other right, he is deprived of his benefice (*γυμνοῦται τῶν ὀντων*), and degraded from his rank (*ατιμοῦται*)." This is the law of the Greek Church, in a Code which is now one thousand years old. And the fact, in the Roman Empire, is thus stated by St. Cyprian :—"Cum jam-

* Martyred, A. D. 253.

pridem per omnes provincias, et per urbes singulas, ordinati sunt Episcopi." "*Long since, through all the Provinces and the the cities severally, Bishops have been ordained.*" These are most valuable citations, shewing the law and the fact in the Roman Empire, of the See-Bishopric, and the Provincial System. They are to be found in Keble's Hooker.*

But we now urge the See-Bishopric upon the Church, not as an isolated notion, not as a sectarian or denominational thing—but as merely one element of the great system of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, the Kingdom that is to conquer the world. We urge it simply as one of the elements of Organization in the Church. These are three in number:—First, the Apostle or Bishop in the city, having his See (*Sedes or Cathedra*) there; secondly, the Cathedral system, the Bishop's Church, in every city; and thirdly, the Provincial System, the system of Ecclesiastical Federation or Synodical Union, within the region that corresponds to the *Provincia* in the old Roman Empire.

We urge this one great system, in its three-fold perfection, in behalf of the Church herself, and her increase and progress in this great land. In behalf of this present Protestant Christianity, so broken and fragmentary, so full of prejudice, mistakes and misapprehensions, and yet so abundant in personal faith, and energy, and liberal free-handed zeal. And in behalf of humanity itself, which, in our great cities, is beginning to suffer the unutterable woes that poverty suffers in the great cities of Europe. We say, give us the power to organize the Church as in days of old, and our Bishops, our Clergy, our Deacons, our Laymen and Laywomen, will do, in our cities, the work that was done of old, and is now but poorly done by Protestant Societies and Romish Monastic Orders.

We call upon the Church, in her Great National Council, her General Convention, for these elements, this system of Organization, in behalf of the one nation that has the most business ability, the most organizing power, of any nation in the world, since the Roman people; perhaps, more even than

*Keble's Hooker, Eng. Ed., Vol. III, p. 184.

they. We say, Organize the Church by the See-Bishopric, the Cathedral System, the Synodical System, and, at once, you open endless progress to the Church, union to all American Christianity; and to all humanity a new era in all our cities; to poverty, disease and distress, once more the great work done by the *Organized Christianity* of each city, that of itself won the world to Christ.

And this we ask, that the Church may have it in her power to avail herself of the peculiar gift of the nation, the gift of Organization. We ask that the Church should make the See, the Cathedral, the Provincial System, her own, in order that the men who have the great national gift of organizing, administrative and executive ability, may have room and freedom to work for Christ; a basis for their peculiar abilities in the City and in the State, that they may be enabled to work for the Gospel in this land, as God has given them the talent.

This is the great business of this next General Convention. In the first place, to remove all obstacles to the See movement; to put our Constitution and Canons in such a position, that the Churchmen of every city may be enabled to elect their Bishops, to build their Cathedral, and thus to establish their local centre for Church work, of all kinds, in that city and the region round about. And next, we look for an arrangement, whereby all the Bishops and Dioceses of a given region, whether it only comprises the State, or more States than one, in extraordinary cases shall be enabled to combine in common work, Missionary, Educational and Philanthropic, over the whole region.

In order to do this, we ask first, that all obstacles, in the way of this action, be removed from our Constitution and Canons; and secondly, that our General Convention leave us no more under Congregational and Presbyterian ideas; but that they *solemnly recognize* and *set forth* our System in its elements and in its cöordinate unity—the Bishop or Apostle in the city, called from the city, residing in the city, with his See-House there, and his Church there.

And again, the Bishop's Church, his Cathedral, the beauty of holiness in worship and in work, the model Church to the

City and Diocese, of Liturgic Worship, of Church Music, of all the offices of Christian devotion, the centre of Christian benevolence, of good works among the poor, and sick and diseased; the centre, also, of Christian education, the Church to which the orphan and the widow will look forever with the eyes of hope and faith in Christ, and of thankfulness to their Father in Heaven. We want a clear acknowledgment and setting forth of this great element, this grand local realization of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth; this local habitation, which places the Bishop at once in his true position upon earth, as the Apostle of Christ to a sinful and miserable world; which makes him, as in the days of old, the Angel of the Church in that city.* We want the Cathedral fully recognized, in our Constitution and Canons, as a Church element and a Church centre in our system.

And then we want all these centres of the Faith coördinated as in the days of old, in a system like to the ancient provincial system, a system whereby, through all the regions of the land, the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity may, *nay, must*, meet together, and do one general work in that region,—the Provincial System of the Primitive Church. All these should be recognized, in our Constitution and Canons, as our System—all impediments to its development done away, all freedom given, and the whole coördinated canonically, so that all shall work together as *one well Organized Constitutional System*; and thus, as the Church of God in this land, we shall, at last, have the power to do the work that is before us, of uniting all Christianity in the body of one Church, in the profession of one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

Any one that aids in this work is simply helping on the grandest and the best work that the world has ever seen. Any one that impedes it, whether he knows it or not, is laboring to increase the present disorganization and anarchy of all Christianity that is not Roman Catholic; is keeping the Church disjointed, unorganized and feeble, and is promoting

*The Seven Stars are the Angels of the Seven Churches.—Rev. i. 20.

the growth and progress and dominion of Romanism in this land. For the Roman Catholic Church understands the value of the See. She will shortly have a Bishop in every city of the land. She knows the value of the Cathedral. Everywhere Roman Cathedrals are rising in our cities, and around them Schools, Hospitals, Orphan Houses. This fact of the Cathedral puts all others as denominations, their Churches as conventicles, their ministers as mere party leaders of a day. Rome knows the value of the Old System of the Church ; and as all the old Churches of the East and the West, even our Mother Church of England, have this system, so has Rome ; and here, in this land, she is now using it most energetically.

And, we forsooth ! through the sin of England towards our forefathers, and from our own folly and weakness, having the Church, and the Faith, and the Holy Scriptures, and the Episcopate, are content to be Congregationalists in fact, to remain unorganized and crippled, unable to do the duty that we manifestly have towards this great land.

We say plainly, that to restore and recognize our System, in all its elements, and in its cöordinate unity, this is to do *the greatest work for the Reformation that has been done upon the earth*. It is to shew the world that the work of Cranmer and Latimer and Ridley has not failed ; but that, as they thought, there can be a Christianity *Catholic*, but *not Roman*, pure in doctrine, holy and uncorrupt in life, with the Bible open and read by all, full of life and energy, and full of the spirit of unity and progress. This is what we may be *to this country and to the world*.

But, if we remain without the System of the Church, as we are, the disorganization of Protestant sects continues and increases. Rome, having these elements of power, gains in our cities increase of means, of population, of influence ; and, finally, we have the Romish lust of dominion and wealth on the one hand, and the lawless, godless spirit of unbelief on the other, producing among us the evils that they have in Europe for almost a thousand years. Every one, therefore, we say, that urges on the acceptance and the acknowledgment of the

Church System, its completion and organization, is preventing enormous evils for this land; is conferring upon it and upon the world illimitable blessings, whose magnitude and glory God only knows. And every one that stands in the way, and attempts to retain us in our present unorganized state, is simply laboring in behalf of religious disorganization and unbelief, and anarchy of doctrine and of morality first; and then is acting in behalf of the Roman Bishop in every city as against our own; and of Romanism, and all its evils and corruptions, political and religious, over this great land.

ART. II.—THE DECLARATION AND THE ADDRESS.

THE importance of the crisis in the history of the Church in America, indicated by the following DECLARATION and ADDRESS, can scarcely be exaggerated. Their trace is to be left deeply on Her Future. At the risk of occupying greater space than can be well spared in our present number, it has been concluded that both these papers should be preserved in the more permanent pages of the REVIEW. Nothing can so well set forth the difference between the CHURCH, and the party which would rend or revolutionize Her.

A DECLARATION OF CERTAIN CLERGY AND LAITY
OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

“The subscribers to the following Declaration, deeply moved by what they believe to be the present dangers of our beloved Church, in the open and secret tendencies which exist in it to conformity with the Church of Rome, and humbly trusting in the guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit, would make this statement of their views and feelings, for the purpose of mutual encouragement and support.

The essential principle of these tendencies is an entire subversion of the Protestant and Evangelical character of our Reformed Church. It transforms the Ministry of the Gospel into a Priesthood; Baptism into a magical rite; the Lord's Supper into the Sacrifice of the Mass; evangelical liberty into bondage to manifold observances and ceremonies; and the One Church of Christ, “the blessed company of all faithful people,” into the body of those who recognize and conform to a mere sacerdotal system.

These tendencies, already far advanced in England and in this country, are mutually aided by a subtler and less clearly pronounced sacerdotalism, which finds expression among us in an exclusive view of the Episcopal Church; in unscriptural conceptions of the sacraments; in superstitious ideas of the power of the ministry; and in a legal, rather than evangelical, view of the Christian life.

The influence of these tendencies we believe to be eminently injurious to our Church, by the reasonable prejudice which they excite; fatal to the performance of the great mission of our Church in this land, by their contrariety to true liberty and the true progress of the age; dangerous to souls by their hiding of the free grace of the Gospel; and dishonorable to Christ, by their substitu-

tion of human mediatorship in the place of the "One Mediator, Christ Jesus."

Under a deep sense of responsibility, we ask ourselves what, in this crisis, it is our duty to do?

In the first place, we feel compelled to affirm, that, in many of the pulpits of our Church, another Gospel is preached, which is not the Gospel of Christ. The Church needs to be awakened to its peril. A paramount duty is imposed upon our clergy and our Missionary Organizations, to see that, so far as they are able, the pure Word of God shall be preached every where in our land. We cannot yield this liberty and obligation to any claim of territorial jurisdiction, and we hereby express our sympathy with the resistance which is made, in this respect, to the attempted enforcement of false constructions of canonical law.

We believe, also, that the present crisis of Protestantism demands a higher degree of sympathy and cooperation among the various Evangelical bodies into which we are divided. An exclusive position, in this respect, we hold to be injurious to our own Church, and inconsistent with our history and standards, as well as with the spirit of the Gospel. In the case of those "chosen and called" to the work of the ministry by those "who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," and manifestly blessed in their labors by the Holy Ghost, we believe that we cannot withhold our recognition of the validity of their ministry, without imperiling the interests of Evangelical Religion, "despising the brethren," and doing "despite unto the Spirit of Grace." In this matter, also, we express our earnest sympathy with the resistance which is made to those false interpretations of canonical law, by which this recognition and fellowship would be restrained.

This statement of our views is made under a full sense of any responsibility which it may involve. The love and devotion which we bear to our Church, and the allegiance which we owe to Christ, will not allow us to hesitate. With kindness and charity for all who differ from us, imposing no burden upon the consciences of others, as we are unwilling to submit to any imposed upon our own, we claim only, that in the Church of our dearest affection it is our inalienable privilege to be true, in these respects, to our sense of duty to God.

ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE CHURCH THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, have formed an Association, under the title of the American Church Union, which we now cordially invite you to join. In giving you this invitation, it is due to you and to ourselves, that we should state the reasons which have led us to take this step, and, at the same time, to enumerate some of the advantages which, with the blessing of Almighty God, and under His protection, we hope to secure thereby.

The necessity for such an organization is asserted by the circumstances of the times. Social and moral evils increase and multiply on every hand. Multitudes of the young are growing up without religious education; through the press, the stage, and other agencies, the community is familiarized with scenes of lewdness, immorality and crime; the marriage contract is made contemptible in many parts of the country, by the facility with which it may be dissolved; the responsibility of the parental relation and the care of a family are to a great extent criminally avoided; the ordinances of the Gospel of Christ are disused, and the Public Worship of God is neglected. The Church, in whose divinely constituted system are contained the remedies for these and similar evils, is unable to meet the demand for her services, through lack of men and means enough to do the work which ought to be done.

But, while the aspect of the times thus calls us to put forth all our strength for God, for the Church, and for the Salvation of men, there has arisen within our fold an evil which threatens the subversion of our whole system. A movement has commenced, which, although confined to narrow bounds, and participated in by but few individuals, gives rise to just apprehensions, by the temper which it discloses, the rashness with which it is conducted, and the magnitude of the interests which it imperils. There are perhaps no principles of this Church more distinctly asserted, more thoroughly established, and better known and understood throughout the community as characteristic of our system, than those expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal, as follows:

“It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church—Bishops, Priests and Deacons; which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.”

Our great divines have maintained these principles, by arguments so conclusive, that we have taken pleasure in publishing them to the world; our people have long regarded them as settled; very large numbers of ministers and laymen of the religious bodies around us have entered our communion, through persuasion of the correctness of our position in this behalf; and even our adversaries, far from misapprehending our views on these subjects, have incessantly reproached us for exclusiveness and illiberality in holding them. It is well understood, that in her canons and ru-

brics our Church has drawn, between her own ministry and that of the denominations around her, a line of separation; that she recognizes none but Episcopal Ordination; and permits no one to officiate in any congregation, unless he be what she regards as a regularly ordained minister. (Canon 11, §1, Title I.) With similar care has she ordered, that "no minister belonging to this Church shall officiate, either by preaching, reading prayers, or otherwise, in the parish or within the parochial cure of another Clergyman, unless he have received express permission for that purpose from the minister of the parish or cure." (Canon 12, §6, Title I;) and, that "every minister shall, before all sermons and lectures, and on all other occasions of Public Worship, use the Book of Common Prayer, as the same is or may be established by the authority of the General Convention of this Church; and, in performing such service, no other prayers shall be used than those prescribed by the said Book. (Canon 20, Title I.) Under these regulations, and others, deliberately adopted, set forth by General Convention, assented to by the Clergy at their ordination, and well approved by the people, the Church has enjoyed peace within, and has rapidly extended her influence abroad.

There have been, and there are, however, individuals who have regarded, and do regard, these principles as erroneous, and these restrictions as oppressive; although, with strange inconsistency, or in inexcusable ignorance, they sought our ministry, and voluntarily submitted to its restraints. Such persons are not debarred from endeavoring to obtain relief by lawful means. Instead of taking that course, however, they attempt to effect what would be, if accomplished, a fundamental change in our system, and a repeal of most important canons, by methods without a precedent or parallel, in the history of this Church, for recklessness and injustice. Desiring a repeal of the laws, they treat them as if they were already repealed, and proceed at once to open, flagrant and persistent breach of them. To seek, by violence, results, for the attainment of which there has been provided a peaceable and orderly method; to forestall a decision, by seizing on what cannot be lawfully touched without it,—these are actions, not merely intolerable in their nature, but revolutionary in their issue. This is what is now done. The right is claimed of preaching anywhere, at pleasure, regardless of the protests of those who are canonically entitled to object; ministers of non-Episcopal communities are invited to officiate in our Churches; the intention is announced of breaking down every barrier between our Church and the religious bodies around her. If changes, so radical, as these appear desirable to any one, the proper way would be to seek them from the highest legislative council of the Church; but, as if it were felt that the lawful process would be too long, and more than doubtful in its issue, the shorter method is tried, of securing them by force, and of effecting the repeal of existing laws, by trampling them under foot, and defying the Ecclesiastical Authority to execute them. There can be no doubt what such proceedings mean;

their motive is self-will, their method is contemptuous assault of time-honored institutions, and their design is revolution.

The existence of such evils around us, and the rise of such a danger within our own household of faith, seem to justify, before God and man, our present action. We associate, as a Church Union, in order to do a conservative, defensive, and aggressive work. We unite, to maintain the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Church; to extend the knowledge of her principles and system; and to secure joint action in her defense. We pledge ourselves to yield her all loyal fidelity, to protect her Orders, Offices, and Liturgy; to assert her conservative principles against the false liberality of the day; and to secure the integrity of her catholic position, and the respect due to her laws. We are not party men; we combine for the advancement of no one set of interests or views; our platform is that broad one upon which all consistent Churchmen may stand. We desire to promote the advancement of true Church principles; to carry our distinctive Liturgical and Sacramental system to every corner of the land; to take decisive and adequate measures for the defense and protection of the Church; to uphold the canonical authority of the Bishops; and to procure respect for the laws. These are our objects; and behind them we conceal no personal designs, or sectarian or partisan ends. What we do, we intend to do frankly and openly; looking to public opinion to justify our consistency, and approve of our acts.

As a conservative association, the American Church Union will aid in upholding throughout this Church the supremacy of Law. We deny to no man, in any society, civil or ecclesiastical, the right to seek relief from what he deems to be grievances; but we insist that he shall do this in a proper way. Laws, while they exist, ought to be respected; their repeal may be sought, but it must be sought in an orderly manner. The strength of free communities lies not in standing armies, nor in centralized power, but in a wide and general respect for those laws, which they have made in their duly-elected legislatures, and to which they assent. It is to such a respect for law that the American people justly ascribe their security and attribute their prosperity; without it, our political system would ere this have fallen to pieces. But the same rule holds good in a Free Church; its safety depends on the observance of the Laws which its councils have enacted; and the duty of obedience is enforced by the consideration that the interests involved are not temporal but eternal. Nothing so rapidly demoralizes a community as the sight of open defiance of public authority; no State can bear it, nor can the Church. When, therefore, we behold our Canons deliberately broken, the principles of the Book of Common Prayer denied, the "godly admonitions" of the Bishop disregarded, and our household kept in agitation, by lawless, disorganizing and revolutionary proceedings, we deem it right, and our bounden duty, to use all suitable means of averting the dangers which impend, and of securing to the Church that respect

and consideration which, for the moment, seem in certain quarters to be lost.

As an aggressive body, the American Church Union intends to assert the principles of the Church, to extend the knowledge of her distinctive features, and to propagate her doctrinal, liturgical, and sacramental system, in a community ripe for its reception. The calls for her services and ministry were never so loud as now. By the public she is regarded as the exponent of a system, different from that of Rome on the one side, and that of the Protestant denominations on the other. It is, as a Reformed and Catholic Church, that she must address the men of this day. We aim to make her known in her true character, as a branch of the historic and visible Body of Christ; confident that, wherever she is so known, she will be respected and loved. Yet, while desiring to promote her growth and extend her influence, we hold that there should be room enough within her fold for widely different characters; that she should be comprehensive; that inside the lines, drawn by her rubrics and canons, great freedom should be allowed. We recognize the diversities of taste and temper, which must always exist among men; we would see provision made for them to any extent compatible with allegiance to principles and obedience to laws. We think that the Church should be inflexible towards the errors of the day, but at the same time indulgent to the legitimate desires, and studious of the reasonable wishes, of all within her fold.

As a defensive organization, the American Church Union intends to meet, with promptness, and in the manner which may appear most judicious and most apt to the end proposed, all attacks upon the Church, from without or from within; to test, if it be necessary, the sufficiency of our present means of discipline; and, if they should be found inadequate, to endeavor to secure, by regular and lawful methods, additional defenses for the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Church, as each may be successively threatened with detriment or destruction.

Having stated our objects, we now repeat the invitation to join us in the effort to accomplish them. We make this appeal, with confidence in the loyalty of the mass of our Laity as well as our Clergy. We believe that they agree with us, in the desire to maintain, unimpaired, principles which we have received from our fathers, which men, like Seabury, White, Griswold, Hobart, Doane, and Wainwright, defended in their writings and illustrated in their labors; that they share our opinion, that great damage to religion must ensue if the doctrines of the Church can be held in abeyance, and her laws defied with impunity; that they feel, with us, that the real glory of our Church has been her stability; that her conservative character exerts at this moment a powerful attraction, by which thousands are drawn toward her, and still greater numbers are constrained to honor and respect her; that in her communion many find peace and quiet, who revolt, in sickness of heart and in disgust, from the scenes of license and individualism else-

where presented. It is not surprising that anxiety and mistrust are felt by numbers of our people, who are justly astonished at the proceedings of those, to whom they looked for an example of constancy to duty and fidelity to engagements; and, therefore, it is most desirable to inaugurate, without delay, measures which may tend to restore confidence and peace.

We pray and seek for unity among ourselves, and amongst all the faithful in Christ Jesus; but we believe, that this is to be attained, not by sectarian alliances, based on negation, but by "maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils, and by drawing each of us closer to our common Lord, by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity and a love of the Lord's appearing." (Lambeth Conference.) Having these ends in view, desiring to "abide steadfast in the Communion of Saints, wherein God hath granted us a place; seeking in faith for oneness with Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood; holding fast the Creeds and the pure worship and order, which, of God's grace, we have inherited from the Primitive Church;" (Lambeth Conference,) and inflexible in the resolve to sustain the Constitution, Canons, Doctrines, and Principles of this Church, as interpreted by Catholic Rule and Practice, we have organized, under a profound sense of duty, and with reference to the dangers of the hour; and, in now laying this statement before the Church, we solemnly commend our cause, as that of Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order, to the favor and protection of Almighty God, and pray Him to save the right and give peace in our time."

Let us now glance at the history and reasons of these antagonistic movements, and add a few brief comments. There are three great departments of Christian Labor, which, in a peculiar manner, belong to the Church. These are, the Education of Her Ministers, the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge among Her People. By Christ She was organized, and has been perpetuated, to accomplish these ends throughout the world. It is, perhaps, the misfortune of the American Church, that all enterprises having these objects in view, are not directly responsible to Her, and wholly under Her control. The Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, representing each particular Diocese, are appointed by the General Convention, to which they report and are amenable; and we would that every other such interest was in the same situation. This would eradicate the whole system of

Voluntaryism, and enable the Church, in the name of the Church, to do the work of the Church. But whatever foundation for independent and partisan societies may have been laid by our practices in other departments, the direction of the **Missionary Enterprise** is in the place intended by the Master. In the year 1835, the Church, rising to the majesty of Her position, declared herself, through Her General Convention, *One Great Missionary Society, of which every person, admitted within Her pale by Baptism, becomes a member.* The Foreign and Domestic Societies are now immediately and wholly under Her management. The very formation of an antagonistic Association, to accomplish the same work, is, therefore, in itself, the beginning of Schism, and can only be justified on the supposition of a corruption in truth or in morals, so hopeless, that a Reformatory movement is imperative. Nothing can possibly warrant such a step, but peril to the Gospel, and the souls of the people. In any other aspect, it must be viewed with reprobation and abhorrence. Only on such ground did the Reformers defend themselves before the tribunal of the world. Will it be claimed, that the Church in America has reached such a dark and fearful crisis? Has She perverted Doctrine? On the great question of Salvation through the merit of Christ, notwithstanding some formal disagreements, we have no doubt there is, essentially, a universal concurrence. Even the most extreme views of the Sacraments, held in our own country, having so strong a warrant in the expressions of the Prayer Book, and the writings of the Greek, and Latin, and Anglican Fathers, it will not be claimed, could authorize Schism. The Choral Service, practised in the old Cathedrals of England for centuries, and there sanctioned by the usage of all parties, can never be consistently condemned in America as Romish, by men who are impressed with its adaptation and solemnity in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Ritualism kindles her altar-lights, and waves her censers, and attempts her splendors but in a single obscure Church, where, soon, unless she supports her claims, not by ceremonial, but by activities among the poor, pining, and neglected, she will, probably, be an occasion rather of commiseration than offense. Certainly, it will not

be contended, that the piety and morals of the Church are wholly corrupted, so that purity of heart and of life are confined to the members of partisan societies. Neither among them alone, can it be affirmed, burn the fires of Missionary zeal. Who accomplish, amid privations, suffering, and death, the work of God, in China and in Africa? Who are enduring toil, and encountering danger, and exhibiting the flames of an Apostolic Love, amid the prairies and mountains of the West, proclaiming the everlasting Gospel, and planting the Church, surrounded by blasphemous miners, and murderous Mormons? All plea for partisan enterprise in the MISSIONARY FIELD is removed, when we consider, that whereas, in 1835, the whole amount, contributed by the Church for Foreign and Domestic Missions, was \$33,879.75, the amount in 1867, for all purposes, including the Freedman's Commission, is \$221,109.53, the increase in the number of laborers being at least equal to that of the collections. That any corruption in the Doctrine or Practice of the Church, affording even a pretext for Schism, exists, is simply preposterous. Indeed, *collectively*, she was never so sound, so zealous, so successful. Now, under these circumstances, every movement based on the supposition that the Church is untrue, or unequal to Her Missionary work, must be, in its very essence, Schismatic. It is a public proclamation to the world of Her imbecility, or Her corruption. It is an admission before enemies, of which they are not slow to avail themselves. It is an arrogation of all piety, and all zeal, to a minority, which seems hardly reconcilable with Christian humility. It is a withdrawal of vast sums of money from the treasury of the Church, which are Her legitimate property, and might otherwise honor Her name, and extend Her influence, and accomplish Her work. But when these societies, perverted from their original design, become employed, not for the purpose of extending truth, but of producing division; when their chief members, upon annual occasions, proclaim that Law is to be repealed by its defiant violation; when they are willing to promote fellowship with Sects, by rending the unity of their own Household; when they show, that their sympathies are not with brethren, but with enemies; when, in other words, they

array themselves in open hostility to the Church, a time has arrived for bold, vigorous, and organized action. We lament the course of these erring men, in many instances influential by their position, and perhaps sincere in their blind, headlong partisan zeal. We wonder that they do not perceive, admitting even the errors they affirm, that their silent example of godliness, and their modest efforts of activity, in legitimate ways, would accomplish infinitely more for the good of the Church, and the glory of the Master, than noisy, turbulent, defiant, Schismatic association. We pray God they may be brought to milder measures, and a fraternal fellowship. But, persisting, painful as is the alternative, organization must be met with organization, energy must be met with energy, Schism must be met with Unity, rebellion must be met by Law; in other words, partisan effort to overthrow the Church, must be met by Christian effort to preserve the Church.

Whatever may be our abstract opinions of the propriety or expediency of organization, the question is practically settled, and every Churchman must choose between the radical sentiments of the Declaration, and the conservative principles of the Address. Surely, here can be but little hesitation. We sincerely hope, that the noble paper issued by the Committee of the Church Union, intended to perpetuate the Faith and Order of the Church, may never be perverted to any subordinate partyisms, but that the enterprise may always be preserved on its present broad, noble, and Catholic Foundation.

And it may not be amiss here to remark, that the Bishops, above all men, should avoid connection with the prevailing factionousness. Their relations are delicate and difficult. Their very position implies a certain dignified conservatism. They, in an important sense, represent, not themselves, but the Church. However their sympathies may incline them to fellowship beyond, rather than within, her precincts, still, they must remember, that they are peculiarly obnoxious, as perpetuating the Apostolic Succession. A high conception of their noble office, accompanied by a subduing kindness of heart and manner, especially where they possess ability and zeal, everywhere commands a peculiar respect. But let them depart

from their sphere ; let them be ever so solicitous for popularity or usefulness without the Church ; let them even glow with an honest and commendable desire for a universal unity ; nay, let them make the most willing advances to the denominations they affect, still, it will be remembered against them, that, whatever their private professions, they are the men, who, by re-ordaining those previously commissioned by the various religious bodies, constantly, publicly, offensively, proclaim the invalidity of the hands of the Presbytery. They will be charged with hollow inconsistency, until they acknowledge in practice, as well as in theory, that the authority they exercise is not confined to the Episcopate. They will be called upon to lay down their office, and forsake the Church, rather than persist in contradictions so glaring. Let them remember, that the difficulty with the enemies of Episcopacy is not to the fact that our pulpits are exclusive, but to the *principle* that makes them exclusive ; and that, when these men speak of breaking down the barriers of Christendom, they simply mean, they intend overthrowing the ORDERS OF THE CHURCH.

We may add, in conclusion, that the hopelessness of the struggle resolved on in the Declaration, makes the violence with which it is prosecuted, still more inexcusable. Where is the growth of the Church ? Is it in Ohio, or is it in New York ? What Bishops, with an Apostolic fervor, are carrying her standard over the prairies of the west, and its high mountain barriers, to the shores of the Pacific ? Increase is the Law with those devoted to the Faith and Order of the Church ; and their overwhelming numbers, aroused by the Address, and the wide-spread organization to which it has given birth, renders resistance simply an absurdity. A toleration inspired by kindness and conscious strength, is often mistaken for weakness, but an assault on the flag of the citadel, arouses, in all its majesty, the power which had so long slumbered.

ART. III.—BISHOP ELLIOTT.

At the beginning of the century, Charleston, S. C., was second to no city in America in its affluence of polite society. The gentlemen of advanced years, who had moulded her social life, were many of them Cambridge and Oxford men. Inheritors of vast wealth, with its gifts of elegant leisure and refinement, most of them had sacrificed their fortunes in the contest for American Liberty. Compelled thus in after years to struggle for subsistence and position, they had risen again to eminence. Theirs was a true nobility. Gentle birth and earnest disciplined life had been theirs. Returning opulence had restored to them their opportunities for literary and political studies. And they used them well; not for profit or for fame, but for their own satisfaction, for their families, for the society in which they moved; not to attract admiration, but to please and furnish themselves; not to astonish the world, but to refine and adorn their homes.

What was true of Charleston, was also true of the seaboard of Carolina, and perhaps nowhere more than in the town and district of Beaufort. The planters, as well as the men of a simply literary and professional life, were a high toned, honorable, gracefully cultured, thoroughly educated race, such as, nowhere in the same general proportion, is even there now to be found. Honor, however, rather than religion, furnished to them their rules of life. A remark often on the lips of the subject of this sketch, will vividly illustrate the peculiarities, in this respect, of the State in which he was born and the one in which he died. "In Carolina, I used to preach that morality without religion would not save men; in Georgia, I found I was obliged to preach that neither would religion without morality."

The father of Bishop Elliott removed from Beaufort to Charleston in 1812. He was distinguished among his compeers as an author, the founder and editor of the brilliant "*Southern Review*," and as a naturalist, especially versed in the science of

Botany. His wife was Miss Habersham, of Georgia. Thus were the honors of ancestry given to the States in which the Bishop's life was spent.

Rt. Rev. STEPHEN ELLIOTT was born August 31, 1806. He was six years old when Charleston became his home. He gives us a picture of himself in his boyish days, that is a presage of the coming man. He is speaking of the city library of Charleston.

"To that library I owed as a boy, and still owe as a man, unutterable gratitude. It seduced me from play and from idleness, and most of my spare time I spent curled up in its deep old window seats, among books and living men, from whom I derived invaluable stimulus."*

We here see laid the foundation of future greatness. Then and there only, could have been begun, and, by perpetual avidity like this, been developed, that marvellous comprehension of learning that marked his maturer age.

He was a Sophomore in Harvard University, but finished his Collegiate course in South Carolina College, in 1825. In 1827 he commenced the practice of law in Charleston. Three years later he returned to his native place, to pursue the business of his profession as he intended, but in God's providence to meet that great change which was to determine his whole future career.

Misnamed, are most "revivals" of modern days. Yet such gracious influences as pervaded the town of Beaufort in 1831, all Christians must welcome. Till the Church fills up full with life her annual round of feast and fast, even she will hail a revival of holy zeal. "Revivals" have arisen in her history that even she has pronounced "genuine;"—calm and earnest in spirit, intelligent in progress, lasting in results. The evil has been, that men have tried to produce and increase the emotional phenomena of such scenes of special religious interest, as if in them alone the Spirit's Presence were evinced. Bishop Elliott always ascribed to this Beaufort revival, and the preaching of the Presbyterian divine, the Rev. Mr. Baker, his first abiding interest in the Christian Life. Yet we have heard him say that,

* Address before the Georgia Historical Society, 1866.

so far as the Church was concerned, it was but the springing up of the seed sown far and wide in that community in the Church's services, by the ministry and preaching of the faithful and now venerable Presbyter, still the beloved Rector of that Parish. In his mind this steady sowing of the seed was the appropriate duty of the ministry. With the modern revival system, he had little sympathy, and felt little confidence in its results.* Certain "irregularities" in Beaufort were brought up in the South Carolina Convention. The substance of it was, that Dr. Baker had preached in the Episcopal Church. Bishop Elliott, then a lawyer, was one among others, fruits of that "revival," who arose and stated what had there been wrought in themselves and others. The proposed "inquiry" was dropped. We refer to this, for it has often been mentioned in that section of the country, as an instance of the beneficent effects of "union" meetings and of our Bishop's assent to such things. But such assent was not witnessed in his ministry or practised or encouraged in his Diocese. He never advocated or liked such a course. On the contrary, in his Convention address in 1859, he said, "the clergyman cannot unite in this course of things, because it would involve him in acts contrary to his ordination vows." And as to its effects, he has often been heard to lament the vast proportion of our population "lying out," "fallow," hardened and seared by the "revival" system to all further influences on that plan. And he was wont to assert the adapt-
edness of the Church alone to reach and save this very class.

As a lawyer, Bishop Elliott would have risen to greatness. But as a Christian, he gave himself to the Lord, and was soon led to sacrifice his brilliant prospects and become a minister of

* Bishop Elliott used to illustrate the working of the "revival" system, and contrast its results with those of the Church's system, by a reference to Savannah. When he first went to Savannah as Bishop, and Rector of St. John's church, there were not over 150 communicants in the city. The Methodists had at least 600. The latter had gone on with their revivals year after year, adding 50, 80, 100 at a time, and losing between while, as is their wont. The Church had gone on her quiet way, adding her yearly confirmation classes, "till now," said he in 1866, "we number 600 communicants and the Methodists are *just where they were*." And even this is understated. The actual number of the Methodists is found in 1867, by statistics, to be 550.

Christ. He was ordained Deacon in 1835, served one month in Welton, and then became Chaplain and Professor of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity, in South Carolina College.

It was a critical period in the history of that venerable institution. For fifteen years, the infidel, if not atheistical, president, Dr. Cooper, a man of restless spirit, intense energy, brilliant genius, wonderful attainments, extensive and intimate acquaintance with the celebrities of Europe, derived from personal contact, had done more perhaps than any one man in Carolina, to bring the Gospel into contempt. His election was by a majority of one vote only, and was rather the sign of the passing away of a generation of learned, skeptical men. He made no concealment of his opinions. On the contrary, he strove to impress them, nor hesitated to let his pupils see how he despised the Bible and its pretended Author. He would take his turn, nevertheless, in the College service, reading the Scriptures and going through the mockery of prayer. At length, in 1834, the long outraged Christian sentiment of the State demanded and effected his removal. Nor only so, but it was determined to teach Christianity, and its Evidences, as a part of the course of studies. "A noble literary institution was now to have emblazoned upon its portals the significant inscription, 'the Christian's God alone is worshipped in these walls.'"*

Dr. Wm. Capers, afterwards the celebrated Methodist Superintendent, was first elected to the chair of the new Professorship, but never accepted it. Professor Elliott was the first to undertake the duties of that responsible office. For four years and more, he taught the Christian Religion, from the pulpit and from his chair, and, most effectively of all, illustrated it in his calm and beautiful life. The dishonored Gospel became again enthroned in the halls of science. The young men recognized its claims and felt its power. His successor was the famed Dr. Thornwell.

Two extracts from Mr. Hanckel's exquisitely tender and appreciative memoir, give us a portrait of the outward and the inward man at this period.

* LaBorde's History of S. C. College.

"Long of limb and tall of stature, with a full and vigorous frame, thoroughly yet easily erect, with full high brow, finely chiselled features and lofty mien—with a soft, beaming blue eye, and a complexion fair and fresh, without being ruddy—exquisitely graceful in his carriage and quiet and easy in his movement, with his thin dark hair floating lightly around and from his head—his was a figure, as he passed along the crowded thoroughfare, upon which men turned to gaze, and the eyes of women rested with tenderness and veneration.

His presence, though graceful, was eminently dignified and commanding. It quietly expressed a very sensitive deference for the opinion and feelings of others—ready to hear and quick to appreciate—yet a full and steady reliance on himself. It is told of him that once at a country tavern, where he had stopped for the night, a poor inebriate was recklessly bantering the bystanders, when his attention was arrested by the appearance of the stately Bishop, and, awed and sobered for the moment by his commanding look and towering form, he turned to him and exclaimed, "And who are you? Are you a Judge? or a member of Congress? or Governor of the State? Well, if you aint any of these, you ought to be!" That which was felt by this poor fellow, has been felt by the highest and wisest and best in the land, in the same presence. Often have we watched that tall and graceful figure come swinging along the College grounds in company with grave professor or cheerful student, in serious talk or with his rich, soft, hearty laugh ringing out at some merry jest, and been conscious that a living grace was added to the picturesque scene within the bounds of the venerable school."—p. vii.

* * * * *

"A young student, little more than a boy in years, but among the foremost in his class, was standing his first examination in mathematics before the assembled Faculty. He was nervous and excited, and, as he answered the questions which were propounded to him, he kept snapping and wasting the piece of chalk which he held in his hand, until there was but a scrap left, with which to write his figures and draw his diagrams. Professor Elliott was watching his examination with curious and pleased interest, when he saw the predicament in which he was placed. Rising quietly from his seat, he strolled down the room, picked up a handful of chalk which could neither be broken or wasted, and, with a droll and inimitable grace, handed it to the excited youth. A smile, a grateful look, a "thank you, sir," in reply, and the frightened probationer was at his ease before his examiners, and passed triumphantly through the ordeal, without any more faltering or scratching of his nails on the blackboard. It was but a little thing to do, but it was kindly and wisely done." * * * p. viii.

In February, 1840, the Convention of South Carolina was called to elect a Bishop. Professor Elliott was the candidate

of nearly half the Clergy of the Diocese. It is said to have been an exciting contest, because of certain "revival" practices and tendencies that some strongly condemned while others allowed or approved. Dr. Gadsden was the successful candidate, a Clergyman of high position in South Carolina, more than twenty years the senior of Prof. Elliott, and nearly thirty years older in the ministry.

In May of the same year, he was elected first Bishop of Georgia. It was not, save in the sacred honor of the office, an attractive call. Nearly one-half the number of communicants, and more than half the strength of the Church, were in Savannah in one parish. The rest were scattered abroad, literally like sheep in a vast wilderness. Seven Clergy unanimously nominated him, and eight laity unanimously concurred. And yet this was "by far the fullest convention ever assembled since the organization of the Diocese." So says the "Report on the State of the Church." And this in a Diocese of 57,000 square miles, and over 650,000 inhabitants. A Missionary field as truly as is now Colorado and Nevada. "Nothing," writes the Bishop elect in his letter of resignation to the President of the College, "nothing but my duty to God, to whose service I have devoted myself, could have induced me to quit a station so agreeable to my literary tastes, and so important to the well-being of the College." The President, in communicating this resignation to the Board, says, "I think I do not express a sentiment which transcends the opinions of the Board, when I state my belief that no loss could well have been sustained by the Institution more to be deplored than this removal of one, who in every relation has contributed so largely to its honor and welfare."* He was consecrated in Christ's Church, Savannah, in February, 1841, by the Bishop of Virginia, assisted by the Bishops of North and South Carolina.†

To secure a competent salary, it was necessary the Bishop should have a parochial charge. St. John's Church, Savannah,

* *La Borde's Hist. S. C. College.*

† At this time Bishop Elliott had married his second wife, Miss Barnwell, of S. C., and cousin of the first Mrs. Elliott. There survive him his widow and all his children; two by the first and six by the second marriage.

was organized for him. In 1844, he removed to Montpelier to direct in person the work of female education. But neither of these extra Episcopal duties hindered him from the usual annual round of his Diocese. His journeys were, some years, 6,000 miles in extent, and in the days when railroads were just beginning to be known in Georgia. For a short time Florida also was provisionally under his jurisdiction.

His efforts in the cause of education cost him the loss of all things, as other Bishops of the Church have bitterly experienced in the same work. To human view, he failed; to human sagacity, he seemed perhaps unwise. There was on the institution a previous burden of debt. He was disposed to do everything thoroughly. He trusted, as a trustful nature is always ready to do. His was an uncalculating devotion, and, when embarked in the work, his was a chivalric sense of duty. And he was determined to save himself and the Institution, if not from ruin, yet from dishonor. Hence old unknown obligations, not incumbent on him to meet, were assumed. He lost all. His own inherited property and the fortune he acquired by marriage, all were swallowed up. Even to his library, a splendid collection of valuable and costly books, rare and precious volumes in literature, philology, law, theology, natural science, most of it once his father's, and hence the dearest of his patrimony,—to it, his sense of justice laid claim. Twenty years ago, it was sent to the block, sold and dispersed. This was a bitter trial. Out of it the Bishop came, ruined in fortune, but with integrity unimpeached. And it is not improper now to say, what few then knew, or perhaps even now know, that, when an offer was made to him by some wealthy friends to pay the debts remaining, debts contracted in the Church's work, he, with self-sacrificing heroism, resolved for a while to bear the burden and the blame, and peremptorily refused thus to be relieved.

And so he seemed to fail. The world so regards such things. As a Diocesan school, Montpelier did decline and die. It did bitterly disappoint the hopes of its founder. Yet these exhaustive efforts were not lost. All over Georgia, the seeds of future parishes were sown in these few years, in the affections of the pupils of Montpelier. Wherever one now is found, un-

der circumstances most unfavorable, there is found not only a devoted admirer of the Bishop, but a ready advocate of the Church: often waiting, almost without hope, for the Church to come and claim her own. She and her family have proved the nucleus around which gathers the rising parish. These sweet fruits of his early labors the Bishop did meet, and it was like a crown to his early hopes, that, two days before his sudden death, as the last official act of his life he laid the corner stone of a chapel at Montpelier, for which years ago himself gathered the material and drew the plan. The school is flourishing again, in other hands indeed, but doing the Church's work. It promises to accomplish, in the next quarter of a century, that which began twenty years ago to be achieved. So, usually, it is. Great projects for the good of man spring out of the full heart, and often drain the willing life. A coming generation reaps the harvest that blooms and bends above the early grave. But a glorious and beneficent thing had it been for the Church in Georgia, if the Diocese had never allowed Montpelier to decline. And a sweet satisfaction would it now be, to reflect that our lamented Bishop's heart had never groaned beneath this burden, and heaved with a sigh over the blasting of this early hope. Perhaps, too—God only knows—but, perhaps, that great heart had not so soon, so suddenly been broken. For well did the Bishop of Alabama, in his Memorial Sermon, say, after speaking of the frequent failures of fondly cherished schemes for the advancement of the Church, on the part of Bishops and Clergy, who have planned and then lamented them, "I assure you, brethren, it is these, and such like troubles, that break the spring, and prematurely snap the silver cord, of life."*

* In 1852, he became Rector of Christ's Church, Savannah, and so continued, with one brief interval, to his death.

In 1853, Rev. John Pierpont, a Unitarian preacher, challenged him, through the public prints, to a discussion. We have before us the Bishop's reply, suggesting a better mode to the lovers of truth. The history of this Unitarian movement in Savannah is suggestive. The effort resulted in nothing. Their beautiful little church edifice was sold, and is now the Church of St. Stephen's (colored) Parish.

In 1854, the yellow fever raged terribly in Savannah. The Bishop was constant in his self-perilling labors, night and day, in all parts of the city, and with all classes. In 1858, absent at the outbreak of the pestilence, he immediately re-

We have already given Bishop Elliott's views of the results of the "Revival System," commonly so called, and his appreciation, by contrast, of that of the Church. In 1846, there began and continued, for many weeks, a spiritual work among the pupils at Montpelier, of which he gives us the following account in his Convention Address of 1847.

"On the third Sunday of August, I admitted the Rev. Mr. Shanklin to the Holy Order of Priesthood, in the chapel attached to St. Luke's Church, Montpelier. This Ordination, and the preaching which followed it, were the commencement of one of the most interesting revivals of religion among the pupils of the Institute, which I have ever been called upon to witness. The Rector of the Parish—the Rev. Mr. Johnson—had been faithfully and quietly sowing the seeds of truth for a year in the hearts of these young people, and at last it pleased the Lord, under the ministrations of our newly ordained brother, to awaken many of them to a sense of their lost condition out of Christ. So soon as this outburst of feeling manifested itself, the Rev. Mr. Johnson and myself felt ourselves called upon, as the guardians of so many very young persons, to act with the utmost caution and prudence in the management of their spiritual experience. Although the feeling was deep and almost universal, we permitted no suspension of their duties or labors. We acted upon the principle, that, if the work was of the Holy Ghost, no performance of the duties of life would check its progress, and that what was to endure, if sound and true, through all the trials and temptations of life, had better be nurtured under the same severe discipline. And we found no cause to repent of our course; for, while we were gratefully conscious that there was no daily excitement goading the feelings of these children, and disabling them from discerning what spirit they were of, we were rejoiced to perceive that the work only spread and deepened, and assumed the shape of a daily searching of the Scriptures,

turned and stayed through. Such devotion made him a moral hero, in the eyes of the whole admiring and loving population.

The Bishop was a dear lover of nature; not alone in her beauties that please the eye, but in her mysteries that science must unfold. At Montpelier, horticulture in all its branches engaged his hours of relaxation. He had conservatories and gardens for flowers and fruit. An address of his, delivered in Macon, gave the results of those studies and was of great practical value. On his return to Savannah, he took up Oenology, and on his visitations through the Diocese, on the seaboard and in the mountains, in the little intervals of leisure, and even when in Cuba in 1857, for his health, he systematically pursued his researches in this science. Some Naiads, and Cyclostomæ, hitherto unknown to Naturalists, were discovered and reported by him. The "Academy of Natural Sciences," of Philadelphia, made him a member and named some of these new shells after him.

and of a deep self-examination into the motives of their actions, and into the hope which many of them expressed in Christ, their Saviour. After many weeks of probation—after a most careful and anxious examination of their grounds of faith, and after consultation with their parents, eighteen of these young persons were confirmed, and sixteen admitted to the Communion of the Church. These services were not performed until October and November; but I mention them here, in connection with the circumstances which led to the blessed result. Up to this time, we have no reason to believe that any one of these young persons was deceived in her repentance or faith. They are all steadfast, consistent young Christians, growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord."

A single sentence from another part of the same Address, tells us how he then regarded the so-called "revivals" of the age and country, and more than hints at the motives, in part, at least of those who directed them.

"But a few years since, and they (the Parishes of Macon and Columbus), were planted by a very feeble band of Christians, who determined to worship God in the way which they deemed Scriptural. Macon was the scene of the earliest attempt, but, after two or three years of labor, every thing was utterly prostrated under the effects of one of those whirlwinds of religious excitement, which are brought to bear so systematically upon our efforts."

It has been said that Bishop Elliott was a Calvinist. Probably, in his theoretical views of God's sovereign administration of His Kingdom of grace, he was something such a Calvinist as Bishop Beveridge. And if he was, he was also, especially in his riper years, as we will soon show, very much such a Churchman too. But, if he was a Calvinist, you would never learn it from his preaching. More, perhaps, than any preacher of such theological views, that we ever knew, did he illustrate Arch-Bishop Sumner's "Apostolical Preaching." Predestination, if ever he touched upon it, was not, in his discourse, heavy with eternal doom, but with present responsibility. Nor was election freighted with inevitable glory, but with precious privilege to the individual souls before him. Tender and gentle were the stately steppings of this "Messenger of the Covenant," when in God's House, and in his loving Master's name, he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ. It was from him "good news" to all anxious inquirers at the gate of Salvation, to all timid, doubting souls along the way of Life. He never broke

the bruised reed, nor quenched the smoking flax, nor held up high above reach, to feeble faith and just yearning penitence, the standard of God's acceptance. Multitudes love to recall the light and hope which, in the dark, desponding uncertainty of their first spiritual awakening, or in the "dimness of anguish," that, from another kind of preaching, had brooded over their hearts, came beaming in as he preached from such texts as these:—"I will arise and go to my Father," &c.

"What, according to the scheme of the Gospel, is the order of things? Must I approach God, or must I wait till He approaches me?"

"This is, you perceive, a practical question; and we must avoid all the metaphysics which may be made to play around it. Innumerable points connected with the Will might be discussed, which could only darken counsel by words without knowledge. But they are unnecessary here; for Christ, in His peculiar way, has passed them all by, and has made the Prodigal, out of the depths of his misery, say, 'I will arise and go to my Father.' No discussions about liberty or necessity—no cavillings about the motives which influence the Will—no question about power or impotence! The Gordian knot is cut at once by the common sense of a stern misery, and he determines to do that which he feels he can do—'Arise and go to his Father.' This is the answer to your question. The first move is required on *your* part, &c., &c."

"When you have made this resolution, you have included in the act the two conditions of salvation. You have repented and believed: repented, in that you are sorry that you have wandered away from God; believed, in that you have trusted the love of God in Christ, and have cast yourself upon His Mercy. And this view may relieve you of some of the difficulties, which are made to surround the doctrines of Repentance and Faith. They can be involved in much intricacy, and made to perplex an anxious soul; but here is our Lord's solution of them. With this Prodigal, repentance is made to be a turning away from a course of evil, and a turning unto God. No measures of repentance are described, no degree of sorrow or of tears fixed upon. It is simply a determination to change from the world to God. Sorrow for sin may accompany it, and certainly will be produced by it in the end; for the more we see of the holiness of God, the more shall we mourn over our own corruption. But it may not be very intense in the beginning of the Christian Life. Our whole change is produced by the Spirit of God, and the degree of our compunction will be regulated by Him. He may choose to work no further in you at first than to lead you to determine to arise and go to your Father. This is for Him to decide, and not for you; and, if you have made up your mind sincerely to go to God, that is enough.

Leave the Divine Spirit to deal with you as He thinks best, touching the degree of sorrow you may feel; and, as with repentance, so with faith. It is made, in the analogy of this parable, to consist in casting one's self upon the love and mercy of God. It is independent of all frames and feelings, and is simply *trust in God*; such a belief in His abounding compassion, in and through Christ, as shall lead you to go to Him, exactly as you are, trusting that He will make all the necessary changes within you."

"Your next step is confession—confession to God, and not to man. 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son;' that is, 'I have sinned against Thee, my Father in Heaven.' When you will do this, my hearer, you are fast making your peace with God; because you have at last recognized the real evil of sin to be its offense against God. * * * When a confession, therefore, such as this, falls from the lips of man, it is a sure sign of grace—a token that he has been moved by the Holy Ghost to arise and go to His Father." * * * *

"The last grace which is developed in these verses, is that sweet grace of humility. 'Make me as one of Thy *hired* servants' * * I am not worthy to be Thy son. Put me in the very lowest place, as one of Thy *hired* servants.' * * I do not ask even for the place of a slave, born in Thy house, or bought with Thy money; because they can claim Thine attachment, and Thou art bound to them by ties of interest, and obligation, and feeling. But make me as one of Thy *hired* servants, between whom and Thee there is no necessary tie; from whom Thou mayest separate Thyself at any moment, without a pang. Even this place I will be satisfied with, if so be Thou wilt admit me to Thine house."—*Sermon xxxviii.*

The exposition contained in this last paragraph is suggestive also of another topic.

And, in the next place, let us see how beautifully, in his Sermon on "*Quench not the Spirit*," he brings the young into the bonds of the Covenant, and gently leads them along the green pastures, and by the still waters, of the Church's providing:—

"One would suppose, that the very last person in the world to 'quench the Spirit' in a child, would be a Christian Parent—one, who had tasted the preciousness of Christ, the joy and peace in believing. And yet, unnatural and monstrous as it may seem, parents are often the very first. * * They bring it to the Baptismal Font; they pray that the Holy Spirit may be poured out upon it; that it may be regenerate and born again of water and of the Spirit; that it may be made an heir of Everlasting Salvation; they hear the Minister declare, that the "child is regenerate and grafted in the Body of Christ's Church," and they go away, proving by their conduct, that they have no faith in the ordinance, or in the promises of God; because they forthwith conclude, that the child cannot be, and must not be religious,

until it shall have reached a certain undefined period of life, and have passed through a certain routine of worldly experience. How much early piety is thus extinguished! * * * How many heavenward aspirations are quenched in those, of whom Christ said, 'of such is the kingdom of Heaven.' * * * The Spirit of God deals with our children, my beloved people, at a very early age; nay, we have reason to hope, from the very moment when we dedicate them to God in Baptism. Let it be our duty to guard and direct that influence, treating it as we should a tender and delicate plant, which is just pushing its feeble blade through the earth, which nourishes and yet buries it." * * *

"As the children of the Church advance in age, they pass, from the parents' teaching, under that of the ministering servants of the Lord. And they, too, must be very careful not to quench the Holy Spirit in the young. They, too, may fall into a like error, with that noticed in parents,—of not expecting the young to devote themselves to Christ; of fearing to encourage their profession, lest they may prove unsteady, inconsistent, or may fall away from their profession. My own experience has rid me very much of this fear. It has been my lot, as a minister, to be thrown very much with the young, and over the young; and, in almost every instance of early profession, I have found a very great consistency of Christian character, a very great steadfastness in the love of the Church. And I say this for the encouragement of any young persons, who may now be desirous of Confirmation in the Church of Christ, and may yet be hesitating, and fearing to profess Christ before the world. 'Quench not the Spirit.' He is striving with you now,—calling you, at a most impressive period of your life, when you have virgin hearts to offer to the Lord. Listen to the call. Be obedient to His voice of love. Follow His holy and divine guidance. Meet Him—where He loves to dwell—in the Church, and at the Altar; and you will lay up for yourselves a rich fountain of happiness for your future life."—*Sermon xxi.*

And oh! how sweetly, in his personal contact with his people in his own Parish, or in the Parishes of his Diocese, in all which there was, in many hearts, the same pastoral tie towards him, as towards the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls, how sweetly and gently he opened and cleared the way to the full treasures of the Church's Fold! And with what glad surprise, in days gone by, have some of his Clergy, who had labored in the straight plain path of taking the Catechism and Baptismal and Confirmation services as meaning what they say, and presented large classes of the young to be confirmed by him, received his warmest approval on the mode and result of their labors! "Only see the difference," he once exclaimed to us, referring to the fruitless results of the labors of other minia-

ters, equally devoted and capable ; "simply because they will put every body through the same course of experience, and expect results before they have well used the means of grace."

We make two quotations more, from an unpublished Sermon, on the text, "*I see men as trees walking.*" Gratefully do we recall the blessed effect, the utterance of the sentiments of which the first is a sample, and then the overwhelming indignation, with which, in the second, he reprobated the conduct of some Christian pastors entrusted with the cure of souls :—

"The second cause of confusion is when sanctification is confounded with justification, and we are expected to bring forth and exhibit all the fruits of the Spirit, at the moment when we first turn to Jesus as our Saviour. And it is just this point, which has brought about the state of things which we find pressing upon so many inquiring minds. They are distressed, because, after some effort in the religious life, they are not enjoying feelings which really belong only to the matured and experienced Christian. * * * Instead of coming into the Christian Church to ripen, and to feed upon the nourishment which Christ has placed there for the growth of His faithful, those who are stretching forth their hands, if haply they may find Christ and lean upon Him, are taught to keep aloof. * * * The fruits of the Spirit are called for, when the seed is really just being sown ; the experience of a man is demanded from a babe, just opening its eyes on the spiritual world." * * *

"Who would be bold enough to quench the smoking flax ? Not I ; for I might crush, by my harshness, this infant life, which I am appointed to cherish. * * * The point to be determined is, not how much life it has, but whether it has any life at all. * * * When this can be determined, there can be no hesitation. It is the duty of every minister, and every Christian, to speed on the good work, and not to criticise it, and measure it, and weigh it, and exact promises from it. As well might a conclave of nurses surround a new born child, and refuse to let it live, because it was not as large as some other child, or as beautiful, or as lively, or because it did not promise, while it was yet struggling for life in its new world, never to be sick as long as it lived."

The quotations already made, evince how highly our Bishop appreciated, and how truly he loved the Order and the Teaching of the Church. We advance to the further point,—his view of the Church as a visible, Divine Institution, with an appointed Ministry. In the printed volume of his sermons, we refer to Sermon xxxiv, *The tests of Truth and Error*. 1st Jno., iv., 5, 6. He enumerates but two. And what are these ? We

give them in his own words. He had previously said :—"All along the history of the Church are spread out the various heresies, which have disfigured and perverted the truth," and he sums up his first test, and states his second, in the following maxims :—

"When a spirit is not accepted by the children of God, beware of it! When it does not harmonize with the doctrinal teachings of the Church, turn away from it! It is false, and will run rapidly into error. This is one test. But there is yet another, quite as important, which must be kept before the mind; and that is, that any doctrine is necessarily error, which strikes at the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, or elevates anything above Him in reverence and in worship."

Christ and His Church! The one The Truth, the other the Pillar and Ground of the Truth revealed! Such is his coupling of the only tests here mentioned. Again, in that beautiful discourse on "Subordination and Uniformity," Sermon xlii, *"See that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount :—*

"That arrangement," he asserts, *"which separates the Ministry into a three-fold Order, Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, was begun by Christ Himself, and was perfected by His Apostles, acting under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. As there was no parity in earth or Heaven, so did Christ permit no parity in His Church."*

And, again, in his Sermon at the Consecration of St. John's Church, Savannah, May 7, 1853, from the text, *"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world,"* hear him enumerate the three great notes of "evidence, that we are of that Church with which Christ promised to be, to the end of the world."—"Soundness in the Faith"—(the Bible on the Lecturn and the Prayer Book on the Lord's Table)—the *"Due administration of the Sacraments,"*—"the *"Ministerial Succession."* His elaboration of this third note is published in the volume of Sermons. Those who doubt, may there find, to their surprise, how bold and uncompromising are his assertion and defence, and know how low a Churchman Bishop Elliott was. There was nothing low in the view and value of anything revealed, in the mind and heart of such a man But there were

breadth of view, and largeness of comprehension. The pine is lofty, when but a hundredth part so high as the mountain, and strikes the eye less by its altitude than by its breadth and proportion. Bishop Elliott held all truth dear. Perhaps some would have had in greater prominence his "Church Principles," distinctively so called. But we know he held them, and, when his mind did seize upon and present them, it was with a unity peculiar to himself, and with a consequent clearness and vigor, that surprised his delighted hearers. "Why does not the Bishop preach that, oftener?" some have asked. Doubtless it was his estimate of the due proportion of Faith, that decided his course. He did dwell, more and more frequently, as his life advanced, on these distinctive features of the Church; doubtless, too, because of his growing appreciation of their importance to the preservation and perpetuation of the intrinsically precious Truth. We take up his own words, over the bier of that champion of the Apostleship in the Episcopate, his brother of Alabama, and, in them, assert of him, "He knew no other Master than Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and, next to Christ, Who is the Head, he loved the Church, which is His Body, with his whole heart."

As to the relation of the Church to surrounding denominations, he did prefer the theoretical distinction of Archbishop Bramhall, and some of the divines of the 16th century, of *Churches, perfect or imperfect*, to the one now prevalent, *Church or no Church*. But he was the last to compromise the Church by sinking her claims, while yet, such was his loving, courteous nature, he did gain the affection of all who knew him. His regard to the rubrics, this fact will illustrate. Other Bishops, and especially one, now gone to an honored grave, noted as a stickler for the strict interpretation of the rubrics, once scouted the idea advanced by our Bishop, that it was his duty, in the service of the Ordinal, himself to go through with the whole wearying succession of Litany, Examination and Ordination of the Candidates, Ante-Communion administration, and Post-Communion, simply because the rubric so directs. And, time after time, have we known him, in this warm climate, with ample clerical force at hand, perform it all, to his

own exhaustion, simply because the rubric gave him no option. Yet, in his Convention Address, in 1855, while discussing the "Memorial" movement, after asserting that the Church's "power is . . . in her Scriptural Orders, her settled Faith, her unchanging ritual," he does advocate a wise discretion in adapting, without violation of the rubrics, the different distinct Sunday Services to the circumstances of the case.

Bishop Elliott used to preach, when not in the robes of his office, in the black gown, that badge of Puritanism, as some regard it, that "gloomy symbol of sin and death," as one preacher has lately called it. But let us note his defence of the practice. When he went into the pulpit to speak as a teacher, in his prophetic office, he put off the robes in which he offered, for the people, their sacrifice of prayer and praise, or distributed the consecrated emblems of the great Sacrifice. "I, by so doing,"—his own words,—"*exalt my Priestly Office*, by laying aside the peculiar dress of the Priest." Think as we may of the weight of the reason, again we see a proof of Churchly views entertained by him concerning the sacred ministry.

One element of sound Churchmanship is conspicuous in our lamented Bishop, i. e., fidelity to the standards of the English Church. In his first Convention Address, 1841, he says:—

"In adhering to her (the Anglican Church) embodied doctrine, and her wonted practice, we cast no contempt upon ancient Christianity, but only say, we prefer her judgment, as a Church, in regard to it, over that of any that may be offered to our acceptance, from whatever quarter. *Catholic antiquity is no longer an open question in the Church.*"

Twelve years later, commenting on the fall of the Bishop of North Carolina, he says:—

"Any man is in danger, who becomes discontented with the Scriptural principles on which our Reformation was planted, and sighs after practices and usages, of which he thinks Protestantism has unjustly deprived him."

He then re-iterates the assertions of his Primary Address, and still further insists upon them, and concludes in these pregnant words:—

"Here lies the fallacy of the whole matter, in assuming that our formularies are of modern date,—the spawn of Protestantism,—instead of knowing and feeling, that they concentrate the essence of Catholic Antiquity, as extracted by men, before whose Patristic learning the best of our modern scholars might well hang their heads."

We may easily conclude where, on questions now beginning to agitate the American Church, Bishop Elliott stood. Something in the Ritualistic movement would, perhaps, commend itself to his love of the comely and appropriate, as worthy of God's worship, and useful to the worshipper,—if not contrary to the allowance of the Church, or pushed onward, as it often is, in contempt of the counsel, and in defiance of the authority, of those over us in the Lord. Much of it would fall, for this reason, under his unsparing condemnation. And yet, while declaring himself opposed to "Ritualism," then so termed, he declined to unite with the twenty-eight Bishops in their "Declaration." The reasons are before us, in his own hand. They are the marks of that beautiful harmony of his character, the union of strength and gentleness, intense devotion to principles, and yet delicate regard to the sensibilities, and especially the rights of those who might not agree with him. The substance of his reasons was, that it was an extra-official act, and hence unwise as a precedent, and injudicious toward the evil itself.

In the matter of Episcopal authority, he held high views, although almost never, in his jurisdiction, was that authority felt. That generally professed, but so conveniently forgotten, principle, of obedience to the Bishop, is the distinctive feature in our Church Polity. But when this authority, in exercise, crosses self-will, or thwarts individual judgment, on matters great or small, to the winds go principle and practice. No father of a Christian family feels his advice so contemned, his judgment so opposed, his authority so persistently denied, his errors so ruthlessly paraded, as the 'Father in God.' Of what use is our Episcopal theory, if the Episcopate be not, in itself, respected and obeyed? Such were his views, concerning the Bishop's right to rule, though seldom was he made to feel the want of submission, in his own Diocese. It was not often that

he exercised his authority, and then, with such a reasonableness, and in such a loving way, that obedience was the submission of both mind and heart, and far outran compulsion. But in the disturbances of the Christian family, in England and America, he felt, that so much loss accrued to the Church's peace and power, from the glaring inconsistency between the profession and the practice of the sons of the Church in this matter of "Canonical obedience." And this, too, in his impartial view, without reference to the Bishop's peculiar theological tenets. It was as apparent in Massachusetts, as, in days gone by, in New Jersey. A profound modern thinker has shown, that, when earnest men take opposing views of the same great truth, the truth lies not so much in a golden mean as in a grander truth than either have as yet beheld, which embraces both. Some few men so comprehend it now. While they live, noisy partisans misunderstand them. When gone, their contemplated, completed life, towers above these lesser divinities, toward that clear light and that lofty height, where truth's harmonies are all outspread before Him, Who is their source. Blessed be God for the faith in each other's soundness, the patience with each other's minds, the charity towards each other's hearts, which the example of our first 'Father in God' has taught his revering children.

In the breadth and equipoise of his character, were united traits that balanced each other:—dignity and affability,—strength and gentleness,—acknowledged superiority and unvarying courtesy. And beneath the calm, self-assured equanimity, there was in repose a vehement indignation, rarely aroused, and a resistless energy, unsuspected till the occasion called it out. One who heard him at the General Convention, in 1859, in Richmond, wrote to a friend in Georgia, "I heard your Bishop yesterday, and he does preach like a lion." A forcible, and often a beautiful, description of one who, usually, like his Master, gentle as a lamb, yet, in his intenser moods, might remind us of the words of prophecy, first applied to that Master Himself, "Who shall rouse Him up?" In the photographic likeness prefixed to his printed Sermons, we see the kindling of the holy fire. It is not the expression usual to him, nor that his friends love best. But perhaps it does most

befit the unblenching spirit that there looks out, which, through reproach and opposition, through suffering and through toil, "*in utroque paratus*," secured the steady consistency of his finished course.

One of those occasions, that try the material of which men are made, occurred in the House of Bishops, in 1844. A memorial, preferring charges against the Bishop of New York, was introduced, signed by gentlemen of unquestioned truth, personally known to Bishop Elliott. Men will even wonder, that any Bishops opposed investigation, and that some, who knew Bishop Onderdonk best, refused to examine the affidavits. The purity of their lawn was aspersed. By refusing investigation, the stain of one was the disgrace of all. So felt the venerable Otey. "Duty to Bishop Onderdonk," says he, "as well as duty to the Church, required me no longer to hesitate." And when other and older Bishops did hesitate and refuse, our Bishop, one of the four youngest in office, and the very youngest in years, arose and said, that he knew the gentlemen whose names were appended to the memorial; and that, if others would not, he must consent to investigate. He scarcely knew Bishop Onderdonk. What he had seen, had favorably impressed him. But duty compelled him. Such was his own brief statement of the case.

For a long time it was customary to call this prosecution a party prosecution. The name of Bishop Otey should ever have stifled that suspicion, and what has been said of Bishop Elliott, should make its revival impossible. Among the determined opponents to any action, one, whose recent grave his deserted Church cannot greatly honor, furiously declared, that the man, who should touch the case, would be ground out beneath the heel of the Church.

Very pleasant, now that the violence of those days has passed, is it to reflect, that the Church's calm voice has approved the course then pursued. And pleasant also is it to note, how they, who thus stood up in bold vindication of the purity of their Order, afterwards drew closer to each other in their views of the relative importance of the polity and life of the Church. How Bishop Otey, bred in the school of Ravenscroft, to deem

Apostolical Order indispensable to the transmission of Evangelical Truth,—and Bishop Elliott, accustomed more to delight himself in the clear possession of the truth, than contend about the mode of its preservation,—how these two children of the light drew, as they neared their now entered rest, more and more together, till, even this side the veil, in almost everything, they saw “eye to eye.”

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the scheme, ten years ago so grandly conceived, in which Bishop Elliott's head and hand and heart were engaged. Visionary, many deemed the ideal University of the South. But he, and they who acted with him, and they who understood them, believed more and more firmly, that it was a coming reality. Never were auspices of a great enterprise more favorable. The required endowment had been secured from a mere fraction of the ten Dioceses. The pledged wealth was still increasing, and would have been poured in. Only, the storm that spread ruin over the land has shorn the beautiful vision of its former magnificent proportions.

During the war, Bishop Elliott preached and published a Sermon on Samson's Riddle. “*Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.*” In it, out of all-devouring war, some morsels of sweetness were extracted. We have since heard him assert, that one glorious truth, one grand lesson for the nation and the world, was offered us, worth all the pangs and losses of the bitter struggle. And that was, “*the Unity*, again so conspicuously displayed, *the Unity of the Church.*” She had stood the test. A few weeks previous to the cessation of hostilities, he found, amid the ruins of St. Philip's Church property, in Atlanta, a bit of printed paper. Not long after the war had closed, he thus narrates the incident. “I picked it up, and my eye fell directly upon these words. ‘The office of a Bishop has descended from generation to generation, from the Apostles' times.’ It went directly to my heart, as a ray of unspeakable comfort; it was a voice from the midst of earthly ruin, saying unto me, and, through me, to the Church, ‘Be not dismayed; the Church shall arise from Her ashes, and put on the beautiful garments of Her Holiness, and no matter what man may do unto Her, She

shall be indestructible in Her ministry of truth.'” While the war was raging, in that unsurpassed Pastoral he sent forth his greeting in the Lord. We are willing to put this only Pastoral of the House of Bishops in the Confederacy, side by side with its contemporary of Philadelphia. Its whole burden was, “charity, the very bond of peace.” It was entirely from his pen, on a single evening. And, when the time came again that tried, not only the material of which men were made, but the added graces that through Christ and the Holy Ghost are acquired, the graces of patience and trust toward God, and forgiveness and love towards men, he, the representative man of the Church South, rose sublimely above the ruin of his earthly hopes. All his ideas of Constitutional liberty had been trodden under. All his rapt predictions, that, as from the lips of inspiration, had rolled over the land, and only needed success to stamp them prophetic, had died out in present failure. All his expectations for the servile race, for whose welfare he plead and prayed, and whose very existence he felt, as a people, was at stake, had come to naught.* He stood, again, by the grave of his brother Bishop, slain in battle, and owned all he then or elsewhere had ever said or done. “Before all Israel and before the sun,” he would have the record placed. Only “silence” for the past was demanded, and he cast all behind his back. The Church respected the grandeur of his grief. In the silence of the calm that followed, the parted family of God has re-united itself on earth. To that union we feel that no one contributed more than our lamented Bishop. The bold,

* In this great peace-offering we make to the permanent literature of the whole Church, we purposely avoid more than a passing allusion to views political and social, that formed a portion of the very being of such men as Bishop Elliott. In his Convention Address of 1861, his convictions as to when and how political events affected the states of a Bishop and a Diocese, are clearly and succinctly given. In his ‘Address,’ in 1866, his vindication of the peculiar institution, and of the Southern Church, is long, full, loving, and clear. It has not been answered. As to the future of the emancipated race, he was full of sad forebodings. Many of us think we can trace the progress of an inevitable fulfillment of his misgivings. It may suggest a line of thought to some minds, to record an oft expressed sentiment of Bishop Elliott, on his return from Cuba. We give it as we heard it from his own lips. “If slavery here was what it is in Cuba, I would be an abolitionist to-morrow.”

open stand he took, owning all, and asking man's pardon for none, helped to lay deep and broad, in the open view of God and man, the foundations of a true, because an honorable, and hence a lasting peace. Certainly, no one more rejoiced over this blessed result, or has better described it :—

“Men listened to hear how the Church would speak and act in her great Council, called up from all parts of the lately convulsed and agitated country. And grandly and sublimely did she bear herself in the sight of the world. Instead of anathemas, there were warm greetings of renewed friendship, and tears of reconciled love; instead of excommunications, there was hearty welcome, and assurances of rejoicing hearts over the healing of the wounds which had been produced by political strife. Everything was done that a divine charity could dictate, and the action of the Convention satisfied every one, that there was no longer any ground for a continued separation.”—*Convention Address*, 1866.

It was his last address to his gathered Diocese. It was his legacy of peace to us, and the whole Church. In the midst of his active administration, never more hopeful of the Church's rising life and rapid growth, in the vigor of his age and the height of his power, he died as he had wished, “suddenly,” not unprepared. On the Feast of the Nativity of the Prince of Peace he was laid to his repose, while the Angels' song was sounding through our united Church, and round our warring world. He was the thirteenth Bishop who, since peace had begun to be disturbed, had entered into rest;—six on this side the battle's edge, and six on that, and one who, born on this side, and sustained by that, and loved in both, now sleeps in the far-off eastern grave.

“So draw we nearer day by day
Each to the other, all to God.”

Again that salutation of Heaven to earth is sounding, “Peace to men of good will.” Towards all parts of our country, and towards every quarter of our ransomed world, over the graves of our honored Fathers in God, we send forth our greeting of peace and good will. Every “son of peace” in our united family will take up the strain, and, over their finished lives, exclaim in thankful adoration, “Glory to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men.”

CHRISTMAS, 1867.

ART IV.—SKETCHES OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

GRINDAL alone, amongst all the English Prelates, maintained his place by repeated submission. Elevated under the doubtful policy of the latter years of King Henry, he acquiesced, with but a feeble opposition, in the entire reformation under Edward the Sixth. Like several of his brethren, he reverted, not unwillingly, under Queen Mary, to the doctrines and habits of former years ; and even passed sentence, though with evident reluctance, and after earnest persuasions to reflection and recantation, on one of the martyrs, a poor fisherman of Cardiff. This good man, whose name was Rawlins White, had what the Bishop had not, a faith that could suffer the loss of all things ; for he died at the stake, while Kitchin alone, of all the Bishops whom the accession of Queen Elizabeth found in office, conformed, and was unmolested. He was then more than fourscore, and never afterwards appeared in Parliament ; but died on the vigil of All Saints, 1563, and was buried at Matherne, near Chepstow, where the Bishops of Llandaff had a residence.

At the same spot, after eleven years and fifteen days, the next Bishop, Hugh Jones, found a grave. The See had remained vacant three years ; and Grindal had hoped in vain that the venerable Coverdale might there conclude his days ; but Coverdale died in his willing retirement. Bishop Jones, who was of New Inn Hall, Oxford, had been a parish Clergyman in Wales, and afterwards Vicar of Banwell, on the opposite shore of Somerset. It is remarkable, that he was the first Welshman who had presided over this Welsh Diocese, since the conquest of the land by Edward the First. He died at the age of sixty-six ; and, of a Bishop of these days, so little known, it is something to be assured that he had not adhered to that clerical celibacy which in his youth was a law, and which, till his death, Queen Elizabeth would have made a custom.

At Matherne, also; reposes the next Prelate, William Blethyn, who was also a Welshman, and of the same College, and was also a husband and a father. His Consecration, in 1575, was the last performed by Archbishop Parker, and his death occurred in October, 1590, after an Episcopate of which our ignorance permits us to hope all things, except eminence.

An eminent name is that of Gervase Babington, who, in August, 1591, was consecrated by Whitgift, his old Master at Trinity College, Cambridge. His family was of Nottinghamshire, and not without note; but he became Chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke; and this connection brought him to the West. The admirable Countess, whom Jonson celebrates,

“Sidney’s sister, Pembroke’s mother,”

versified many of the Psalms, and received assistance from the Chaplain, himself the author of a Conference between Man’s Frailty and Faith, and of a Comment on the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Lord Pembroke had estates and influence in South Wales; and Babington, after being made a Prebendary of Hereford, and Treasurer of Llandaff, succeeded to the now impoverished Bishopric, from the name of which he would sometimes, in good humor, drop the first syllable, saying that the “land” was alienated. A most impressive and useful preacher, he had the power of elevating at once the affections of his hearers, and holding them up till the end of his sermon. At the age of forty he was consecrated. At forty-five he was translated to Exeter; and it was in the intermediate time, that he published his Comment on the Pentateuch, uniting to a pious life the laborious industry of a learned Theologian.

It was not till 1588, that the entire Bible was given to the Welsh in their own language. The New Testament had been published twenty-one years before; the Old was now translated, and the New revised, by William Morgan, of St. John’s College, Cambridge, Vicar of Welshpool, in the Diocese of St. Asaph. This most evangelical service done to his native land, and well remembered there, led to his elevation, in 1595, to the See of Llandaff, from which he was translated, in 1601, to that in which he had been a pastor.

His successor, Francis Godwin, was the first son of a Bishop, for many ages, who had himself attained the Episcopal Office; if we except, in corrupt times, some supposed instances of illegitimacy. He was the son of Thomas Godwin, the good Bishop of Bath and Wells; and he had married the daughter of another Prelate, who had been much revered for his pious earnestness, Bishop Woolton, of Exeter. Born in Northamptonshire, he pursued his studies at Christ Church, Oxford, and became an ingenious philosopher, an accomplished scholar, and a distinguished inquirer into antiquities. At that time he wrote a curious work, called "*The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither,*" which was never published during his lifetime, but in which his conjectures anticipated some of the most signal discoveries of science. He also invented a correspondence by signals, which he suppressed; till, many years after his elevation to the Episcopate, it came to the quick ears of King James the First, as if it had been some dangerous secret. His pursuits and talents made him the friend of the learned Camden, and the accomplished Lord Buckhurst, whose Chaplain he became; and the station of his father secured to him the Rectorship of Sandford-Orcas, and the Vicarages successively of Weston-Zoyland and Bishop's Lydiard, in Somersetshire, with a Prebend in the Cathedral of Wells. In 1590 he travelled into Wales, with Camden; and, doubtless not without assistance from that Master in history, he had just published his Catalogue of English Bishops, when he was added to the catalogue. It has been thought that in that book he displayed some puritanical prejudice against the Prelates, before the Reformation; but the memory of their times was then recent, and was not yet tinged with a romantic hue. Along with his See, he was permitted, on account of his small revenues, to hold the benefice of Kingston-Seamoor, on the Somersetshire shore. His habits were studious, and his acquaintance with the affairs of the world is said to have been limited. In the early years of his Episcopate, the alarm of the Gunpowder Plot, and other rumors, provoked a rigid enforcement of the laws against Popish recusants. A Curate, somewhere on the border of South Wales, refused to bury a woman of that class: her

friends were enraged ; the country people, among whom it is rather surprising to find at that period any favor towards Rome, arose in tumult ; and Godwin, with his neighbor, Bishop Bennet of Hereford, was compelled to flee for his own safety. In 1616, Bishop Godwin published, in Latin, *Annals of the Reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth and Mary*, and a Latin edition of his *Catalogue* ; and, in the following year, on the death of Bennet, he was transferred to the adjoining Diocese.

Another writer of history, and friend of Camden, succeeded at Llandaff: this was the excellent Bishop George Carleton. His father, Guy Carleton, was Keeper of the Fortress, since sung as "Norham's castled steep," upon the Tweed ; and he was trained under that Apostle of the North, Bernard Gilpin, whose life he wrote with affectionate reverence. More than forty years he had spent at Oxford ; first, as a scholar of St. Edmund's Hall ; then, as Fellow, and at length, as Warden, of Merton College ; and he was now fifty-seven years old, and carried along with him, not only his learning in Divinity, but, what Camden praised, his love for eloquence and poetry. His *Heroic Characters* were inscribed to Sir Henry Neville, whose widow, the daughter of Sir Henry Killigrew, he afterwards married. It was either not long before or not long after this marriage, that he passed from his College to the Episcopate ; and, having been consecrated in July, 1618, was placed, in the following autumn, at the head of the deputation sent by King James to the Synod of Dort. As one of the elder school of Theologians, he concurred in the Calvinistic decisions of that Assembly, but offered, in the name of the English Church, a protest against the parity of ministers. The Dutch States, in their letter to the King, extolled Carleton as the "image and express likeness of virtue ;" for they had been impressed with his grave dignity ; and, soon after his return, the royal approbation was declared, by his removal to the See of Chichester.

Theophilus Field was the son of a distinguished preacher, the Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Like Bishop Babington, he was pat-

ronized by an Earl of Pembroke ; but, unhappily, he also supposed that he had influence with the then all-powerful Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, or with that great man who then presided over the highest court in England, Lord Bacon. A gentleman named Egerton had a suit in Chancery, and Field and two others undertook to procure a stay of the decree against him, and a new hearing, and received from him, in return, a recognizance for the payment of six thousand pounds, to be divided between themselves and "some honorable persons." Buckingham would not interfere ; and two or three years after, when Field had become Bishop of Llandaff, the whole transaction was exposed, among the charges again the great Chancellor, "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." The Bishop pleaded in the House of Lords, where the matter was laid open, that he had yielded only to the solicitations and tears of a friend to whom he owed his very life; protested that, of the principal sum, he was to have received nothing ; but admitted that, if he had an eye to some private advantage to his wife and children, he had sinned against God in not relying entirely on Him for their maintenance. After this weak apology, the Lords voted that he should receive an admonition from the Primate, in the Convocation-House ; but permitted him, though by no means with unanimity, to retain his seat before the admonition. An incident is also told, which indicates that he was far from meeting the Apostolic requisition, that "a Bishop must be blameless." He once invited Bishop Davenant to dine ; who, not much pleased with some of the company, retired soon after dinner. As his host offered to light him down the stairs, Davenant, a man of strict holiness of life, said, with a significance which was felt, "My Lord, my Lord, let us lighten others by an unblamable conversation." Bishop Field, however, published in 1624, "*A Christian Preparation to the Lord's Supper* ;" and, in 1627, he was appointed to succeed Laud in the adjoining Diocese of St. David's.

The See of Llandaff, now impoverished and obscure, was long supplied with a succession of Prelates, whose private worth and pastoral faithfulness may have been known and written on high, but who left few memorials beyond their own

generation. Such was William Murray, who was translated from the Irish See of Kilfenora, in 1627, and died in 1638, without further removal. The Diocese could not have much shared in that ardor of religious discussion which was so widely spread throughout England ; for he reported, in 1633, in reply to the inquiries of Archbishop Laud, that there was not in it a single schismatical minister, or stubborn non-Conformist, and but one lecturer. Something might be due to the retired and rural position of the people ; something, possibly, to the discretion and mildness of the Diocesan.

On his death, Morgan Owen, the son of a Clergyman of Caermarthenshire, and himself at one time Master of the Free School at Caermarthen, was elevated to his place ; probably through the influence of Laud, who had noticed him as “ a useful man, and zealous of the Church,” and had procured for him his Doctorate. He was of Hart Hall and Jesus College, Oxford ; and it was one of the articles in the impeachment of the Primate, that Bishop Owen, with his connivance, had enclosed the South yard of the Church of St. Mary at Oxford, and built a porch, amongst the carvings of which was an image of the Virgin with a babe in her arms. This was at his own charge, for he was somewhat wealthy. Complaints against him, as well as several other Bishops, went up, in 1641, to the Long Parliament ; and he was one of those who, having signed the protest against the proceedings of Parliament in their absence, were sent to the Tower. When he was brought to the bar for this, and charged with treason, he said that he had signed through ignorance and indiscretion. He paid a thousand pounds, as composition, and died about three years after, having endowed his old School at Caermarthen with thirty pounds a year. At his death, he was on the verge of sixty ; and he left the nation in arms, and the Church dismantled and tottering.

The ecclesiastical edifices, also, could not but hasten to decay, during the sixteen years of confusion which ensued. We can imagine how desolate must have been, beyond others, the lonely village Cathedral at Llandaff, where no popular preacher could gather a multitude, and the familiar, majestic sounds of

the Liturgical services were silent. During that period, the piety and moderation of the Archdeacon of St. David's, Hugh Lloyd, had found some favor, even from the opponents of his Order. He had begun life as a servitor of Oriol College, Oxford; had then become a Fellow of Jesus College, the College of the Welsh; for he was from Cardiganshire, and had afterwards been Rector of two parishes in Glamorganshire. Deprived of his place, the father of a numerous family, he was reduced to close expedients for their subsistence, and published at this time a Latin schoolbook. But, in his later elevation, he was often heard to say, that he had lived then not less to his satisfaction than as Bishop of Llandaff. To that See he was consecrated in November, 1660, six months after the Restoration; and there, for seven years, in primitive piety, and with paternal moderation, he presided, among his countrymen. In 1662, he published a Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese, at a time when the Act of Uniformity was the cause of much dissension and distress; but he was not inclined to rigid measures, nor to retaliation. At the advanced age of seventy-three, he assumed his Episcopal charge; and in the summer of 1667, at fourscore, was laid with his predecessors, probably at Matherne.

The Archdeacon, Francis Davies, who was born and had been beneficed within the Diocese, and had also been a Fellow of Jesus College, now succeeded, and, like Bishop Lloyd, survived seven years. Under the Commonwealth, he had kept a school, and afterwards, going up to London, had been Chaplain to that good Countess of Peterborough, who sheltered the old age of the saintly Archbishop Usher. He was the author of a Catechism explanatory of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; and it was by such works, that the principles of the doctrine of Christ were deeply fixed in the minds of the rural population. His grave is at Llandaff Cathedral. He was one among the many Bishops of the times of the Stuart sovereigns, who died unmarried.

The Welsh surnames are little distinctive; and thus it happened, not only that another Bishop Lloyd succeeded; but that, while he was upon the bench, three other Bishops of the

same surname, and one, who besides had the same Christian name, received Consecration ; and that a Bishop Lloyd within that time presided over each of the four Welch Dioceses ; this William Lloyd at Llandaff, another William at St. Asaph, Humphrey at Bangor and John at St. David's. Of these, the first had been a curate at Deptford ; and, being an active and laborious man, was, in 1678, transferred from Llandaff to Peterborough.

Through the next twenty-seven years, while Charles the Second dishonored his crown and people by his profligacy ; while his brother assailed the Liberties and the Religion of England through the great shock of the Revolution, the triumphs of Marlborough, and the warm dissensions that afflicted the Church in the beginning of the reign of Anne, William Beaw presided obscurely. In early life, he had been ejected from his Fellowship at New College, Oxford, for bearing arms in the Royal cause ; and his College had presented him to the Vicarage of Adderbury, near Oxford. He must have been somewhat advanced in years when he was raised to the Episcopate, and a very old man when he died ; and although he took the oaths to William and Mary, his sympathies were with that large portion of the Clergy, who still favored the cavalier sentiments of his earlier days.

At the death of Bishop Beaw, in 1706, John Tyler, Dean of Hereford, was placed over the neighboring Diocese, and presided eighteen years without translation. The Cathedral, in the mean time, had become so dilapidated, that there was a rumor of a design to transfer the See to Cardiff. But it was not an age when the interests of the Church could arouse any very zealous effort ; and in Wales, throughout the eighteenth century, the Dissenters, appealing to the warm feelings of the people, in their own tongue, became prosperous and prevailed.

The office of Treasurer of St. David's was held in 1724 by Robert Clavering, a learned man, Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Hebrew at that university. As long before as 1705, he had edited a treatise of Maimonides. He was now made Bishop of Llandaff, but, after four years, translated to Peterborough.

To the next Bishop, Pope has alluded.

"Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well;
A simple Quaker, or a Quaker's wife,
Outdo Llandaff in doctrine, yea, in life."

This was John Norris, who, after being Dean of Wells, was Bishop of Llandaff from 1728 to 1738, and then died with an irreproachable name. His son, who was Chancellor of Llandaff, Hereford and Dunham, and who published a translation of Justinian's Institutes, left at his death in 1796, the bulk of a large fortune to public charities in London.

The next two Bishops were men who were destined for more conspicuous Bishoprics; but whose names and stations only are remembered. One was Matthias Mawson, who had been Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He was consecrated at the age of fifty-five, and waited no longer than for the first vacancy in any other See; and then, in 1740, was translated to Chichester.

The other, John Gilbert, remained longer. He had been a Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Rector of a Parish in Devonshire, and Dean of Exeter. It was the period when Ecclesiastical Honors were made most subservient to purposes of State, and to political and family connections; and his promotion, which carried him from Llandaff to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to the Northern Primacy, may have been aided by his marriage to the only sister of the Earl of Harborough.

From 1748 to 1755, Edward Cresset presided, a wealthy man, though not a wealthy Prelate. He, too, had been a Canon of Christ Church, and had married into the family of Pelham, then at the height of political power. As he had a large estate in the Diocese of Hereford, he was the more readily raised to the Deanery of that Cathedral; and when he was transferred to that of the adjoining Diocese of Llandaff, he attempted, with honorable zeal, some extensive and expensive repairs in its dilapidated structure. The false taste of the time, indeed, marred the excellence of the undertaking, by intermingling the Grecian portico and Ionic pilasters with the Gothic and Norman arches.

Unless, indeed, the Prelate himself had a large patrimony, he could so little be expected to build up his Cathedral, that even the expenditures of his station necessarily exceeded his revenues. The Rectorship of Bedwas had therefore been long annexed to the Bishopric; and Bishop Richard Newcome, who succeeded, on the death of Cresset, held that also of Whitchurch, in Shropshire. He was a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and a Prebendary of Windsor, and in 1761 was translated to the See of St. Asaph.

John Ewer, an Eton Scholar, afterwards Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, travelled with the gallant Marquis of Granby. The patronage of the great Rutland family, made him Rector of Bottesford, and a Prebendary of Windsor; and, without other distinction, he became Bishop of Llandaff, and, in 1769, of Bangor.

The succession of Prelates at Llandaff has since been far more eminent. Shute Barrington, the youngest of six sons of the first Viscount Barrington, passed from Eton to Merton College, Oxford, and from a Fellowship there, to a Canonry of Christ Church, and was also a Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain to George the Second and George the Third. To his marriage to a daughter of the Duke of St. Albans, though he was early left a widow and childless, and to the position of his brother, who was, successively, Secretary of War and Chancellor of the Exchequer, he may have owed his first elevation: the regard of the King secured the rest. In youth, he was not vigorous, and he early sustained an operation for the stone; yet his was the longest Episcopal Life in the annals of the Church of England; for, he was consecrated at thirty-five, and died at ninety-one. Of these fifty-six years, thirteen, from 1769 to 1782, were passed in the See of Llandaff, whence he was translated to Salisbury. The year after his Consecration was that of his second marriage, which was to the daughter of Sir Berkeley William Guise, of Gloucestershire. Not long after, he introduced into Parliament a bill for the prevention of marriage between a divorced adulteress and her convicted paramour; but it had the same ill success which has attended every similar endeavor. Within his Diocese, he founded the

Monmouthshire Clergy Charity. The appearance of Bishop Barrington, exceedingly venerable in his old age, had always been majestic ; and, with his dignity of birth and character, his intrepidity and energy, may have aided an impression which accorded ill with the beneficent tenor of his Episcopate. Thus, in the Pursuits of Literature, a poem of renown in its day, the line is found, as expressive of an impossibility :—

“ Or Barrington be meek, or Watson dull.”

Never, indeed, except as an example of impossibilities, were dullness and the name of Richard Watson united. It is a name to be regarded with some admiration, but with much more of pain and regret ; admiration for powerful abilities and astonishing versatility ; pain, that they added little to the usefulness of the Prelate ; and regret, that either the station or the man had not been other than they were, that so they might have been in harmony. Twenty-eight years before, he had come up to Cambridge from the grammar-school of Neversham, in Westmoreland, of which his father was the Master, and at seventeen had obtained the place of a sizer, or poor scholar, at Trinity College. His reserved and simple manners, his blue yarn stockings, and coarse, mottled, Westmoreland coat, might be passed for a while with neglect, but not long. When he had been at Cambridge six months, he was asked, at an examination, whether Clarke had demonstrated the absurdity of an infinite succession of changeable, dependent beings ; and he coolly answered “no,” and proceeded to unfold what seemed a fallacy in the argument. His mathematical proficiency won him a Scholarship ; he was second Wrangler ; obtained a Fellowship ; and in 1764, though he knew nothing of Chemistry, he aspired to the vacant Professorship, obtained it, and with it almost immediately obtained, by his industry and genius, a high renown as a lecturer. At thirty-four, with almost as little knowledge of Theology, he sought and obtained, in the same manner, the Regius Professorship of Divinity. The depressed state of Natural and of Theological Science at the University, as well as the great ability of the man, are attested by such a career. “ With no prejudice against the Church of England,

and no predilection for it, but a sincere regard for the Church of Christ," is his own description of his opinions, at the time when he began to teach the future teachers of English Theology. He appealed to the Scriptures alone; but his fitness for the office of an interpreter was not eminent. The truth was, that the close alliance between Education and the Church had pushed into the foremost rank of the ministry, a man of prodigious strength of understanding, of perfect fearlessness, and of boundless independence, without a taste for Christian Learning, and without deep and practical sentiments of Christian Duty. His Religious opinions were very negative; he would have cleansed the Church from what remained, as he said, of Popery and Calvinism; he would not subscribe to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and, though certainly not a Socinian, he vindicated the title of Unitarians to be respected as fellow-Christians. "His majestic and commanding figure," we are told, "his terrific countenance, his deep, sonorous voice, the uninterrupted tenor of his sentences, and the boldness and originality of his sentiments," attracted many undergraduates to his lectures; and even his excessive confidence had its charm, in a monotonous period of the Ecclesiastical System. "Those Scotch metaphysicians," said he, in one lecture, "I have never read, nor shall read; what, therefore, he may have said, I know not; but I will say what he ought to have said." He married the daughter of a gentleman of Westmoreland; and, at a time when it required nearly all that he possessed, he paid the debts of his deceased brother. Through the patronage of the Duke of Rutland, he received the benefice of Knaptoft, in Leicestershire; and his Diocesan, Bishop Keene, gave him that of Northwold, in Norfolk; and, probably, from regard to his office in the University, he was made, in 1780, Archdeacon of Ely. It was also through the influence of the Duke of Rutland, who had been his pupil, that he was raised, in the following year, to the Episcopate of Llandaff. At that time, Lord Shelbourne was at the head of the ministry, and the Duke of Grafton also aided the promotion of Watson; and both these noblemen favored the Unitarian doctrines. Lord Shelbourne expected the aid of so powerful a pen in the defence of his administration;

but he was disappointed. Watson was neither a political partisan nor a faithful pastor. With his left hand, indeed, he spread the broad shield of his Apologies between Christianity and the attacks of Gibbon and Paine; while, with his right, he pushed forth sermons and pamphlets on the liberal side in politics. But he was dissatisfied with his humble See, and, after in vain proposing a plan for equalizing the revenues of the Prelates, retired much from public life, and abandoned some of his highest duties. Retaining his Professorship, he published, in 1785, his somewhat remarkable collection of Theological Tracts, for the use of students in Divinity. His Apology for the Bible ran through fifty editions; the few Sermons which he published were compositions of almost matchless vigor; and he printed many Charges, which were read throughout the Kingdom. But having, in 1786, received, by bequest from one of his pupils, an estate of twenty-thousand pounds, he purchased Calgarth Park, a beautiful seat in the lake country of Westmoreland; and, pleading the want of an Episcopal residence in his Diocese, never, for thirty years, lived at all within its borders. He surrounded himself with plantations of larches; and, as they grew up, he used to say, that, with the poorest Bishopric, he had made himself the richest Bishop in England. In the House of Lords, he upheld the claim of the Prince of Wales to the regency, with full powers; he spoke in favor of the French Revolution, at its beginning, and of Reform in England, and voted for peace with France: yet, afterward, he published a patriotic Address to the people of Britain; and, in the prospect of an invasion, he poured forth a bold and heroic eloquence. He wrote on the expediency of revising the Articles and Liturgy; he would have abolished the disabilities of Dissenters; he extolled their ministers, and was honored, in return, even where there was least agreement of doctrine; and he was once even called, in the House of Lords, "a Dissenting Bishop." But, the manly advocate of Christianity was egotistic, argumentative, secular, ambitious, arrogant, and disappointed, though independent; and when the traveller who came, not to the banks of the Severn, but to those of Windermere, obtained access to the non-resident Prelate, he saw a dignified but vain old man;—a delightful com-

panion, yet insufferably full of himself; wielding over his household the despotism of long selfishness. Neither the Church nor the State was satisfied, and he never obtained the translation which he sought; but was longer Bishop of Llandaff than any of his predecessors since the Reformation. After writing his own memoirs, he withdrew his pen from composition; but preserved his faculties, unharmed by two slight strokes of paralysis. The last sentence which he ever wrote on any religious or literary subject, was, probably, that at the close of the advertisement of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, in 1815; *ingruit senectus, appropinquat mors, et melioris ævi dies, cum hæc clarius elucebunt*; "old age gathers around, death approaches, and the dawn of a better life, when these things shall shine forth more clearly." On the fourth of July, 1816, he expired, leaving six children, of whom one was a Prebendary of Llandaff and of Wells.

The Bishopric was then given to the hardest polemic, and, perhaps, the most learned Theologian of his generation; Herbert Marsh, at that time Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Like Watson, he was the son of a Clergyman, the Vicar of Faversham, in Kent; like him, was entered as a sizer, obtained mathematical distinction, and was second Wrangler. After obtaining a Fellowship of St. John's College, he went abroad, in 1785, and sat down at Leipsic; became a member of the University; and, for many years, applied himself to study under the most learned guides of Germany. When the Continent was in a blaze of war, he wrote an *Historical View of the Policies of England and France*, which he published at Leipsic, in English and in German; and, returning to England at the request of Mr. Pitt, declined, at first, but afterwards accepted, a pension. The fruits of his studies appeared, when he began his Lectures at Cambridge; the first Divinity Lectures ever read there in English. He had previously published his *Letters to Travis*, on the disputed passage in the First Epistle of St. John, and his translations of *Michaelis*. His own Dissertation, which he now added, on the origin and composition of the first three Gospels, in which he supposed a common document to lie at their foundation,

was attacked by Bishop Randolph, and defended by its author. These controversies with Travis and Randolph were followed by one with Belshaw; by another on the educational systems of Bell and Lancaster; and by another against the Bible Society, in which his own share was eight or nine pamphlets, and his position, that to give the Bible without the Prayer Book, was a dangerous sacrifice to the Dissenters. He was a very acute and ingenious controversialist, and his erudition and frankness commanded respect; but he was rather overbearing, and not well acquainted with the modes of persuading mankind, and was better fitted for accurate and logical distinctions, than for the patient examination of evidence. Somewhat singularly, too, he blended a strong zeal for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Authority, with a tendency, in the interpretation of the Scriptures, if not to the latitudinarianism of Germany, yet, certainly, not to the literal strictness and confiding piety of the older divines. At the age of fifty, he was married to the daughter of a gentleman, whom he had known as a merchant at Leipsic. His *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, published in 1815, was better received than his *Horæ Pelagicæ* of the following year, when he became Bishop of Llandaff, at the age of fifty-nine. With the Episcopate, he received also the Deanery of St. Paul's; and even his opponents acknowledged the debt which was due for the impulse given by him to Theological Studies, an impulse aided by his manner of speaking, his glistening eye, distinct articulation, and vivid, extemporaneous air. Three years later, he was transferred to Peterborough; but, in neither Diocese, though the ripeness of the scholar and the system of the Professor were united with great energy of character, could all these qualities form the best of shepherds.

Still purer praises attended the next Bishop, William Van Mildert. The grandson of a Dutch emigrant and the son of a London shopkeeper, he passed from Merchant Taylor's school to Queen's College, Oxford; held two or three curacies; was presented by his cousin to the benefice of Bradden in Northamptonshire, and the year after, at the age of thirty-one, was nominated, by the Grocer's Company, to the Rectory of St. Mary-

le-Bow in London. In 1804, he preached the Boyle lectures on the Rise and Progress of Infidelity. Archbishop Sutton gave him the Vicarage of Farmingham in Kent; the benchers of Lincoln's Inn elected him, in 1812, to the honorable post of their Preacher; in the following year he added to this, the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford; and, in 1814, was the Bampton Lecturer, taking, for his subject, an Inquiry into the General Principles of Scriptural Interpretation. Deep learning, accurate thought, clearness of understanding and decision of judgment, prepared him to be the editor of *Waterland*, and the representative and ornament of what might be termed the School of *Waterland*. When he preached, a certain formality and restraint, with which he began, ceased as he warmed with his theme, until he poured forth a rich stream of manly eloquence. He had a strongly reverential and conservative feeling toward the Church and its Doctrines; while his life was free from pride and selfishness; and it was with general approbation, that, after he had held the See of Llandaff and the Deanery of St. Paul's seven years, he was translated to the more elevated dignity of Durham.

His successor, Charles Richard Sumner, was designated, as was believed, by the personal esteem of George the Fourth. He was of a priestly family, whose name is connected with the Provostships of Harrow and of King's College, Cambridge, in a former generation; and his father was Vicar of Kenilworth. Through his mother he was remotely allied to the family of Wilberforce, and he embraced the principles which in his youth were associated with that honored name. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge; and, in due time, became a Prebendary of Canterbury and of Worcester, and a Canon of Windsor. His shining parts, graceful elevation and refined manners attracted the King, who made him his Chaplain, Librarian and Historiographer; and heard, favored, and rewarded, the most faithful and fervent exhibitions of the Gospel. A work on the ministerial character of Christ, which he published, could not but have a blessed influence on the minds of the younger clergy; an influence in harmony with that of the practical writings of his brother, the future Primate. When the Latin treatise of

Milton on Christian Doctrine was discovered, he was enjoined by the King to translate it and prepare it for the press; an office which he ably and elegantly fulfilled. At the age of but thirty-six, he was nominated to the See of Llandaff; but, only a year after, was at once translated to the eminent Diocese of Winchester, now embracing a large part of the Metropolis. During his year at Llandaff, he published a Charge, which flowed from a warm and pastoral heart; and in which he deplored the slender supply of Church Accommodations and Ministerial Services for that great population which almost at once had sprung up in the mining regions of South Wales.

An able successor received from his hands the task of meeting this necessity, and at once, though also Dean of St. Paul's, took a house within his Diocese, and became an efficient resident Prelate. Edward Copleston was also the son of a clergyman, the Rector of Offwell in Devonshire, who lived to see the elevation of his son and pupil. Young Copleston came to Oxford, fresh from the instructions of his father alone, and entered on an Academic career of unsurpassed brilliancy. He gained a Scholarship at Corpus Christi College, from an unusual number of competitors; he won prizes in Latin verse and English prose. Oriel College went beyond its own candidates, to offer him a Fellowship, and he was elected Professor of Poetry, and Provost of that College, which, under his administration, became a centre of the best scholarship of Oxford. There were Whately, Arnold, Keble, Newman, Hawkins, Hampden; and the amiable, enlightened and unprejudiced Provost presided with a happy control over the conflict of tendencies, various, but all earnest. His "Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination," was welcomed as the calm reasoning of a peculiarly sound and candid mind, and a model of philosophical discussion in Religion. He published also his "Prelections" as Professor of Poetry, and several University pamphlets. In 1826, he was made Dean of Chester, and, entering on his Episcopate in the following year, he sustained, like his immediate predecessor, the Bible and Church Missionary Societies; recorded his vote in favor of Roman Catholic relief, though he had mildly opposed it at first; in favor of Parliamentary Re-

form; and against the admission of Dissenters to the Universities. As the intimate friend of Earl Dudley, he published the correspondence of that nobleman, and paid a just tribute to his talents. In his latter days, his protest against these all but Popish errors, which had lifted their heads in his own Oxford, became both sorrowful and indignant: and one of his last public acts, was a protest against the grant to Maynooth. His death took place on the fourteenth of October, 1849, at the age of seventy-three, and he died without a family. He was buried in Llandaff Cathedral, where no Bishop had been laid within a hundred and seventy-five years.

The choral service had long been extinct at Llandaff, and, in the remnant of the Cathedral, a parish held its worship. Under the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commission, however, it was determined that the next Bishop should enjoy an adequate revenue without other preferment; and, when the vacancy was to be now supplied, a warm desire was heard that the new Prelate might be a Welshman, and able to preach in the language of the Principality. This was partly accomplished in the selection of Alfred Ollivant, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who, though not a native of Wales, yet, having long held the office of Principal of Lampeter College, knew well the Cimbric tongue and the Cambrian wants and spirit. While he addressed congregations in their own language, he applied himself, with evangelical faithfulness, to the task of stirring up his Charge to the relief of the crying spiritual necessities of a population, too much neglected and in danger of alienation from the Church of their country, and perhaps from the Religion of the Gospel.

ART. V.—HOW SHALL WE READ “THE NICENE CREED?”

“¶ Then *shall be read the Apostles’ or Nicene Creed*; unless one of them hath been read immediately before in the Morning Service.”
Rubric in Communion Service.

THE Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., is a lawful and living branch of Christ’s One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. More than this, it is *the* lawful and National Church, by Divine appointment, of the land in which we dwell. No other Christian body can successfully compete with it, in its claims to the allegiance of American Christians. The erroneous tenets of the Tridentine Missions, and the unsettled doubt concerning the validity of Moravian Orders, render those bodies (the only ones which have rival claims), decidedly our inferiors in Catholicity and Orthodoxy. It is then our mission, as a National Church, to secure and preserve to America the Nicene Faith. If that great symbol of true orthodoxy has been misread or mis-interpreted in Rome, or Paris, or London, there is no reason why it should continue to be abused in New York, or Philadelphia, or Chicago. It is true, (as the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer declares) that to “the Church of England the P. E. Church in these States is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection.” But this has not prevented the erasure of the Athanasian Creed from our formularies, the optional omission of a clause in the Apostles’ Creed, and other minor changes in various Offices. Thus much has been done, without breaking Communion with the Mother Church. We do not *defend* these changes; we merely cite them to show that every change is not of a necessity a schism. If now we will turn to our Articles of Religion, we shall read:—

Art. VIII.—Of the Creeds.

The *Nicene Creed*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles’ Creed*, ought thoroughly to be received and believed;

for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

This Nicene Creed, we are directed in the Communion Rubric (placed at the head of this article), to read publicly in the Church on certain occasions of Public Worship.

Now, it is a curious fact, but one which can be easily verified, that there happens to be, in our Prayer Book, no Creed which is declared to be "the Nicene Creed." There is indeed a Creed printed immediately after "the Apostles'," and prefaced by the Rubric, "¶ *Or this,*" which commonly passes for "the Nicene Creed." But a careful examination will show, that this is neither the Creed of the Council of Nicæa, nor "the Nicene Creed," as confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon, and still used by all orthodox Churches of the East, as the symbol of their orthodoxy. Great changes have befallen it, in the lapse of time, as history will easily show.

It is known to all, that the Emperor Constantine the Great summoned the first General Council of the Christian Church, which met at Nicæa in the year of our Lord, 325, and put forth the following Creed, as the final condemnation of the Arian heresy:—

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν; καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὥς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον πάλιν κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα το Ἅγιον. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, κ. τ. λ.

"We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father only—begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God: begotten, not made; of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth; Who, for us men and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and was made man; suffered, and rose the third day, and ascended into the Heavens; and is coming again to judge living and dead. And in the Holy Ghost. And those who say"—(here follows the anathema).

Such was the short and simple Creed of the Nicene Council. But the heresy of Macedonius (which denied the true Personality of the Holy Spirit) having arisen, a Second General Council was summoned, which met at Constantinople in the year 381, and completed the Creed of Christendom with the following articles:—

Τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζῶοντιον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς μίαν ἑγλην Καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.—“The Lord, the Life-Giver, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. In One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge One Baptism for forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and life of the world to come. Amen.”

These two portions taken together, make up the common and established Faith of Christendom, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, called, by the Council of Ephesus and by Christians subsequently, “the Nicene Creed.” This is, undoubtedly, “the Nicene Creed” spoken of in our Rubric and Articles. In the final version, established by the Council of Chalcedon, there were a few variations from the original version of the Nicene Council, as we shall see.

The (third) General Council of Ephesus, at its sixth session, July 22, 431, S. Cyril presiding, solemnly decreed (Canon VII) the inviolability of the Nicene Faith. The ordinary reader can find the original Greek of this Canon in Macaulay’s Hist. of Eng., Bk. III, chap. 14.

“The Holy Synod decrees that it is permitted to no one to offer, or to write, or compose, another Faith besides (*παρά*) that defined by the Holy Fathers assembled in Nicæa with the Holy Ghost. And those daring to compose another Faith, or to bring forward or offer it to those wishing to turn to the knowledge of the truth from Hellenism or Judaism, or any other heresy whatsoever, if Bishops, shall be thrust out of their Episcopate; if Clergy, from their Clerical office; and if laymen, shall be anathematized.”

We can hardly conceive of a more solemn warning against the tampering of *individuals* with the Faith. But it is absurd

to argue (as Stanley does) that the Chalcedonian Creed violated the Ephesian Canon. One General Council cannot bind its successors, any more than one Congress can pass laws incapable of amendment.

A Congress has no right to violate the Constitution; nor a General Council the "most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." Within these limits, a true and undisputed General Council, assembling to-day, might mould the Nicene Symbol into any form which the interests of the common Faith demanded. But we question the right of Pope, Patriarch, or local Synod to do this, without prejudice to the VIIth Canon of Ephesus.

The (fourth) General Council, which met at Chalcedon in the year 451, exercised its right of remoulding the Creed by omitting the phrases "Begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God,"—"both things in heaven and things on earth,"—with the anathema; and it added the words and phrases, "of heaven and earth, and,"—"Begotten of the Father before all worlds,"—"from the heavens,"—"of the Holy Ghost and Mary the Virgin,"—"crucified for us under Pontius Pilate,"—"and was buried,"—"according to the Scriptures,"—"and is sitting on the right hand of the Father,"—"with glory,"—"of Whose kingdom there shall be no end." The Nicene Creed thus changed, and with the additions of Constantinople, was solemnly confirmed at Chalcedon, and has never been changed by any later, undisputed General Council. And thus we are bound to recite it, if we would not incur the condemnation of Ephesus.

But the Creed in our Prayer Book, which, very properly, is *not* called the *Nicene* Creed, but is labelled, "¶ *Or this*," varies from the Creed of Chalcedon in several particulars. With the exception of the (apparently accidental) omission of the word HOLY before the word "Catholic," it is a literal translation of the *Latin* version of the Nicene Creed, which has been used for eight or nine centuries in the Papal Churches of the West. The most important of these alterations, is the famous addition of *FILIOQUE* in the Article which treats of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The history of

this innovation, was thus given in brief on the floor of our last General Convention.

“ At the third Council of Ephesus, called and being general in its character, a decree was passed, declaring that whoever should hereafter propose, or propound, or make, any other Creed than the Constantinopolitan-Nicene Creed as necessary to be needful for salvation to any heathen, or Jew, or heretic, converted to the true Faith, such person so proposing it, if a clergyman, should be deposed, and if a layman, anathematized. This decree of the Council of Ephesus is so important, that I venture to predict, that, if ever the peace of Christendom is restored, it will be by virtue of that decree, which I say has never been actually gainsayed by any Christian Church. Some may suppose that the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England gainsay that decree of the Council of Ephesus; but they do not, and we have never presumed to alter for the Christian world any of those XXXIX Articles, which embrace the Nicene Creed. The Church in these United States is prepared, on these questions, to offer her arms to all Christians. This Creed, the Constantinopolitan-Nicene, generally called *the Nicene* alone, did not originally contain the words, ‘and the Son,’ in the clause relative to the Procession of the Holy Ghost; but subsequently, during one of the middle centuries, a small Council in Spain undertook to introduce the words, ‘and the Son,’ commonly called the *Filioque* clause. Immediately there was a reclamation, and the Pope [Leo III], hearing of the assumption, not only rebuked the introduction, but caused two silver plates to be put up, with the clause omitted.” [A later Pope, however, (Nicholas I), gave his sanction to the innovation.] “In process of time, the clause grew into use, and became inserted in the Creed. Then the Greeks, basing their principle on the authority of the General Council, denied that any addition could be made to the Creed *without the intervention of a General Council*, of which they must necessarily, with their three (or four) patriarchates, form a part. But the evil still continued, and a disruption was occasioned, chiefly from that cause, between the Eastern and the Western Church.”*

To the like purport are the memorable words of the great Bishop of Chester, whose treatise on the Creed is a standard of orthodoxy in all Anglican Churches:—

* Dr. H. M. Mason's Speech on the ‘Filioque Memorial,’ 1865.

"Thus did the Oriental Church accuse the Occidental, for adding *Filioque* to the Creed, contrary to a General Council, which had prohibited all additions, and that without the least pretence of the authority of another Council; and so the schism between the Latin and the Greek Church began and was continued, *never to be ended until those words FILIOQUE are taken out of the Creed.*"*

The next most important variation in the English Creed (as distinguished from both Greek and Latin), is the entire omission of one of the four notes of the true Church, the word HOLY. This has never been accounted for, except as an inexcusable typographical blunder, and would of itself warrant a demand for the revision of our Creed. The words "God of God," which were in the first Creed of Nicæa, were formally omitted by the Council of Chalcedon. By what lawful authority have they been re-inserted in the Creed? The Greek standard uses the plural form throughout: ('We believe, etc.')

—the Latin has changed it to the singular number, rendering it thereby less fit for a *Communion* Creed. The Greek says, "of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary"—the Latin, "by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary." "The Lord and Giver of Life," should read, "the Lord, the Giver of Life." All other variations from the Greek are of trifling importance. For convenience of reference, we will now give in parallel columns, the authorized Greek, and our version of it.

"The Nicene Creed."

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀόρατων. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· ὡς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα· ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· στυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ

"¶ Or this."

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. Begotten of his Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by Whom all things were made; Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for

* Bishop Pearson on the VIIIth Article of the Creed.

ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς μίαν ἈΓΙΑΝ. Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

for us under Pontius Pilate. *He* suffered and was buried; and the third day *he* rose again, according to the Scriptures; and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and *he* shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And *I believe* in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets. And *I believe* in one * * * Catholic and Apostolic Church. *I* acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; And *I* look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

On comparing these Creeds together, and noticing their differences, great and small, the candid and thoughtful Churchman will naturally ask some questions.

1. Is the Creed, ‘¶ *Or this,*’ really and truly “the Nicene Creed,” of which mention is made in our Article and Communion Office?

2. Are we not, in reciting it, perpetually violating the VIIth Canon of the General Council of Ephesus, a Council, whose binding authority the Church of England and our own fully recognize?

3. As long as we persist in this course, can we reasonably hope for re-union with a very important part of Christendom?

4. Is it necessary for our National Church to wait for the Mother Church of England, to get the permission of the Prime Minister, or parliament, before we venture to obey the decisions of the General Councils, which all recognize?

These are not (we trust) impertinent questions, and we expect the General Convention to answer them for us. It would be a dangerous license for each individual clergyman to make his own translation of the Nicene Creed, for use in the Church. And it would be un-Catholic to omit all use of the Nicene Creed.

It is indeed a matter of surprise that the English Reformers did not complete their great work by restoring the Creed to its true Catholic form. England, at that day, was too remote from the East to understand fully the bearings of the *Filioque* controversy. Even the Patriarch Cyril Lucar (who was rather Calvinist than Orthodox) does not appear to have noticed or regarded the point at issue. The first mention of it that we remember, was by the Commissioners for a review of the English Prayer Book, in 1689, who stated in a note their opinion, that something ought to be done to the Nicene Creed to satisfy the Greek Church and maintain Catholic Communion. "But this great and good work miscarried at that time." It was revived by the non-juring Prelates, who stated, in their proposals to the Greeks, "that they assented to the Oriental Faith in the matter of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and that, by the *Filioque* clause, they meant no more than, '*from the FATHER by the SON.*'"

To this, the Patriarch and Synod reply, (Constantinople, April 12, 1718),—

"We answer, that we receive no other Rule, or Creed, than that which was settled, and most piously set forth, by the first and second holy General Council; in which it was decreed, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father; for it says, 'We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father.' Therefore *we receive none who add the least syllable*, (and the most perfect word would fall far short,) either by way of insertion, commentary, or explication to this Holy Creed, *or who take anything from it*. For, the Holy Fathers, at that time anathematize all such as shall either take from, or add to it, any word or syllable."

"If any one has formerly inserted any word, *let it be struck out*, and let the Creed be unaltered as it was first written, and is, to this day, after so many years, read and believed by us. Now, concerning this point, we thus believe that there is a *two-fold Procession* of the Holy Spirit: the one, natural, eternal, and before time, according to which, the Holy Spirit *proceeds from the Father alone*; and of which it is both written in the Creed, and the Lord has said, '*the Comforter, whom I will SEND unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which PROCEEDETH FROM THE FATHER,*' (John xv, 26). The other Procession is *temporal and deputative*, according to which, the

Holy Spirit is externally sent forth, derived, proceeds and flows from both the Father and the Son, for the sanctification of the creature."

"As to His temporal and outward Procession, we agree that He proceeds, comes, or is sent *by* the Son, or *through the Son's mediation*, and *from the Son*, in this sense of an *outward* Procession, for the sanctification of the creature."

But this *πρόεσις*, or mission, we do not call Procession, lest we should be as unhappy as the Papists, who, because of the limited dialect of the Latin language, which is unable to express the *πρόεσις*, or mission, by one word, and the *ἐκπρόρευσις*, or Procession, by another, have called them both *Processionem*; which afterwards grew into error, and made them take the *eternal* Procession for that *πρόεσις*, which was *in time*."

The question of a revision of the Creed, commonly called the Nicene Creed, was brought before our last General Convention in a Memorial signed by a single presbyter. The Memorial erred, in asking only for relief from the *Filioque* clause, and not for a general revision of the Creed. Yet this would hardly have been a modest request for a single individual to make. The report of the Committee of the Lower House, to which the Memorial was referred, while it denied the petition on grounds of *expediency*, fully conceded the facts on which the request was based. The subject, we believe, will be renewed in our next General Convention, and (we hope) under more favorable auspices. The method has been recently so ably pointed out, that we cannot forbear to quote the very words of the author.

"What is needed, is, that the next General Convention appoint a proper Committee, to set forth, in Greek and English, the *Nicene Creed* mentioned in the *VIIIth Article*, as containing the summary of the Catholic Faith. We want the unaltered Greek of Constantinople; no Latin paraphrase. We want, beside, the best and most honest English version possible, from our best scholars—a version which, in clear, plain English, shall convey (as clear, plain English, better than any language on earth, *can*,) the unquestioned sense of the original, plain, clear, Greek.

We want these versions spread authoritatively upon the Journal of the Convention, as the thing referred to in the *VIIIth Article*, for all reference, and to decide all matters of doubt.

Beyond that, nothing may be necessary at the next Convention, except to allow such clergymen and congregations, as may choose to use the English version so set forth, in public worship, instead of the faulty one now printed in our Prayer Books. In process of

time, when custom has made us familiar with the truer version, its use may be made universal.

For, manifestly, the mere omission of the words 'And from the Son,' will not meet the requirement of the Article. There are still several insufficient translations, and one very serious omission. It is a note of the Church that she is *Holy*. The Nicene Creed declares her so—'One, *Holy*, Catholic, and Apostolic, Church.'

These are the four notes or marks of a true Church. We omit the second. We express no belief in a *Holy* Church. The omission of this word is another instance of the blind and unreasoning conservatism, that sometimes passes for wisdom and sound prudence. The word seems to have dropped out of the early English version by a mere error of the press, and conservatism has embalmed the printer's blunder; and the Church of England and our own, from that day to this, at some compositor's or proof reader's bidding, have ceased to express any faith in a *Holy* Church, and the same compositor has done what the General Council of Ephesus declared should never be done—has changed the Catholic Faith!

It is really time, we submit, that the Church should look at this matter, and free herself from the very queer position, of teaching, as the Nicene Faith, either the interpolations of a Pope, or the blunders of a type-setter."

ART. VI.—THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

The attention of American Churchmen has of late been drawn, more and more, to the subject of what may be called the European field of our Church's responsibility. In the opinion of some of those best acquainted with the facts, the last few years have,—each year more plainly,—laid upon the Church a new and solemn *duty*, and at the same time opened to her, as peculiarly her own, the opportunity of exerting an *influence*, the extent of whose possible and ultimate results for good, can, perhaps, scarcely be exaggerated.

The discharge of that *duty* and the exertion of that *influence*, seem, at first sight, to be entirely distinct, and even to move in almost opposite directions; for it is the duty of providing for the spiritual needs of her own children on the one hand, and it is the exertion of an influence upon the members, and ultimately upon the very constitution itself, of foreign communions, on the other. And yet, in practice, the one would be found so dependent upon, and so closely intertwined with, the wise and efficient discharge of the other, that, however distinct theoretically, the attempt both to fulfil this duty and to exert this influence, would, to a very considerable extent, involve the development of but a single policy.

The *first*—the duty thus referred to—is one somewhat unique; one, not to be determined by any simple inductive discussion of the *theory* of the Church. It is confessedly an abnormal duty, (and, let us hope, a temporary one,) resulting from an abnormal state of the Church. It is the consequent of the fact, that great numbers of the children of our Church, and still more of other Americans, are continually travelling, sojourning, or even residing, in countries nominally Christian, and where the native or local provision for Christian Worship, and for preaching the Gospel of Christ to the hearts of those who have not yet received it, are not such (aside from the difficulty of language,) that the Church can entrust to them the discharge of her own solemn responsibility for their souls.

For many years past, the number of Americans visiting Europe has been rapidly increasing ; and, since the close of our civil war, several causes have combined, suddenly and greatly, to raise the ratio of this increase. They may now be numbered by scores of thousands, and they are found, at the appropriate seasons, thronging the great routes of European travel, and the chief centres of European attraction. It was laughingly said, last summer, that there were in Switzerland more Americans than Swiss themselves ; and every traveller can testify, that, between our English cousins and our own countrymen, English is everywhere the principal language at the *tables d'hôte*. And the causes of this fact are not being accidental or transient, but found in the very location of our country and in the characteristics of our people.

A large proportion of these Americans are children of our Church, for whose spiritual care *none* will deny that the Church is responsible. All of them are children of a people, to whom very many Churchmen claim that the American Episcopal Church has an exclusively authoritative mission. Here, then, is a distinct, and, it may almost be called, *nomadic* portion of our countrymen—of our Church ; steadily increasing as a whole, however it may shift and change occasionally, for the religious care of which our Church *must* be acknowledged to be, either wholly or in large part, directly responsible.

The question arises, then, how is that responsibility to be discharged ?

In a state of normal purity and unity, the Church, in every part of Christendom, should be able to provide, or to include within her polity due provision, for all such needs. But under present circumstances, not diversity of language alone, but, still more, diversity, serious diversity of Faith and Worship, prevent our Church from trusting the spiritual interests of her children to any of the religious agencies or provisions of the nations of Continental Europe.

Putting it upon the broadest possible footing, and aside from the consideration alike of *Worship* and of what *we* should regard as sound Church teaching, to what extent would pulpit

instruction be found in Europe which would embrace even the *essentials* of evangelical truth? A single reflection upon the character either of French Mariolatry or of French Protestantism, of German, Dutch or Swiss Rationalism, or of the doubly corrupt Romanism of Italy, will sufficiently answer this question. The traveller by no means finds even a *Père Hyacinthe* in every Roman Catholic, or a *Monod* in every Protestant pulpit in Paris; he will be far more likely to hear a disciple of *Strauss* than of *Hengstenberg*, in Berlin; he will certainly hear the doctrines of *Servetus*, not those of *Calvin*, at Geneva; and he cannot yet count upon a Reformer, at either *Il Gesù* or *San Carlo al Corso*, at Rome. It scarcely needs more than to be thus referred to in plain terms, to expose its utter absurdity, and American Churchmen would of course protest against any such acceptance of the provision which Continental Europe yet makes for Christian Teaching or for Christian Worship. It is well enough, however, to be reminded of the fact.

But has the Church done much better in acting as if this provision *is* enough; or if not so, then, as if travellers and sojourners and residents abroad left their souls, with their several needs and temptations and dangers, all at home, in the charge of their faithful pastors, and in their old Parish Churches? This may seem to be using strong language. Of course, no man—bishop, priest or layman—ever deliberately accepted either of these alternative hypotheses; nor is it probable that there has ever been much deliberate consideration of the subject whatever; or, so far as there has been, it has sufficed that there were the English Chapels. We will speak of these in a moment; but, to leave them out of the question for the present, what has *our* Church done, or what have Churchmen done in *any* organic capacity, to provide for these needs? The Church has merely enacted that "*it shall be lawful*" for Churchmen abroad to provide for themselves; and two or three individual clergymen have acted upon that permission.

Let us try this policy, by the Church's own course, towards a different field; her provision for needs far less unlike these for

which we now plead, than many think. Children of the Church and colonies of our people, to all of which she acknowledges herself a debtor, are scattered, and are multiplying over the broad far West. Does the Church merely enact, that "it shall be lawful" for *them* to organize congregations, call and settle Clergy, and attach themselves to a distant Presiding Bishop? No. She has organized a Committee to procure men and money for them; she has appointed Bishops to go out to that far territory, to gather them together, to rouse them, to save them from the dangers or the habits of godlessness; to remind them, in some instances, of their Mother Church; to gather them, in all, to the fold of Christ. In fine, the Church herself sends after them the Gospel which they had left behind, the Holy Sacraments, and the bidding to that sweet and solemn Worship, whose influence they, perhaps, once felt in their early home, but which, in these wild new scenes, they would else have been in danger of almost utterly forgetting.

But if these same persons had turned their steps eastward, instead of to the West; if, instead of the Mississippi Valley, they had crossed the Ocean; if, instead of the rough, and, in many respects, not unhealthy contests of a new society, they were going into the midst of the dissipated and luxurious worldliness of an old society; if, instead of the absorbing and materializing struggle for a foothold, and an upward career amid the hard, practical working realities and energies of a pioneer life, they were *only* to be exposed to the corrupting influences of superstitions or the poison of infidelity—if their religious habits, and even their moral principles, were in danger of being relaxed by the influence and example of communities, whose religion is either a dreary speculation, or an unreal and lifeless inheritance:—*then* the Church has for them only a, "Go, and God be with you; *it shall be lawful* for you to do whatever you can or feel disposed to do for yourselves."

We fully admit that the Western field, whether as part of our own national territory, or on the score of numbers, or of the future issues dependent upon the present prompt action of the Church, has the *greater* claim of the two. We do not intend to urge a comparison, save only so far as to insist that the

same principles, which have constrained the Church to enter upon so wise, and so vigorous a Missionary policy in the *one* case, ought to protest against her negligence in the other.

We fully admit, also, that the need of such a provision for Americans in Europe is one which has only lately taken important proportions, and which is only now beginning to be realized ; and there is not as yet the ground for deserved reproach, that there would be should this neglect continue.

The Church of England, recognizing this responsibility on her part towards *her* children, has, either through the Foreign office, or through one or two of its great societies, colonized *her* Chapels over all Europe ; and has thus abundantly provided for the religious needs of English Churchmen, travelling or sojourning on the continent. And—although, indeed, the number of Americans is now probably fully equal to that of the English—does not this provision, it is often asked, suffice for both ?

Perhaps so, with the exception of a few places ; but it is not a question of room and accommodations. It certainly would be wrong not to acknowledge gratefully the freedom with which these provisions have been ever and everywhere extended to American Churchmen also ; and they can never forget the affectionate relations they have, in very many instances, been privileged to maintain with English Chaplains, whom they have learned to regard as they would a Pastor of their own Church. But waiving the question, (well worthy, however, of being discussed,) how far our Church is justified in merely abandoning to the Church of England and to the English Chaplains, the discharge of her own responsibilities—in neglecting *her own* duty, because another part of the Church is partially fulfilling it ; let us consider the practical working of this acceptance of the English Chapels as a sufficient provision for the religious needs of Americans. The experience of the American Episcopal Church, in Paris and Rome, and the brief experience of the Episcopal Chapel in Florence, during the winter of 1860–61, afford some materials for a comparison.

Such is the feeling of a large part of the Americans towards England, and towards everything that is English,—a feeling

which (whether it verges upon hostility, or amounts to little more than a certain sense of strangeness,) may be deplored ; but the existence of which *it is impossible to deny*, and which *it would be folly to ignore*; that, even where there is no American Worship whatever, the majority of Americans will not, and do not, attend the English Chapels. Very many Episcopalians even, and much the larger part of the non-Episcopalians, prefer to attend Scotch, or Swiss, or other European Protestant Worship, or *even to go nowhere at all*.

The national feeling is so strong, especially of later years, that this need must and will be met by the provision of *some kind* of American Worship and pastoral care. If not supplied by our Church, the field has been already, in some, and will be in yet other instances, occupied by a non-Episcopal or so-called "Union Church," which is, of course, attended by all American non-Episcopalians, and, also, by all those Episcopalians (*and their number is larger than may be supposed*) who realize, the force of the national tie drawing them in one direction, more than the unity of Faith and Worship between our own and the English Church drawing them in the other. The fact, moreover, that these "Union Churches" are sometimes called by their friends, *Episcopal Churches*, upon the strength of *the use, half of the day, of a mutilated part of our Service*, entraps many who would not otherwise have attended them. But if, on the other hand, this need is, from the first, supplied by an American *Episcopal Church*, it is at once and thenceforward attended and supported by all the Episcopalians, and even by a large proportion of non-Episcopalians also. These last attend and support such a Church, *and have done so*, in spite of its being Episcopal, *because* of its being American. And (save in Paris, where the number of Americans is amply sufficient to demand and maintain several different places of Worship) it is very doubtful whether an American non-Episcopal would be so much as opened in any place where an American *Episcopal Church* had been already established.

To content ourselves with saying, that the English and American Churches are, substantially, one, and that the members of both should unite heartily in attending and sustaining

one Worship, is undoubtedly true. But does the Church realize what is the result? It is, to commit the most devoted Churchmen to the care of the English Church; to leave another and full as large a part to such a provision as may be made by American non-Episcopal or Union-Chapels; and to abandon the more careless, those very persons whom the Church, like her Divine Master, ought to be seeking and saving, to the easily acquired and *very usual* habit of not going to any place of Worship at all. And more than this, it would be to renounce the opportunity, which would otherwise be in her power, of exerting a Churchly influence, and imbuing with Church teaching a large body of Americans, who, though rarely or never attending the Church's services at home, are willing to commit themselves to her care, and to avail themselves of her provisions for Worship in Europe. Denominational Societies are becoming alive to these facts, and one of them has, apparently, entered upon a policy of establishing Union Chapels in different European centres, which our Church has not occupied, and while *she* is talking about the sufficiency of the provision made by the English Church.

An illustration of this, if we are well informed, has been found at Florence. Before 1860, there was no American place of Worship there. A part of the American Episcopalians attended the English Church; but *very far from all*, and very few non-Episcopalians. These latter, generally attended the Scotch Chapel. But, in that year, an American Episcopal Chapel was opened, under most acceptable ministrations; and, during the following season, it was attended by nearly all the church-going Americans, residents and travellers, of whatever name. *After* our services were interrupted, and *our* Chapel closed, a Union Chapel was opened, which has since been, and is now, attended and supported by all the American non-Episcopalians, and also by a large proportion of the children of the Church. There are two English Chapels in Florence; but it is a rare thing to see an American at either. Yet our Church has said, these English Chapels are sufficient: and so has left her children to a Chapel, whose "charity" is so comprehensive, that, among others, it has furnished to them the eloquent in-

structions of a distinguished Unitarian divine. This Chapel styles itself the "*American Church*," and,—as part of our Liturgy is used in the morning,—some call it, and others think it, an American Episcopal Church. Are not these things worthy of being guarded against?

If, then, the Church is to predicate her practical policy upon *the actual facts*, instead of upon *theories and opinions of what ought to be*, she must determine at once, whether she will assume the duty of providing, as far as possible, for the religious needs of American Churchmen travelling, sojourning, and even residing, abroad; and, in so doing, secure the opportunity of influencing a large proportion of non-Episcopalians also: or whether, for the sake of an *abstract theory* of unity with the Church of England, she will continue to commit her children to English care, for the most part *only in theory*, but really, to turn them over to the choice between Union Chapels, and the very easily acquired habit of neglecting Public Worship altogether; and, at the same time, as we have said, to throw away the opportunity, thus within her power, of recovering many of those who are now strangers or aliens to her Worship and her Faith.

But after all, even thus, would the Church really secure the end purchased at so great a cost? Would she show forth the unity between the Church of England and herself? The true theory of unity between the English and American Churches, was revealed during the organization, and, we had hoped, *settled* by the practical experience, of the Anglo-American Church in Paris. It was then and there confessed and proclaimed, as it had before been virtually proved, that the essential unity of the two Churches is *far more* clearly manifested, and *far more* deeply impressed, both upon their own children and upon foreigners, by the sight and experience of the two Churches working side by side, each in its own way, and upon its own mission, but *conjointly*; exchanging pulpits with each other, and uniting, upon special occasions, interchanging the advantages of Episcopal offices, &c., than by the suppression of one in the presence of the other, and the fact that, in consequence, *some* American Churchmen attend English services.

If *this* were proof, it would equally prove some other Ecclesiastical propositions, perhaps not quite so acceptable. On the one hand, it would prove that several English dissenting bodies are one with the Established Church,—for they have no Chapel in Paris, and some of their children, in consequence, attend the English Church ; and, on the other hand, it would prove, that in Naples, *we* are one with the *Scotch Free Kirk*, for we have no Church there, and, in consequence, most of the Americans, Episcopalians included, attend, and *are building a Church*, for the very able and worthy Scotch Presbyterian minister.

Indeed, the English Chaplains themselves, in whose behalf, in part, this plea is frequently made, and the objection urged to opening an American Church,—often understand this perfectly, and are the very persons to be anxious for an American Episcopal Church ; well assured, that there must and will be, either that, or some other provision for Americans ; and, of course, greatly preferring an *ally* to a *rival*, if not an *enemy*.

Leaving this subject here, for a few moments, let us turn to consider the opportunity which is offered to the American Church, of exerting a valuable, and perhaps permanent influence upon the Ecclesiastical and Religious future of European Communions. This subject need not, however, be more than briefly touched upon.

It is the opinion of many who have carefully studied the present condition of Europe, that the whole religious mind of the Continent is on the eve of great changes. Such, unquestionably, is the fact in France, Germany, and Italy. The French Gallican school is once more struggling to regain a footing, and its former power and privileges :—the Austrian and the Hungarian Churches are already beginning to adjust themselves to the great political and social revolution, which has taken place in that Empire, with singular indifference to the teachings and orders of Rome ; and in Italy, while the whole nation is throwing off the Ecclesiastical bondage of the past, a movement for an internal reformation of the Church itself has actually begun.

Under these circumstances, the Anglican Church has a great opportunity of influence : and the more widely, and the more

thoroughly the history and principles of her own reformation, the primitive character of her ministry and discipline, the Catholicity of her Faith and Worship, are known,—the more her power for aiding the great movements will be extended and increased. But there are two facts which commit this power to the American Church in a peculiar degree ; or, rather, which especially fit her for discharging, *though conjointly* with the English Church, her own *distinct* and *independent* part of this instrumentality.

1st. The relations between the English Church and the State prevent her Chaplains, in many instances, from entering freely and actively upon any such policy, and forbid them to make their Chapels the basis of any such influence. The instances can be cited, in which the English Foreign Office peremptorily forbade a Chaplain, even to distribute translations of the Prayer Book; and in which an English Chaplain has not felt at liberty to come into personal relations with the reformers by whom he was surrounded, or even to have one of them come to his house ! In more than one instance, they have called on American Clergymen to take certain steps, or to carry out given measures, whose importance they deeply realized, but which *they* were debarred from touching.

Secondly. In many instances—certainly in Italy—it is questions of Ecclesiastical polity, which first and chiefly engage the attention of the reformers; it is precisely here, that the reform movement must evidently secure its first foothold; and it is in this connection, that the opportunity of exerting an influence is first offered to our Church. But the established, and *apparently* State-governed condition of the Church of England, is precisely that, from which these men shrink; while the distinctive polity of the American Church exemplifies the very principles which can alone solve the first great practical problem of Italian Reform.

Now, it is resident Clergymen,—men who have become familiar, not only with the language, but also with the characteristics, the mental and moral habits, the prejudices, tendencies, and needs of such reformers, and who can, moreover, gradually mature personal relations with them, one by one,—

who can alone know just how and when to approach them, and how most wisely and judiciously to make them acquainted with our Church, and to bring our influence to bear upon them. And it is only from American Episcopal Churches, established among them, under their own eyes, that they can learn what the Ministry and Worship and external characteristics of our Church really are.

Such established American Episcopal Churches or Chapels, with their due appointments for Divine Worship according to our own customs, and under the charge of able, faithful, learned, wise and godly Clergy,—so far as such can be secured, (*men who are especially selected as suitable representatives of our Church*)—such Churches, therefore, as will most thoroughly fulfill the duty of providing for the spiritual needs of Americans, travelling or resident in Europe, are exactly such as will furnish the fittest agents, and the only true basis for the exertion of our Church's influence in aiding, guiding, and supporting, the reform movements, or the modifying elements in the Church of Italy, or in other of the European Communions.

The first steps in the realization of such a policy should be, the occupation of those great central points,—one each, at least, in France, Italy, and Germany,—which combine the two requisites of being centres of American sojourning, and also centres of national influence. In France, Paris, of course. In Italy, Rome is the most important place, from the *first* point of view. Florence, which comes *next* to Rome, as a centre of Americans in Italy, is *first* in importance as a basis for the exertion of our influence. In Germany, there has long been expressed a desire for an American Church at Dresden, which is also, probably, as good a centre of active influence as any.

Of these posts, Paris, Rome, and Florence, are already occupied, and the American Church established. Dresden* *must* soon receive attention; and Naples* affords a most valuable

* There were about 500 Americans, young and old, in Dresden last winter; and between 300 and 400 in Naples. In the former place, the number of English was not 300; yet *they* were provided with two English Churches, of different grades of Churchmanship.

point for finding at once an American basis, and an Italian field of usefulness.

But, to carry out any such scheme with energy and decision, money, and well-chosen Chaplains, and (to develop it with any fullness, unity and comprehensiveness,) immediate and constant Episcopal supervision and direction are necessary.

Experience has *thus far* proved, that such American Churches are nearly, if not quite, self-supporting,—that is, that the Americans desiring religious enjoyment and benefit from these services, have ever been ready to provide amply for the support of the ministry, and for the other current expenses. This will probably be found the case in yet other instances, although in some, it will, perhaps, be necessary that the experiment should be assured by a guarantee.

But, so far as means are needed for such guarantees, or for other purposes, in carrying out such a policy as is here contemplated—whether for the provision of American services for our fellow countrymen, or for assisting reform movements among Europeans—(unless it may be in the exceptional instance of the erection of a Church edifice), it is probably only necessary that they should be asked for and expended by persons, known to and possessing the confidence of the Church, and *under due Ecclesiastical sanction and authority*, to obtain all that may be required without making any appeals at home. There are a large number of wealthy and liberal Churchmen constantly in Europe—some residing there and others coming and going—in a position to appreciate and take an active interest in such a work as this, considered in either of its aspects, and, at the same time,—largely if not entirely relieved from the innumerable demands which would press upon them at home,—to support abundantly and efficiently every necessary agency.

But it is also important, both in order to secure the confidence of such Churchmen and for success in either of the proposed directions, that the clergy placed in charge of such American Churches or Chapels, or otherwise representing the American Church in the midst of foreign Communion, should not be such, as might *chance to present themselves* for such services ; but such, as have been carefully and conscientiously

selected by wise and responsible agents—as qualified, as far as possible, to occupy the position of representative men set in stations of no little difficulty and of peculiar responsibility.

Europeans and European Churches will judge of our Church by those who represent us in their midst, however they may have come there. And nothing proves more strikingly how utterly the American Church has, thus far, failed to realize her responsibility to the religious future of the world, than her failure to throw any safeguards around the delicate and yet solemnly important work of representing her before the eyes of the Romanists and the Protestants of the Continent of Europe.

And, finally, it is absolutely necessary—whether for obtaining means and for securing the selection of proper clerical representatives, or for the accomplishment of any comprehensive scheme, and, especially, to attain any unity of action, that there should be added the immediate superintendence and personal presence in Europe of a BISHOP, who should be elected and commissioned by the General Convention, and who should have jurisdiction over all American Churches, upon the European continent. By this we do not mean merely in France, Italy and Germany, but in Athens also, where we have long had an important Mission of our Church without any American Episcopal oversight. And such a Bishop should be a man capable of taking the lead, ably and wisely, though of course in due subordination to the Church itself, in the important part which is manifest our Church will soon be called on to play in the inter-national or Oecumenical relations of European Christendom.

Such a Bishop should not be sent to Europe with any quasi-*Diocesan* authority or jurisdiction; nor, on the other hand, should he appear to have any such *Missionary* character as will seem, even by implication, to reflect upon the religious systems or principles of those among whom he is sent. *There should be involved, if possible, in the very title which he bears, an admission of the special, exceptional and temporary character of his office.* There should be, in such a step, no appearance of founding a Bishopric or establishing a See; but only

the provisional sending out of an officer of the Church, duly commissioned to provide for the spiritual needs of her children, to take the oversight of her interests, and to represent her in the midst of other Communion, while such an abnormal necessity unhappily continues. Such a *Bishop Delegate*, as he might perhaps appropriately be termed, could be classed, for purposes of our own convenience, with Domestic Missionary Bishops ; but he should be regarded rather as bearing a special commission, than giving precedent for a continuous office. Upon the death of the first Bishop Delegate, there would then remain no vacancy to be filled as a matter of course ; the Church would send out another or not, according to the circumstances and needs of the time.

Upon the question of precedent for such a step we will not enter ; but, however novel in some respects it may perhaps be thought, the circumstances which demand it are also equally unprecedented ; and it must be the teaching of the *spirit*, not of the mere *letter*, of past Church history, by which the Church must be guided in adapting herself to the requirements of an unprecedented age.

We are not forgetful that a Resolution was reported by one of the Committees of the Lambeth Conference, almost totally at variance with the policy which we urge. The 7th Resolution of the Report of the Committee appointed under Resolution xi. of the Conference, (a Resolution, by the way, which had reference solely to Missionary Bishoprics and the subordination of Missionaries,) was to the effect, " that, with respect to the special case of Continental Chaplaincies, the Committee suggest to the Conference the consideration of some Ecclesiastical arrangement, by which the various congregations of the Anglican Communion may be under one authority, whether of the English or American Church."

Now, our reverence for the Lambeth Conference and the high estimate we place upon the importance of its results, is most unfeigned ; nor would we willingly fail in respect for the opinion of one of its Committees : but we must beg leave to say that this resolution was prompted by *theoretical* considerations only ; and that it would be found in practice, not only

fatal to the interests for which *we* are now pleading, but destructive of the very end which the Committee had in view, i. e., the manifestation of the unity of the English and American Churches. We firmly believe that the attempt to act upon such a suggestion would be one of the surest means of making trouble between the two Churches, in the very face of those foreign Communion which we wish to impress with the spectacle of our unity.

Of course, in no sense could an English Bishop be a representative of the *distinctive* characteristics of the American Church; nor an American Bishop, of those of the English Church; but aside from this consideration, let us regard the suggestion only in the light of the purpose, which no doubt prompted it, and glance at the probable practical working of such a policy.

The American Clergy, having respect, as they would have, only to Ecclesiastical law, would *of course* submit to the jurisdiction of an English Bishop, if so bidden by their Church, but it is easy to conceive of circumstances in which such relations would be most embarrassing to either party. Had the Gibraltar Bishopric, for example, at its late vacancy, been united, (as we believe was seriously proposed), to the office of "Chaplain to the Forces," the American Clergy, subject to the Prelate filling that See, would have been indirectly subject to the exigencies which must govern an official of the British Army. It is easy to imagine the endless difficulties, which might arise between an active and zealous American Clergyman, accustomed only to regard his duty before God and to his own Church, and a cautious English Bishop, obliged to be upon his guard lest he should compromise his Government, by giving his official sanction to an even apparent interference in the affairs of a Foreign country. American Clergymen love their Mother Church of England, and they venerate her Bishops, alike for their high office's sake, and on account of their learning and personal worth: but they are by no means enamoured with the system by which they are selected. They remember her relations to the British House of Commons; and they reflect that if the Government can, at one time, sustain *one* Colenso in a South African See, it can, at another, appoint another

Colenso or a Stanley, to a European See; and they cannot believe that the American Church will expose them to any such a risk.

On the other hand, there are, upon the continent, far too many English Chaplains, who are accustomed to regard the authority of their own Bishops as derived solely from acts of Parliament, to make it at all probable that they would generally submit to any attempt of an American Bishop to assume jurisdiction over them. We are not, in our turn, indulging in speculations, but writing what we *know* to be the fact, when we repeat that some of the English Chaplains,—who would most respectfully and most cordially welcome an American Bishop *as a guest* in their Churches or coming to perform any Episcopal office on behalf of a Bishop of London, or of Gibraltar, or of Heligoland,—would yet positively refuse to acknowledge the *jurisdiction* of any other than an English Bishop. There are, indeed, not a few who scarcely acknowledge the authority of their own Bishops, or do so, only as a matter of courtesy, on the ground that the enactments of the English Parliament have no force upon the continent; and we can assure the Church, that the teaching of the Lambeth Conference must be far more thoroughly accepted than it has yet been, before it can venture to try so bold an experiment as to assign a number of *English* Chaplains, taken geographically in any part of Europe, to the jurisdiction of an *American* Bishop.

But the unity of the two Churches would indeed be shown forth in the only true, because in the only natural, manner, if the American Church, selecting one of her ablest divines, a man whom she would be willing to set before European Christendom as her representative, and taking advantage of the presence of those English Bishops, who, we believe, it is expected, will attend our next General Convention, should send him forth,—an American indeed, but uniting once more in his own person, both successions,—as a *Bishop Delegate*, to provide and care for her scattered children, and to tell others of the work God has given *us* to do, and the special witness He has commissioned *us* to bear, in this age of religious changes, to Catholic Truth and to Catholic Polity.

Side by side, let the American Church thus take her stand, *with* the Church of England upon the European continent, at once distinct and different, and yet the same; mingling and interchanging services, yet not confounding jurisdictions. Neither absorbed by the other, but united in the same great work, let them bear double and joint witness before the world to the Catholic character of a Communion, which, preserving the same Primitive Ministry; and holding the same Ancient Creeds, has adapted itself alike to Monarchical and to Republican institutions, and which, if in slightly different accents, yet in the same vigorous tongue, preaches the same Faith as it is in Jesus, in the Old world and in the New.

ART. VII.—FROUDE'S ELIZABETH.*

History of England.—By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M. A.
New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

THE age of Elizabeth was the age of the sword. As the Church and State subsisted together, the cause of the Church passed then under the arbitrament of steel. The Reformation therefore was now to prove its right to exist, by abiding the shock of arms wielded by some of the most inveterate and subtle enemies, that ever assailed a great truth or attempted to trample down a great right. It was reserved for Elizabeth and her statesmen to conduct affairs in behalf of the most fundamental and holy privileges of the Anglican Church. In this Essay we study their behaviors and their fortunes.

It has been shown already, how Elizabeth arranged her domestic affairs and managed the several Ecclesiastical parties, which, as we think, endangered the English Reformation. But, as she saw, and as all Churchmen know, her final and most astute enemy was Rome. Peace for Christ's people on English soil, was to be conquered out of the hands of one, who, calling himself the Vicar of Christ on earth, has never failed to use his opportunity to crush out, with a high hand, and by the aid of the armies of his vassals, all reformation that dared to challenge his own supremacy over Christians. The self-constituted Vicar of the Prince of Peace, in the age of the Reformation, became a devotee of the sword, and reposed his faith in those papal armies, which reddened Holland, Switzerland, Germany and France, with the blood of the martyrs of Reform.† The history of the Papal assault on the liberties of

* Concluded from the July number, 1867.

† It has already been explained in a preceding paper, how Rome attempted to reach England, chiefly in two ways. 1st, by invasion. 2d, by domestic insurrection. And how these two connected themselves together in a perpetual menace against the Crown. Invasion might come from France, from Scotland and from Spain, or from all three together. It was the Pope's craft, to unite England's enemies against her. It was Elizabeth's statesmanship, to divide them. Most of the diplomacy of her reign concerned these disputed purposes.

the Anglican Church, especially in the first half of Elizabeth's reign, is to be found by the student of our Reformation in the story of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Mary, Queen of Scots, daughter of the eldest sister of Henry VIII. and James V. of Scotland, sent as an infant out of the kingdom to avoid the civil commotions of the times, was educated at the French Court. She became the wife of the heir to the French throne, and was, during all her life, a constant, if not a pious, Romanist.

Her husband, Francis II., died in 1560, and by the exigencies of that kingdom, and her own hereditary right, she became Queen of Scotland, whither she now removed.

Her new realm adhered, at her accession, to the Reformation. It had been watered by the blood of some of the purest martyrs, who have ever died by fire or sword for the testimony of Jesus, and as against the Pope. The peasants and the artisans of Scotland held the reformed doctrines in a great human love, as austere, perhaps, as the skies under which they dwelt, but as inflexible as the granite of Scottish hills. With them were allied the most learned and pious of the National Clergy, led by that Spartan Reformer, John Knox. But, among the upper classes, and at Court, the Reformation was hardly more than an uncertain and wavering sentiment, and many adhered to the Roman obedience. The nobility of the age, ruffianly robbers of each others' lands, and oppressors of the poor, thought vastly more of sharing a confiscated estate, or of revenging with the dagger some recent affront or ancient feud, than of acquiring a correct theology, or of maintaining the liberties of the Scottish Church. The temper of the times was coarse, licentious, lawless, passionate, brutal. Property was insecure, and justice most uncertain. The Scottish Reformation had made its way against, both the drift of the Scottish temper, and the fashions of Scottish life. Yet it had made its castles in the cottages of honest peasants, and in the hearts of a few brave, far sighted leaders, while its enemies or careless friends held the wealth and the station of the realm. It was over such a people that Mary assumed the rule; and Scotland, she determined with a vow she followed all her life, should

obey Rome. As far and as fast as she could, she reëstablished the mass everywhere, and in her private chapel, at her first coming, followed the Roman Rite, while men with swords kept back Scottish indignation from disturbing the unseemly worship. The Reformers knew her from the start, and Knox himself paid due heed to the wily persistent brain and passion of the woman, who was to wage a very dangerous and subtle war against the Faith of the Reformation. It is not meant to attempt to analyze the elements of Mary's nature, or to narrate the story of her reign in Scotland. As to herself, the stain of that French Court, where purity in woman or honor in man were myths, runs through all her public life. She came to Scotland, young, a widow, and most beautiful ; yet, when need was, and the times served, she was iron to crush her opponents, and bold, far-sighted and unscrupulous, in the enlargement of her plans. Bred in luxury and delighting in the effeminate pleasures of the Court, she could outweary strong men in the roughest rides across the country, and, although a woman, where even men might pity or hold back, she was cruel, and without mercy when she reached out to touch her aim. Beautiful as Helen of Troy, like Helen she confused kingdoms, and wrought ruin upon brave men by the charm of her most singular and fatal beauty. Without the shadow of purity about her, she could assume the artlessness of a child. A match for Elizabeth in intrigue, she surpassed her sister in all those feminine arts and graces, which especially belong to women. In her reign, she swore falsely, murdered, and shocked even her own age by a display of the very delirium of lust ; and yet some have affected to find in her a saintly Queen. In short, she was by far the most dangerous woman that ever assailed the Reformation. The danger to England was, that, in the eyes of English Romanists, she was lawful queen of England ; and her son, as James I., actually succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne. This right she claimed, and never remitted to her death. But if, by Elizabeth's death, or by force, Mary could gain the English Crown, Rome would be restored to England at her coronation. Therefore she watched for the time, when, aided by French soldiers, she might invade a realm

torn by domestic insurrection, and conquer down the heresy that denied the supremacy of the Pontiff ; and, for her coming English Romanists watched through many weary years.

It does not lie within the scope of this essay, as has been said, to narrate the story of Mary's reign in Scotland. Divested of her own personal intrigues and marriages, the object of that reign was two-fold : I. To establish Romanism : II. To win somehow the English crown.

In both undertakings, she received the support of papal France. French gentlemen thronged her Court, French soldiers garrisoned her castles, French gold paid her hirelings, and bribed a venal nobility to her support. As against Scotch Reformers she fared but badly, and, though she led them a long chase, they finally hunted her from her throne to a prison. As against Elizabeth, in the years before she became her prisoner, Mary fared no better. She perplexed, deceived and made uncomfortable, her English sister, by ever varying and dangerous plans for her disgrace or overthrow ; and Elizabeth returned her the full measure of her unfriendly offices. It was Elizabeth, who aided the Scotch Reformers against their Queen, when the latter assailed the Reformation ; balanced party against party in Scottish politics, so that neither France nor Mary should have leisure to assail England too sharply ; and who, at the last, as the result of her policy, saw Mary a captive in her own realm and hands. Mary, as is well known, became Elizabeth's prisoner.

When Mary, as Queen of Scotland, was so well watched in an English prison, that her power to aid Rome against Reform was limited, Rome was preparing in another quarter another instrument, with which to smite down the Anglican Church and Crown.

It is right to draw the portrait of the man, who, at the bidding of Rome, was about to lift the sword against the English Reformation. A small, meagre person, under-sized, narrow-chested, with the shrinking air of an habitual invalid, and, at the same time, the reserve and hauteur of his Spanish blood ; broad forehead, blue eyes, aquiline nose, and a heavy, far-protruding, under jaw, and a vast mouth ; of fair complexion, hair

light and thin, his beard yellow, short, and pointed ;—such, in looks, was the man, whom God suffered, in a mysterious providence, to become the deadliest foe of the Reformed Religion. His behavior in public was quiet, silent, almost sepulchral. He had the habit of looking on the ground, whenever he talked with man or woman. Deceitful, reticent, merciless, his dagger followed close upon his smile. Outwardly cold, he had the lowest passions in him, but never, in his latter days, a generous impulse of any sort. Scantily educated, and not over fond of war, his will was the fountain of some of the most cruel wars recorded in history, and he accomplished upon mankind, what few of the loftiest genius and the profoundest lore have ever brought to pass. He inherited, in middle age, an Empire so vast, that on it the sun never set. The fairest and richest provinces of America were his, and his rule was owned in Africa, at the Capes, and in the farthest Indies. His subjects were of all colors, races, tongues. His ships were on every sea, and, at his will, they brought whatever was choice, valuable, or magnificent, to adorn his Court or magnify his Reign. His also were the ablest captains, the stoutest soldiers, the most famous navies. But his was a strange nature. Devout as the monks, whom he often rivalled in the austerity of his penance, though he knew the secrets of the wildest debaucheries; superstitious, beyond any of the priests who surrounded, to enlighten him in those profound theological questions which were the diversion of his leisure hours;—he was an instance of a man possessed of the most accurate faith, and the very worst of works. Always a most servile son of the Roman See, he never passed the portrait of Pope Pius V., father of the Inquisition, without taking off his hat to it. In his youth, he had affected the pomps and vanities of his imperial station ; but, as he aged, he left them all, and, retiring to the solitude of his palace, proceeded with the great business of his life. It was to destroy Protestantism ; not to subdue or bind it, but to extirpate it; to dig it up, root and branch, out of the heart of the human race; to burn it up; to scatter its ashes to the four winds of Heaven; so that, henceforth, in the light of the sun and in the sight of men, there should be no sign, or token of it, save the

battle-fields where it had died under the sword, or the market-places where it had been consumed by fire. This idea became in him the wildest fanaticism. As St. Louis and the Crusaders had broke the Saracenic rule in Christendom, so he would destroy the new Infidels against Christ and Holy Church. Wherever he could reach a Protestant, he smote him. Wherever there was an arm to strike Protestantism, he strengthened it ; wherever a mouth to curse, he fed it. Seated in his library, with guards to keep off intruders, and a map of Europe before him, he planned to consign kingdoms to the sword and flame for their Religion. Unmoved as stone, he wrote letters to his Generals and Governors, which reddened Holland with blood, and made thousands widows, and tens of thousands orphans ; but he wrote on, as though every stroke of his pen were not a blow of agony. A letter from him built a scaffold, or set a stake in the most distant province. The wail of smitten peoples reached him, praying mercy ; a nation perished under his hand ; but he heard no prayer, and, receiving news of the agony of human souls, without the slightest emotion, kept to his letters. Distrusting all men, never violent, always silent, patient, inexorable, his life was spent in destroying the Faith as we receive it.

There is no man in history quite like him, nor, had he been human, a man who should have suffered so. His first born and only son perished a prisoner in his own palace,—a Protestant, men say,—and this father came in silently, and, standing behind the guard, made the sign of the Cross over his sleeping boy, and then went out again, and never saw him more. If he had had conscience, no man should have slept so ill, for the accusing victims of his wrath rising in dreams before him ; yet few slept more soundly. In short, here was a monster in the pay of Rome,—the master enemy of Elizabeth and her Religion. He is named in history Philip II.

While Philip was inaugurating and carrying on his Crusade, Mary, Queen of Scots, in prison, had become a chronic conspirator against Elizabeth's Crown and the Reformation sheltered beneath it. Rome had determined to revolutionize England, and to array the English papists in insurrection against their Queen. They were forbidden to conform to the

new uses in the Anglican Church, though many of them were willing to do it; and Romish emissaries, traversing the kingdom, stirred up strife, and plotted treason wherever they went. Elizabeth's life was in constant danger, and it is well known, from public documents, how that papal piety had plotted to take her off by poison or the dagger, as chance might serve. Mary, next to the Pope, it was thought, would profit most by Elizabeth's death, as then the way seemed open to the English Throne; and to crown Mary, was to enthrone the Pope. Mary's prison, therefore, was the center of domestic insurrection. The great English Lords, like Norfolk, who rose in arms against their sovereign, spoke her name as their liege lady. Insurrection drew its inspiration from the captive Queen. Her most faithful servants were convicted and executed, for foul conspiracies against Elizabeth; and yet Mary, for a long time, escaped. Thus, gradually, England came to rest upon a volcano, while, on every side, armies were gathering against her. Philip was moving in his plot. It was the days of the St. Bartholomew massacre in France. In Holland, William, Prince of Orange, and the friend of Reformation, had just died, under the assassin's knife. Assassination, Rebellion, Invasion, threatened the English throne. Mary, the prisoner, willing or unwilling, was their representative in England. It was a State necessity that she should die. Parliament had, on divers occasions, demanded her trial, and now, if not according to law, yet in exact justice, she was to be destroyed, as the heart of much that afflicted England. She was tried upon the charge of having conspired against the Queen's life, and condemned to die.* She died as a Queen, and in her grave were buried some of the fondest hopes of English papists.

The man, who sat in the closet of his palace of Madrid writing letters, heard of Mary's death with his usual composure. He knew very well why the blow was struck, but he himself had a blow to strike, and he set about it with greater assiduity than before. Of late, his letters had increased. To every Roman Court, and to Rome itself, he had written of his great undertaking. He it was, who would strike off the head of

* The charge may not have been proved; but it was certainly never disproved.

Protestantism, and give its foul carcass to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, in the sight of God and man. The passion of the Crusades was upon him. Christ's insulted sepulchre was now in England, and the Infidels who surrounded it, were Elizabeth and her Court. Philip would deliver Jesus Christ with the sword. The silent man, with the heart swallowed up by wild fanaticism, had been long preparing for this very work. Through all his dominions, at Genoa, and Venice, and Naples, and in Sicily; in Spain, Holland, and Germany and Denmark, ships were hired or built for him. His galleons, laden with treasure, were ordered home from India, or Mexico, to pay his armies. Soldiers were gathered everywhere. The most valiant Knights, the most experienced Captains of the Roman Faith, entered his armies as volunteers, or directed operations. Across Europe, from every Papal realm, soldiers were marching toward the English Channel. Europe looked to the man who sat writing letters at Madrid, for the word that was to unloose the thunder.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth and her Statesmen made ready for the storm. Philip gave out, that all these military preparations were for the Indies; but she knew that Philip lied, and that, just across the Channel, in the Netherlands, there were thirty thousand veteran troops, under the ablest Captains, and innumerable flat boats in Holland creeks, ready to land these soldiers on the English strand, and that Roman Europe was praying in all its Chapels, Oratories and Churches, for her overthrow, and that his priests had promised Philip victory. It was now, when the crisis of Elizabeth's life was come, and the question was to be answered by the sword, whether Protestantism should exist any longer among mankind, that her Tudor courage rose to the level of the danger. Not waiting for Philip's blow, she sent a fleet into Spanish waters, which made such havoc among his ships, that it delayed his venture just one year. Meanwhile, England armed, and troops gathered. In the summer of 1558, Elizabeth knew that Philip's fleet was about to sail from Spain for London. It was said, that he had ordered, if the Queen was captured, she was to be carefully kept, as she was to be sent to Rome,—so prudently did Philip dispose of his lion's skin, before he caught his lion.

The invincible Armada sailed from the Tagus, May 29, 1588. The weeks that elapsed before it appeared in the English Channel, were weeks of most grievous suspense. The English fleet, inferior in numbers and in the size of its ships, scattered along the Channel Coast, watched for the invader's sails. The English forts were garrisoned. A hundred and twenty thousand men were under arms. Between London and Gravesend there were more than 50,000 men. Elizabeth, in armor and surrounded by her Lords, betook herself to camp. Everywhere the men in the ranks cheered her. Two Earls held her horse's bridle, while she addressed her army. "I have come to die among you," she said, "but I scorn that Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm." Daughter of Henry VIII., and of the Tudor blood, the heart of England thrilled to her martial words.

July 19th, an English pirate, who yet loved his country, cruising off the Channel mouth, ran his ship into harbor, with news that the Spanish fleet was off the Lizard point, and standing in. Drake, the sailor who a year before had crippled the Spaniard, was ashore with his captains, playing bowls, when the tidings came. He said, "Play out the match. There is time enough to finish the game and the Spaniard too." And the sailors played out the game. Then they warped their ships out of harbor against a head wind, and went to find the enemy. The next day, Saturday, July 20th, they saw, for the first time, the Invincible Armada. It was a fleet of 130 vessels, and near 3,000 guns, with 20,000 land troops, besides the sailors, and 2,000 volunteers from the noblest families of Spain. It carried also a multitude of priests, equipped with crosses and rosaries, and other Roman merchandise, with which to convert the English heretics. It was also said, that the Inquisition had some of its most subtle and delicate instruments of penitence and devotion on board. As the fleet sailed up the Channel in a crescent shape, from horn to horn it measured seven miles. The English fleet followed, and hung upon its rear, waiting for chances. Meanwhile the beacon fires, blazing on all the Channel cliffs, told England that Spain had come. As the grand fleet swept on, some of the slower Spanish vessels

dropped a little astern. The English fell fiercely upon and captured them. Seeing this, the Spanish Admiral shortened sail, and called his ships around him. The English held back, waiting. That night, one of the Spanish ships perished by fire, and the English admiral was re-inforced. The great Sir Walter Raleigh also joined him. Then they followed the Spaniard again. They found him off Portland harbor, and fought him all day, keeping well off from his large ships, and, pouring in their fire, they crippled many ships, and captured some. Thus they sailed, and fought all that night. In the morning, the Spaniard had lost all stomach for the fight, and, shame to say, the English had no powder. Towards night, however, a new supply came on board, and next morning, July 25th, they overtook the Spaniard off the Isle of Wight, and fought him till the powder was gone again. July 26th found the Armada sailing up the Channel with a fair breeze, England following. The English Admiral had resolved not to fight until he reached Dover Straits, where he expected re-inforcements. The Spaniard, had he been wise, would have sailed on to Dunkirk, where a small English fleet kept 30,000 Spanish veterans and their flat boats cooped up in Holland. It was fated, that he should stop in Calais harbor. Thither England gathered all her ships. Fire ships were sent among the Spaniards, as they lay at anchor. Panic-stricken, and handling their ships so miserably, that many were damaged by falling foul of each other, and some destroyed by fire, the Armada scattered its ships out of Calais harbor and fled up the North Sea, England following until both bread and powder failed him. The English sailors, when they turned from the enemy, saw him sailing into those dangerous waters between Norway and Scotland, where winds and tides seem to hold a singular enmity against mankind; and these winds and tides smote the Spaniard bitterly. He attempted to sail round Scotland; but the jagged, rocky coast of Scottish bays and islands received as wrecks the ships that the tempests cast ashore, and a few vessels only of the great fleet escaped to Spain.

Meanwhile 120,000 Englishmen waited with swords, and their Queen rode in armor; and, meanwhile, God had answered,

by the decision of battle, the question whether the Reformation should exist any longer in this world, so that, if it be true to itself, neither Philip, nor Pope, nor Inquisition, nor Armada shall cause it to perish. In this second venture, Rome had lost. The silent man, who wrote so many letters, dictated by a merciless vow to exterminate all that affronted the supremacy of Rome, had been foiled by a woman, whose hand he had once asked in marriage ; yet, we know, it was God Who gave the victory. When Philip heard that his Armada was destroyed, he fell on his knees and gave God thanks that it was no worse. Philip was so used to lie, that he did not mind a falsehood before his God ; but, upon his knees, he knew that it was bad enough ; that, in spite of labor, bloodshed, stake and axe, his life, at its very centre, was a ghastly failure ; for, that in England, sheltered beneath a mighty Sceptre, a Faith that he called heresy offered its Sacraments and fulfilled its offices for all coming time. The controversy had not been between Philip and Elizabeth ; but between Philip and Philip's God.

From the destruction of the Armada, to Elizabeth's death, was a period of about fourteen years. But they were years, when Mary was dead, and Philip was growing old. The laurels, which her great Captains had won for her, and the far-reaching-plans of her statesmen, gave her a power in European politics, and she used it wisely, upon the whole, in behalf of Reformation. The closing of her reign, albeit traitors still existed, and Rome was ever ready to strike again, was in a measure prosperous and tranquil. The Puritans, greatly moved to new ways in Religion, were to prove, two reigns farther on, the quality and the courage of these restless Radicals in the Church ; but Elizabeth restrained them. Both that which was best, and that which was worst, in Elizabeth, intensified themselves as she became aged ; yet she was always Henry's daughter, and England's Queen. Her virtues must be carefully discriminated from her defects ; and, after three hundred years, much remains unintelligible concerning this great, strong willed, subtle-minded, greatly tried Queen of the Sword that defended the Faith in the trial hour of the Reformation. It has not been attempted to describe her reign, in its magnificence and genius,

but merely, to narrate the story of the defence of the English Church against enemies.

In March, 1603, Elizabeth was on her death bed ; fast going to God for judgment. Mary had gone thither before her ; so had many of the great chiefs, who, on sea and land, in both hemispheres and under many banners, had fought great battles, either for or against the Reformation. So had also the Spaniard Philip. Nigh five years before Sept. 13th, 1598, the man, who wrote so many letters that made nations weep blood, was dead in his Spanish palace. He had wrought hard to resist God, and he had matured great plans, with a ceaseless and boundless craft, mendacity and deceit, and the plans had failed. His reward is, that history writes of him, "If Philip possessed a single virtue, it has eluded the conscientious research of the writer of these pages. If there are vices—as possibly there are—from which he was exempt, it is because it is not permitted to human nature to attain perfection, even in evil." "He endured the martyrdom of his last illness with the heroism of a saint, and died in the certainty of immortal bliss, as the reward of his life of evil."

Elizabeth died March 24th, 1603, in the 70th year of her age, having reigned nigh 44 years in England. It was her fortune, during her reign, to be a party to that tremendous struggle, from which the Church conquered the right to live ; and the name of Elizabeth is associated with the most stormy years of the Reformation. In her grave, and with her Queenly name, are still associated the memory of those great Statesmen, Captains, Poets and Scholars, which will render the Elizabethan age and name forever famous.

ART. VIII.—PRESENCE IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

*Declaration signed by the Rev. R. S. Littledale, LL.D., D.C.L.,
and other Clergymen of the Church of England, May, 1867.*

Charge of the Bishop of Salisbury, May 20, 1867.

THE connection of Dr. Pusey with the Tractarian movement, the dreams of his Eirenicon, and his known advocacy of Ritualism, often make his very truth suspected error. Our chief design, under the title of this Article, is to ascertain whether his recent Declaration is in any measure consistent with the Faith of the Church, so that the man holding it may be esteemed orthodox and loyal. In such an investigation, charity should certainly desire to see lifted the cloud obscuring so illustrious a name, and to discover that the beauty of meek dignity, adorning the Scholar and Divine, is not wholly severed from Eternal Truth.

And here, it may be remarked, there are extreme views in reference to both Sacraments of the Church. By some, Baptism is divested of every sacramental token, stripped of all mystery, and reduced to a mere consecration of its subject to God ; while, by others, it has been converted into a charm, and made operative in conferring present sanctification and final salvation. The safe and Scriptural opinion of the Church, sustained by the Ancient and Anglican Fathers, is, that it removes the stain of original sin, introduces into the covenant of grace, and implants a germ of holiness, which may perish by neglect, or be fostered into an Eternal Life.

There are those, also, who hold that the Holy Communion is but a Memento, a Pledge, a Bond, a Confession, a Dedication. They despoil it of what most touches sensibility and awes into reverence, conforming it to the former severity of their doctrine and their architecture. On the other hand, Rome, with anathemas, fastens to it the monstrous dogma of transubstantiation, by which the glorified Body of our Lord, nay, according to the Decrees of Trent, His very Soul and Divinity, pass into the persons of the recipients.

Dr. Pusey and his associates concluded, many years since, that there is more in the Holy Communion, as inculcated by the Standards of the Church, than was exhibited in her practice. In a celebrated sermon, condemned by the University of Oxford, he stated, "Were it *only* a thankful commemoration of His redeeming love ; were it *only* a showing forth of His death ; were it *only* a strengthening and refreshing of the soul, it were indeed a reasonable service, but it would have no direct healing to the sinner. To him its special joy is, that it is his Redeemer's very broken Body ; it is His Blood which was shed for the remission of sins." Subsequently he used this more emphatic language : "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist has been termed sacramental, supernatural, mystical, ineffable, opposed, not to what is *real*, but to what is natural. It is a Presence *without* us, not within us only. Since it was the true Body which was given *for* us on the Cross, it is his true Body given *to* us in the Sacrament. The manner of the Presence of the Body is different. The Body which is present, is the same."

Now, beyond question, these words, literally received, are strong as any Romanist could desire. They have been honestly believed by thousands to teach the absurdity of transubstantiation. Just as obviously they are capable of a spiritual interpretation. Charity will rejoice if it be found from Dr. Pusey's recent declaration, he never intended them in the sense of his opposers. This paper, signed by himself and several other clergymen of the Church of England, contains the following exposition of his opinions.

1. "We repudiate the opinion of a corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood ; that is to say, of the presence of His body and blood as they are in Heaven, and the conception of the mode of His presence which implies the physical change of the natural substances of the bread and wine, commonly called transubstantiation.

"We believe, in the Holy Eucharist, by virtue of the consecration, through the power of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Christ, the 'inward part, or thing signified,' are present really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, under the outward visible part, or sign, or form, of bread and wine.

2. "We repudiate the notion of any fresh sacrifice, or any view of the Eucharistic sacrificial offering, as something apart from the 'all sufficient sacrifice and oblation on the Cross, which alone is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world,' both original and actual, and which alone is 'meritorious.'"

"We believe that, as in Heaven, Christ, our Great High Priest, ever offers Himself before the Eternal Father, pleading, by His presence, His Sacrifice of Himself 'once offered' on the Cross, so, on earth, in the Holy Eucharist, that same Body, 'once for all' sacrificed for us, and that same Blood 'once for all' shed for us, Sacramentally present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the Priest, as our Lord ordained to be done in remembrance of Himself, when He instituted the blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood."

3. "We repudiate all adoration of the Sacramental bread and wine, which would be idolatry."

"We believe that Christ, Himself, really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, present in the Sacrament, is to be adored."

The charge of the Bishop of Salisbury, read during his visitation to Dorchester last May, and which drew forth a protest from a number of his Clergy, expressed opinions, in regard to an *objective* presence, virtually similar to the Declaration. Thus, the whole subject has, in England, recently excited the deepest interest and the most varied comment.

In comparing the Declaration, first with the opinions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, while it must be remembered, that they often expressed themselves, not in precise and formal language, but rather with a glowing eloquence kindled by a warm Christian sensibility, it must, also, be observed that their words of Faith and Love, burning like the altars of Heaven, are very different from the chilling and passionless descriptions of those esteeming the Holy Eucharist only a commemorative observance. We will often recognize language, recalling the expressions in our own Communion office.

St. Ignatius says,—

"They abstain from Eucharist and Prayer, because they confess not that the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Christ."

Justin Martyr says,—

"For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner, as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, having been made Flesh by the Word of God, hath both Flesh and Blood for our Salvation; so, likewise, have we been taught that the

Food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our blood and flesh, by transmutation, are nourished, is the Flesh and Blood of that Jesus Who was made Flesh."

St. Irenæus says,—

"But how shall they know certainly that the bread, over which thanks are given, is the Body of our Lord, and that the cup is the cup of His Blood, if they do not acknowledge Him as the Son of the Creator of the world?"

Clement of Alexandria, referring to Christ, says,—

"I am thy nourisher, who giveth thee Myself—Bread of which whoso tasteth, no more tasteth death, and Who daily giveth thee the drink of Immortality."

Origen says,—

"Who both giveth thee the Bread of Blessing, His own Body, and bestoweth on thee His own Blood."

Dionysius, the Great, says,—

"But the Lord Himself and God of Israel saith, 'Whoso eateth Me shall live by Me.' It is God Who dwelleth in us according to the Covenant."

St. Athanasius says,—

"Our Saviour, also, since He was changing the real for the Spiritual, promised them that they should no longer eat the flesh of a lamb, but His own, saying, 'This is My Body and Blood.'"

St. Jerome says,—

"Nor hath Moses given us the true bread; but the Lord Jesus, Himself Guest and Banquet, Himself eating with us, and Him, Who is eaten—His Blood we drink, and without Him we cannot drink. He came in the Flesh that we might eat Him, and He remaineth with the Father that He might feed angels."

St. Augustin says,—

"So then He both gave us, of His Body and Blood, a healthful refreshment, and briefly solved a question of His own Entireness:—*Eat Life; drink Life*; Thou shalt have Life, and the Life is entire. But thus shall it be, the Body and Blood of Christ shall be each man's Life, if what is taken in the Sacrament, is eaten spiritually, and drunk spiritually."

St. Chrysostom, "the golden mouthed," with his unrivalled beauty and power of eloquence, awed and transported before the mystery of the Sacrament, awakens in us something of his own wonder and reverence. He says,—

"Think with thee, O man, what sacrifice thou art about to touch, what table approach. Lay it to heart that thou, being earth and ashes, takest part of the Body and Blood of Christ. God invites thee to His own Table, and setteth before thee His own Son. Let us draw near, and approach the King of Heaven. Wherefore, it is necessary to understand the marvel of the mysteries. He hath given to those, who desire Him, not only to see Him, but to touch and eat Him, and to embrace Him, and satisfy their love. Let us, then, return from that table like lions, breathing fire, terrible to devils. This Blood causeth the image of our King to be fresh within us, produceth beauty unspeakable—calleth to us angels and the Lord of angels—is the salvation of our souls—was poured forth to make Heaven accessible: awful in truth are the mysteries, awful in truth is the altar. A fountain went forth out of Paradise, sending forth material rivers: from this table springeth up a fountain, which sendeth forth rivers spiritual. This fountain is a fountain of light. By it stand the Powers on High, looking upon the beauty of its streams, because they more clearly see the power of the things set forth, and the flashings unapproachable. They, who share this Blood, stand with angels, and the Lord of angels and archangels, and the Powers that are above, clothed in Christ's own kingly robe. Nay, I have not yet said any great thing clothed with the King Himself."

It may be here incidentally observed, that the forms of expression, in all the most ancient Liturgies, in regard to the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, resemble many from the Fathers, and are often identical with those of our own Communion Office.

But we proceed to remark, that Gregory the Great, impressing on the Holy Eucharist still more the idea of Sacrifice, supposes represented to the believing heart the redemptive Sufferings of Christ, whereby man becomes reconciled to God, When the Priest offers, Heaven opens; choirs of angels appear; the earthly and Heavenly unite; the visible and invisible are one.

In the course of ages, the tendency to more sensuous conceptions, constantly increasing with the deeper darkness of the world, culminated in the Ninth Century, in the views of Paschasius Radbert. He says,—

"If thou believest in the miracle of the Incarnation of the Son of God, thou must believe, also, in the miracle which is wrought by the same divine power, through the words of the Priest. The same Body is here present as that in which Christ was born, suffered, arose and ascended into Heaven."

The opinions of Ratramnus were in direct contradiction to those of Radbert. He supposed that the Divine Word, dwelling in the Body of Christ, unites itself with the bread and wine, which, becoming media for the communication of the Eternal Logos, are called, in an improper sense, the Body of Christ.

Berengarius, in the Eleventh Century, seemed inspired by an intense ardor, in his zeal against a corporal presence in the Holy Eucharist. He wrote; he spoke; he protested. He was condemned as a heretic. His book was committed to the flames. Twice at Rome he ignominiously recanted; afterward, when the fear of death was removed, he returned to his former teaching. He seemed animated with an opposition equal to everything but martyrdom. The dogma of transubstantiation, however, spread, pervading the Church, until, in the Sixteenth Century, it received its final authoritative statement in the Canon of the Council of Trent, declaring,—

“Whosoever shall deny that, in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there are truly, really and substantially contained the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with His soul and Divinity, and, consequently, Christ entire, but shall affirm that He is present, only in sign and figure, or, by His power, let him be accursed.”

The philosophy of the change, concerning the Holy Eucharist, can be easily traced. Our Lord had promised to be with His disciples after His Ascension, both by Himself and by the Holy Spirit. The very words of institution seemed to indicate a peculiar Presence. If the followers of our Lord were to be made one with Him by Faith, how much more in this Sacramental Act? The elements were to be received in remembrance of that Body which was the temple of His Divinity—which they had seen, in repeated miracles, an instrument of Omnipotence—which they had beheld on the Cross amid the convulsions of a universe—which they had gazed upon, as it passed through the cloud into Heaven—which derived, from Deity, the merit of its passion, and the glory of its exaltation. These feelings of awe and amazement, awakened and perpetuated by the Holy Communion, intensi-

fied to a degree, which, at this distance of ages, we can scarcely conceive, impressed themselves on the hearts, and discourses, and writings, of the primitive teachers in such a way, that modern conceptions seem tame and cold, compared with their burning and impassioned utterances in regard to a PRESENT SAVIOUR. As the world receded from the light of simplicity and truth, conceptions more and more sensuous obtained. The bread and wine had their substance really changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, and, by a species of mystical charm, became the sustenance of immortality. Men, desirous of increasing their gains and promoting their authority, were willing to have themselves esteemed agents of Omnipotence in a miracle so stupendous, until what was a Sacrament of Life degenerated into a wretched superstition.

At the Reformation, different tendencies manifested themselves. Luther's persistent opposition to the Zwinglian view, is universally known. His doctrine received its formal expression in the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession, which teaches, "That the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present in the Sacrament in the form of bread and wine, and there distributed and received." In antagonism to his view, and representing the opinions of the distinctive Calvinists generally, are the statements of the Westminster Confession, where the elements of the Holy Communion are chiefly regarded as mere memorials of a dying Saviour. The writers, adhering to religious organizations adopting that Confession, seem wholly to ignore all conceptions of Presence in the Eucharist, and to consider it a Confession of Faith on the part of the believer, a renewal of his covenant, a pledge of his devotion, a bond of his fellowship, a memento of an atoning Lord.

The Divines of the Church of England, at the period of the Reformation, by the excited struggles of the Continent, had constantly before them the opposing views of Luther and Zwingli, and between these many oscillated, until, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, true to those instincts, which always, sooner or later, conducted into the safe path, avoiding, on the one hand, the superstitions of Rome, and, on the other, the violence

of the Continental Reformation, the CHURCH, in Her Articles and Her Communion Office, has preserved all that was true in the different systems, retaining, in the language of the Scriptures, the ancient Liturgies, and the Fathers, the ideas both of Memorial and Presence, simply taking for granted the fact, without expressing the mode.

If Arch-Bishop Cranmer afterwards inclined to the opinion of Zwingle, yet, in his work on the Lord's Supper, he could say, "For this Sacramental bread and wine be no bare and naked figures, but so pithy and effectuous, that whosoever worthily eateth them, eateth spiritually Christ's Flesh and Blood, and hath Everlasting Life; wherefore, whosoever cometh to the Lord's Table, with all humility, fear, reverence and purity of life, does not receive only bread and wine, but, also, our Saviour, Christ, both God and Man, with all his benefits to the relief and sustentation both of their bodies and souls." "This, therefore, is the sum of my teaching in this fourth book, that in the true ministration of the Sacrament, Christ is *present spiritually*, and so spiritually eaten of them that be godly and spiritual."

Even Bishop Jewel, in his controversy with M. Harding, occasionally uses the strongest language, indicating Christ's Presence. "He knows well," he writes, "we feed not the people with bare signs and figures, but teach them that the Sacraments of Christ be Holy Mysteries, and that, in the ministration thereof, Christ is set before us as He was crucified upon the Cross. Herein, we teach the people, that not a naked sign and token, but that Christ's Body and Blood, indeed, are verily given to us—that we verily eat it, that we verily drink it, that we verily be relieved and live by it; that we are bone of His bones, and flesh of His Flesh; that Christ dwelleth in us, and we in Him."

When Hooker says, "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not, therefore, to be sought in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receivers of the Sacrament;" we understand him as only denying that *corporal* presence of the Romanists, which he combats. He afterwards affirms, "Life

being, therefore, proposed to all men as an end, they who, by Baptism, have laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a new Life, have their nourishment and food prescribed for continuance of Life in them—such as will have the Life of the Son of God, must eat the Flesh of the Son of Man—whereas in infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and, by Baptism, receive the grace of his Holy Spirit.”

Jeremy Taylor, in his own forcible, original and inimitable way, professes to express the whole teaching of the Liturgy, Articles and Divines of the Church of England, where he says, “After the Minister of Holy Mysteries hath rightly prayed, and blessed or consecrated the bread and wine, the symbols become changed into the Body and Blood of Christ after a *Sacramental*, that is, in a real and spiritual manner, so that all, who worthily communicate, do by Faith receive Christ really, effectually to all the purposes of Christ’s passion. It is bread, and it is Christ’s Body. It is bread in substance—it is *Christ in the Sacrament*, and Christ is really given to all that are truly disposed as the symbols are—each as they can—Christ as Christ can be given—Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul as the elements do the body.” He asserts, “That this is the doctrine of the Church of England, is apparent in the Church Catechism affirming the inward part, or thing signified by the consecrated bread and wine, to be the Body and Blood of Christ, which are really and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper, and the benefit to be the ‘strengthening and refreshing of the soul by the Body and Blood of Christ as our bodies are by bread and wine,’ and the same is severally repeated in the exhortation, and in the prayer of the Address before the Consecration in the Canon of our Communion. Now that the spiritual is also a *real* presence, and they are hugely consistent, is easily credible to them that believe the gifts of the Holy Ghost are real graces.”

Now I think it is obvious, from these quotations from our Communion Office, that the Church represents Christ in the Holy Eucharist as the adherents of the Westminster Confession seldom, or never do, while She, at the same time, avoids the Romish doctrine of a corporal presence, by stating, in her

XXVIIIth Article; that transubstantiation "is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." There is, indeed, a true, safe and beautiful view, which She inculcates in choice, inimitable words, selected principally from the Sacred Oracles, and which are reverently received without any explanations by the most of her children. Still, as in her article on Predestination, and in many parts of her Ritual, there is a latitude allowable to the individualities of men, within which, her members may be satisfied and loyal. One, missing her admirable mean, may make more prominent to his consciousness expressions preserving the Zwinglian view of the Sacrament as a Memorial; another may be impressed with the notion of Presence, while a third unites *both* in their intended harmony. Here is afforded an admirable occasion for the exercise of that charity, "which is the bond of perfectness."

Having thus traced the history of opinions in regard to the Holy Communion, from an early period, and exhibited the teaching of the Church on this branch of our subject, we are prepared to approach the consideration of the Declaration. Dr. Pusey, having first denied the Romish dogma of transubstantiation, affirms, that the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are present, "really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably." There may be here objections to the form of the statement, but not to its orthodoxy. The learned Divine at once separates himself by an impassable chasm from Rome, and exposes himself to all the anathemas of Trent. He strikes at Papal infallibility. His declaration would be spurned at the Vatican. He undertakes to express the presence of our Lord's Body and Blood as spiritual, in opposition to corporal. His explanation fails, as that of all others, in bringing before the mind any distinct notion of what, as an admitted mystery, is incapable of illustration. It seems far better to reverently follow the simple language of the Prayer Book in childlike Faith and Love. It is bread, and yet the Body of Christ. It is wine, and yet the Blood of Christ. We eat; we drink; we are nourished for body and soul into Everlasting Life. The fact is

asserted; the benefit is realized; the mode remains a mystery. Yet, while the statement of Dr. Pusey, like everything of a similar nature, may be imperfect in the attempt, it is not more objectionable than that of Ratramnus, the champion of truth against transubstantiation as now inculcated by Rome, and who taught, that the Eternal Word, by the Consecration, unites Himself to the elements, and is received by the believer. It is, also, interesting to note how almost exactly the Divine of Oxford agrees with the expressions of the Bishop of Down, who glowed with a fire of zeal against Romish corruptions. Taylor, so distinguished at once for genius, learning and orthodoxy, avers, that the symbols "become changed into the Body and Blood of Christ after a Sacramental, that is, after a real and spiritual manner." Dr. Pusey asserts, that the "Body and Blood of Christ are present really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably." An enemy here could scarce trace a difference. It is a matter of marvel that all Christians, who have supposed Dr. Pusey, on this vital point, almost in sympathy with Rome, would not hail with joy opinions so eternally antagonistic to the mediæval superstitions of the Papacy, instead of still covering one, whose character is certainly beautified by many graces, with a cloud of obloquy. Let us hope, that in advocating a view somewhat extreme and objectionable in its form of statement, he is an instrument in leading the Church back from a low, loose and irreverent Zwinglian tendency in regard to the Holy Communion, to that love and reverence which characterized the primitive Christians, when they partook the Body and Blood of their crucified and ascended Lord.

But whether we should carry ourselves to the length of Eucharistic adoration, is quite another question. The Declaration, indeed, repudiates all worship of the Sacramental bread and wine as idolatry, and affirms that only Christ Himself, "really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably" present in the Sacrament, must be adored. This, indeed, avoids the imputation of a Romish reverence; nor do we fear that the Church can ever be conducted back from the light of this age to the darkness of Mediæval superstition. Such apprehensions usually begin in weakness, and end in cant. Still, we must remember that our

Church, in one of her Articles, has spoken in a way which seems impliedly designed to guard against this very tendency to Eucharistic adoration. She affirms, "The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about." After all Dr. Pusey's distinctions and explanations, and although a seemingly logical inference from his premises, we are not persuaded to the practice he advocates. Besides, the prejudice and misapprehensions it excites, with the possible injury to the weak and ignorant, are certainly considerations which the wisdom of charity should not overlook. There is, however, a propriety during certain portions of our service, in turning reverently, as the Prayer Book authorizes, towards the place where the holy symbols of our Lord are consecrated, so that we may appear to contemplate and address, not man, but God. Thus, Daniel, without imputation of idolatry, knelt at his open window towards Jerusalem, which, then a ruin, had been the place, where over the mercy seat in the holiest of the temple, rested the cloud of the Presence of Jehovah. If, with the face thus directed to the place where the symbols of our Lord's Body and Blood have been consecrated, any believer reverently adores his Redeemer as specially and mysteriously manifested, however we regard the act, we certainly cannot blame the intention.

We have considered the third part of the Declaration out of the order in which it appeared, because it came more naturally in the course of our remarks. There remains that clause relating to the notion of sacrifice in the Holy Communion. The Trentine dogma is emphatically repudiated. All notion of fresh sacrifice is denied. Nothing, it is asserted, is added to the all-sufficient "oblation" of the Cross, which is pronounced "that perfect Redemption, Propitiation and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, original and actual." This only is meritorious. Certainly this statement, thus clearly and publicly made, should remove the opinion, entertained by thousands, that Dr. Pusey holds the Romish opinion of sacrifice. As we understand the Declaration, it avers, that, as Christ, the Great High Priest, offers Himself before the Eternal Father, pleading by His Presence the Sacrifice of Himself once offered on the Cross, so on earth, in the Holy

Eucharist, that same Body once, for all sacrificed for us, that same Blood, once for all shed for us, *sacramentally* present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the Priest.

As we apprehend the Communion Office, there is contemplated a four-fold sacrifice. The Priest, having placed on the Table the bread and wine, praying for the "whole state of Christ's Church militant," offers first to God, "the alms and oblations" of the people, as expressions of their charity and obedience. He here stands as a representative on earth in supplication to Heaven. Again, he presents the "Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving," rendering to the Eternal Father, in behalf of His children, their admiration for the "Majesty of His Glory," and their gratitude for the bounty of His Goodness. He also, in the third place, says, "we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee," thus giving to God, its Creator and Redeemer, the whole being, freighted with its interests for Time and for Eternity. Lastly, because most important, we consider the act of the Priest, who, identifying himself with the people, as their representative and advocate, exclaims: "We, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy HOLY GIFTS, which we now offer unto Thee, the Memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make, having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection and glorious Ascension." Here, it may be remarked, we have the collected Faith, and Love, and Wisdom of the Church during ages, taken from Her most ancient Liturgies, and purified from all Mediæval additions, until there is expressed for all time the truest Christian consciousness. The Priest below, presents in behalf of the people, the bread and wine, in sympathy with the High Priest above, mediating before the Father with His own Body and Blood once for all offered on the Cross as a sacrifice for the world.

Now, let it be observed, the difference is slight between this simple and received explanation of the Communion Office, and the language of the Declaration. In the one case, the Priest is represented as "offering these Thy Holy Gifts," alluding to

the bread and wine, and in the other case, the Body and Blood of Christ, adopting the language of Bishop Taylor, "*sacramentally*" present. In the one case, he presents the symbol ; in the other case, he is declared to present the thing supposed to be symbolized, not there really and corporally, as in the view of Rome, but only "spiritually and ineffably," in the language of Dr. Pusey. We much prefer the simple words of the Communion Office, but can perceive no very alarming error in the expressions of the Declaration.

And here, it may be said, with the opinions of Dr. Pusey not contained in the Declaration we have now no concern. We have heard him, from childhood, branded as an errorist. A clergyman of the Church recently suggested that he was a disguised Jesuit. We confess to a thrill of pleasure, when the perusal of his Declaration rendered it admissible to account for his beautiful Christian character by a demonstrable orthodoxy. Perhaps, if his most censured views of baptismal regeneration, and his supposed denial of salvation by faith, were examined without prejudice, it might be found that he differed from the standards of the Church, rather in statement than reality. Could the Bishop of Ohio, and the Professor of Oxford, both equally venerable for their godliness, understand each other in the use of terms, they might join hands, and, kneeling before their Redeemer, ascribe to Him all the glory of their salvation. Dr. Pusey's advocacy of Tract number Ninety, seems more startling and inexplicable. The dreams of his Eirenicon are simply amusing and amazing. The great scholar, in his classic retreat, exposing himself by his Declaration to the anathemas of Trent, or exhibiting with unprecedented clearness the prostitution of Rome in the worship of the Virgin, yet believes, that the Vatican will seal its thunders ; and, by a union with the Church of England, reformed in the fires of martyrdom, the Pope will abandon the very foundations of his throne. An imagination so harmless might excite a smile, but certainly should never arouse a tempest.

Perhaps, in conclusion, it may not be amiss to consider the state of parties in the Church, so nearly connected with the important movement, which, if not originated by Dr. Pusey, has, at least, been under his guidance.

The Church in England and in America, combines two elements,—a true ORDER, and a true FAITH. On the side of Order, she stands in sympathy with the Greek, and with the Romish Church. On the side of Faith, she harmonizes, substantially, with those Orthodox denominations, which sprang out of the Reformation. Laying Her maternal hand on both, She would unite them in her Fold, and in the millennial, as in the primitive, time, be, throughout the world, the one HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC CHURCH. In such a position, resulting from her genius, and her history, we might anticipate a preponderating element of conservatism, with, on either side, rash and injurious extremes. Such exist in fact. We see two classes, differing in temperament, opinion, and conduct. Nor is it desirable that all varieties of character should be destroyed by a resistless rigidity. If men are loyal to the Church, if they love her with a filial affection, if they submit to her authority, if they observe her rubrics, if they obey her Canons, they may, within certain limits, vary in their views of Predestination, Justification, Baptism, the Eucharist, Orders, and many other subjects. But the difficulty is, prudence is too often disregarded, and charity is too often grieved. Hence the classes I have named rush into strife, perhaps into Schism. Here, on the one hand, are men of taste, of sensibility, of reverence. They admire the past. They love unity. They venerate authority. They cultivate art. Painting, Sculpture, Poetry, Architecture, Music, possess for them an ineffable charm. The gorgeous pageantries of Rome, during Holy Week, appealing to their sensibilities, would lift them into a Heaven of adoring admiration. They are remarkable, more for fancy than logic, and enjoy the glow of refined emotion more than the truth of severe doctrine. They perceive, in the candle on the altar, an image of Christ as the light of the world. They see, in the smoke of the censer, a type of gratitude arising from a Christian heart. Overlooking the prejudice excited by every practice, however pure, if seemingly Romish, and often disregarding the feelings of brethren, they never understand how it may not be wrong to lavish ornament on a window, and yet wrong to decorate a vestment. They

persistently refuse to concede, that it is not sinful to make the sign of the Cross on the forehead, and yet sinful to wear the sign of the Cross on a Chasuble. They find it hard to comprehend, how it is not censurable to attract to the Church by pulpit eccentricities, and yet censurable to attract by a rich ritual. While a few of these persons may be in secret sympathy with Rome, others give evidence of love to Christ, and activity for his poor. We do not incline to their modes, and would not like to see them prevail. Yet we deem they will be more easily cured by toleration than by thunder. The *Directorium Anglicanum* will perish, like a building which falls because the weight of its ornaments exceeds the strength of its foundations. But while these may be individual opinions, there are other, and more serious questions. What is the LAW regulating the practices of Ritualism? Are they allowable according to the Canons and Rubrics of the Church? How far does the Ecclesiastical legislation of England apply to America? Are we to be bound by the Prayer Books of Edward, and the enactments of Parliament? Or, as in the case of our national Constitution, should we look to the Mother Country, not for rules of authority, but principles of interpretation? Here we embark on a sea of difficulties. Unable to determine these questions, we have seen one Bishop excusably hesitate to interfere with strange practices in his jurisdiction, while a majority of his associates felt themselves conscientiously compelled into a Declaration, which seemed to interfere with the regulation of a Diocese beyond their legal control. Where is the remedy for such an anomalous condition of affairs? When we consider the questions which have arisen in relation to the Nicene Creed, to the Provincial System, to inter-Communion with other Churches, to Ritual, and to various subjects of agitation, does it not seem a call of God, by his wise Providences, to our General Convention, to appoint a Commission, who shall consider not one, but *all* important points of difficulty, and by authoritative and unmistakable LAW, compose the Church? Until this be done, there seems no end of strife, unless novelties expend themselves by their own violence.

But we now approach another, and an opposite class. Here we have men with little natural reverence,—often impulsive and eccentric. They are in the Church by birth, or accident. They do not incline to the æsthetic. They love doctrine more than art. In habits, in manners, in tendency, they are Puritanic,—more free among strangers than in their own household. To them, symbolism is odious. Every addition to Ritual, is an advance toward Rome. Altar lights are kindled from the sparks of the pit. Incense is a smoke from the nostrils of the Beast. A splendid vestment is a Popish abomination. These men, usually correct in Faith, often godly in life, and abundant in labor, find themselves repelled by whatever even distantly resembles Rome, and attracted, through their emotional experiences, and doctrinal affinities, to the surrounding denominations. Nor would this be culpable, if they simply indulged preferences as individuals. But, as in the other case, there arise questions of duty, and submission, and law, which, passing beyond the single person, affect the entire Church. Here, however, the questions are unembarrassed with doubt. If anything is settled in the Church, it is the doctrine of Orders, which lies at the foundation of her entire Ecclesiastical System. We believe it drawn from Scripture, established by the Apostles, and transmitted through ages. It is expressed in the Preface to our Ordination Office. It is witnessed by the Canons, and the practice of the Church in England and America, restricting our pulpits to Clergymen Episcopally ordained. It is demonstrated by the hand of every Bishop, placed on ministers who have come from the various religious organizations. It has been made dear to the hearts of thousands by immemorial usage, and the venerable example of godly Clergymen. Now, merely to shock the sensibilities made sacred under such circumstances, is no slight offence. Simply to disturb the peace of fellowship, is a more censurable fault. But to defiantly proclaim that the *repeal of the LAW is to be secured by its violation*, is rebellion against the Church, and injury to the State, spreading everywhere the infectious evil of war against constituted authority. In such a case, nothing remains but to summon, to arraign, to try, to convict, to pun-

ish the culprit. Without this, neither God nor man can be satisfied. Yet, in dealing with these extremes, let the aim be, not excision, but correction. The Law should be executed with firmness, but in love.

Nor should the existence of these extremes excite distrust as to the mission of the Church. Nay, these opposite parties may have their strifes overruled by Infinite Wisdom for her final triumph, and prove Providential links, on the one hand uniting us with the Oriental and with the Western Church, and on the other, with the innumerable denominations ; and so far from causes of alarm, are proofs of Catholicity. Let the Reformed Church, at once resting on the true FAITH, and the true ORDER, as the foundation laid by the Saviour and by the Apostles, keep ever burning on her altars the fires of love, and, in the latter days of earth's glory, she shall arise, with Her Primitive Constitution, and Her Millennial Purity, to shine in the brightness of Her Lord, and extend her sway of peace over our world.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE HUGUENOTS, THEIR SETTLEMENTS, CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIES IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND. By SAMUEL SMILES, author of "Self Help," "Lives of the Engineers, etc.," with an Appendix relating to the Huguenots in America. 12mo., pp. 448. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The history of the Huguenots possesses a tragic interest. There are few pages more deeply stained than those which record the dragonnades, the butcherings, the burnings, the imprisonments, the exiles, consequent on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The infatuation, producing such scenes of horror and blood, is more wonderful, when, amid the congratulations of the Pope, the joy of Bishops, the exultation of Kings, and the shouts of the populace, we hear the eloquence of a Bossuet and a Massillon, applauding the zeal which drove from their desolate homes many of the best and noblest families in France. If, in the work of Mr. Smiles, events so thrilling, and tragic, are not depicted with the greatest dramatic power, the narrative at least is always clear, sustained, and truthful, while the frequent introduction of personal adventure excites the interest and deepens the impression of the reader. It is instructive to remark, how the cruelties of France were punished by the loss of some of her most gifted sons, and the prostration, or rather extinction, of many profitable branches of industry. England, on the other hand, was amply rewarded for her generous sympathies and contributions, to which she is to day owing much of her present manufacturing and commercial greatness. While humble mechanics were industriously plying new trades, soldiers, scholars, and divines were enrolled among the most illustrious names of Britain. Even the Queen of England has Huguenot blood in her veins. The present Archbishop of Dublin, is said to be of Huguenot descent. Dukes, Earls, and Barons, are connected with the Huguenots. Sir Samuel Romilly, Dr. Porter, Grote the historian, are of Huguenot origin. In our own country, Huguenot families have left their traces in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, where they have increased the wealth, and fought the battles of the Republic. The brilliant Laurens, the illustrious Jay, the celebrated Boudinot, were of Huguenot extraction.

The work of Mr. Smiles, with the Appendix by the Hon. G. P. Dissosway, exhibits the history of the Huguenots, both of England and America, most satisfactorily, evincing scholarly research and a mastery of the subject. We commend the book as entertaining, and permanently valuable.

THE HERMITAGE, AND OTHER POEMS. By EDWARD ROWLAND SILL. 12mo., 152 pp. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1868.

Nothing is more difficult, than to form an opinion of poetic merit. What finds no response in the colder heart of the critic, may yet touch the sympathies of thousands. There is a subtle charm in poetry, which, like the fragrance of flowers, is too often chilled away before the icy breath of the formal reviewer. Besides, after the toil of years, with all the alternations of hope, and despair, how cruel, by a remorseless inquisition, to crush a young aspirant to poetic honors, and turn to darkness the bright expectations of friends and admirers! While these thoughts have been suggested in reading the book of Mr. Sill, we have neither the intention, or the occasion, of any such murderous violence. Here are displayed a most respectable culture, many tokens of creative power, certain delicacies of perception and felicities of expression, frequent excellence of versification, and more than ordinary promise of future success. Mr. Sill's poem, will be read with pleasure by many, and with respect by all. Yet it may be a fair question, whether

the same talent and industry, devoted to other departments of intellectual labor, would not bring more happiness to himself, and profit to others. Our world is filled with verses and pictures, but not with poets and artists. While we should regret to see Mr. Sill expend the whole energies of his superior mind, in turning to verse the visions of his fancy, yet, if he regards poetry as a secondary consideration,—if he makes it the ornament, rather than the foundation of his life,—if, while cultivating the flowers, he also gathers its fruits of some practical vocation, although his genius may not permanently enrich literature, it will diffuse grace, and beauty over his career.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, Author, &c. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. 12mo., pp. 420.

Somebody says, that the "Guardian Angel" is a novel without a story. It is not, however, without a design. It is little more than a repetition of "Elsie Venner,"—characters, illustrations, and incidents are all new, while the purpose is the same. The author belongs to a class of men, possessed with a spirit of hostility to the Scriptural account of the natural character of man, as given in the Historical Books of Moses. Sometimes they use Chronology, sometimes Geology, sometimes Philology, sometimes Physiology, as a weapon of attack. Sometimes they combine to prove, that humanity has suffered no such lapse as the Scriptures teach, by practical illustrations of new forms of "Social Life," and so we have such exhibitions as the "Brook Farm" experiment. But all such enterprises have collapsed, while their projectors have not always collapsed with them. They are still persistent in keeping before the public. Oliver Wendell Holmes "rattlesnake bite," which was the key note to "Elsie Venner," was so grossly offensive on the score of good taste, that he has now essayed to teach the same general sentiments by a novel, having at least the semblance of every day life. His object is to show, that the development of inherited character "happens, but less obviously to common observation, in the *mental and moral nature*." The rigid *Culvinism*, in which the author was educated, seems to have had an effect on him, similar to that produced by Mediæval Romanism on Voltaire and Renan. We regret that he has been driven by distorted perversions of the Divine character, to such utter, and cold, and heartless infidelity.

VISIONS OF PARADISE, AN EPIC. By DAVID N. LORD. New York; David N. Lord. 1867. 12mo., pp. 415.

The pretentious title of a book always provokes criticism. Perhaps no author should affix to his own production the name, Epic. That Poem to which this word properly applies, is considered the grandest creation of human genius, involves plot, incident, character, and implies a delicacy, a grasp, a fire of soul, allotted to few men and few ages. The author of "Visions of Paradise," has miscalled his Poem. It is properly a series of descriptions by one, who, we should suppose, had been an attentive reader of Dante, Milton, and Pollock. Much sound theology is inculcated. There are many pious sentiments. Every where are indications of a pure and affectionate heart. Occasionally there are striking expressions. The metre is respectable. The Poem might kindle a glow of pleasure in the particular circle of the author, for the sanctities and sympathies of which it is far better suited than for the censorious gaze of the public. But there are wanting that creative power, accompanied by the inexpressible sweetness of rhythm and majesty of thought, essential to the Epic. We doubt not that a grand American Poem, on a similar theme, will yet be written,—having neither the painful detail of Dante, or the laborious loftiness of Milton,—bringing the sublime truths of our holy religion more in sympathy with ordinary minds, and into the range of common life—connecting Time and Eternity by the Cross in a way less marked by the "palpably obscure."

JOSEPH II. AND HIS COURT. An Historical Novel. By L. MÜHLBACH. Author of Frederick the Great, and his Court, &c., translated from the German, by Adelaide De V. Chaudron. D. Appleton & Co.: New York. 1867. 8vo., pp. 343.

We select this book for notice, at this late period, as one of the best produced by Miss Mühlbach, and a type of what she has published in the past, and will probably write in the future. We do not wonder at its popularity. We are at once introduced to the splendor of Courts, and the intrigues of Cabinets. We are clearly shown that every human interest may be stirred by the lives of monarchs and statesmen, and that to move the heart it is not wholly necessary to draw incident and character from dens of vice and infamy. The master genius of the world, in delineation of man, found in *Courts* his Hamlet and his Lear, and Miss Mühlbach's astonishing success proves her right in not following some modern theories on this subject. Besides, she has used the facts of history in a way both instructive and entertaining. This particular work exhibits everywhere extraordinary genius. There are single scenes wrought up with high dramatic power, and where the interest is excited to a thrilling intensity. We mention, for instance, Joseph's visit to the dim vaults, containing those haughty monarchs of Hapsburg, who for ages have swayed the sceptre over Austria. There are descriptions, too, of natural scenery, for freshness and beauty rarely surpassed. The sagacity and comprehensiveness of Kaunitz, his skepticism, his arrogance, his luxuriousness, his whims, are admirably contrasted with the really noble, imperious, and ambitious Maria Theresa, while two natures so opposite are most skillfully harmonized into a strange fellowship, and become coöperative by the unity of a common purpose,—the glory of Austria. Most strikingly contrasted with his mother, and her minister, appears Joseph,—weak not from nature, but from circumstances—the victim of royal birth—ever fighting against his destiny, at last sinking under its hard appointments,—his conscious ability crushed before the mature energies of the empress—an eagle pining for the freedom of the mountain, and the brilliance of the sun, yet slowly dying under the doom of confinement to a gilded cage.

However, with all these admirable touches of genius, the book has glaring defects. There is absolutely no plot,—no convergence of events to a great catastrophe,—none of that unity of design, marking the novels of the "Wizard of the North," where the soul is hurried along with eager interest to the unfolding of the magical narration. The writer seems desirous to crowd into her book, every prominent event, and every important character, in an entire age, with the slightest possible regard to their connection, until her work resembles a gallery hung promiscuously with all the brilliant pictures of a half century. There is still a graver fault. The revels of Kaunitz bring to view a revolting lasciviousness, and indeed the voluptuousness underlying his strong character is most corrupting to the young. The interview between Catharine and her lovers, is equally shocking to taste and decency. There is indeed pervading the volume a subtle spirit of infection, to be felt rather than expressed, from which true delicacy shrinks, and which we fear arises from a secret skepticism of the writer, like exhalations from a hidden marsh.

It is urged, that the representations alluded to are in simple accordance with facts. True. But what the brevity of history records in a few words, leaves no impression of impurity; whereas, depicted in the detail of the novelist, the same events become loathsome and intolerable. Besides, Miss Mühlbach's German earnestness, unrelieved by that delicate play of wit and humor, with which genius so often relieves tragic horrors, imparts a species of grotesque hideousness to her delineations of sensuality and passion. The volume reminds us of a tree, whose bright blossoms load the air with the most delightful odors, while there distil from its trunk sweet drops of intoxicating poison.

NATHAN THE WISE. A Dramatic Poem. By GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING. Translated by Ellen Frothingham. pp. 259. 12mo. Leypoldt & Holt, New York, 1868.

Longfellow performed great service for literature, by introducing to this continent, in his "Poets and Poetry of Europe," many productions of the highest genius, before almost unknown to American readers. Now, however, instead of fragmentary selections, entire works are demanded. Specimens from the noble works of Scandinavian and German mind are not sufficient,—the mines themselves

must lay bare their treasures to our gaze. We foresee plainly, that the taste which has been heretofore formed, and cultivated, will be insatiable in its demands, until our country is deluged with the Poetry of Sweden, and Denmark, and Russia, and Germany, as it has been with certain systems of Philosophy, and it is not improbable that the enterprising publishers of "NATHAN THE WISE," will engage largely in the work they have begun. Dangerous and insidious as may be the skepticism often introduced, and while many may be injured, we have great confidence in the healthful ruggedness of American mind. Although we would do nothing to obscure from our land the beams of true genius, it is a duty to point out the spots upon its disk. The interests of our youth demand that they shall be furnished with the rich treasures of the European Muse, and at the same time be guarded against what might prove a fatal fascination. But to our book. Lessing was unquestionably a large hearted man, of rare intellectual powers. He strangely united two arts, seemingly antagonistic. He was both a poet and a critic. While his dramas have left their impression on the popular mind, his prose compositions have greatly influenced Literature and Philosophy. He was the advocate, almost the originator, of that most pernicious maxim,—“Well doing is the main thing,—belief is secondary,”—thus taking for granted, that faith and conduct are separable. The effect of this principle on his own morals is seen in the sketch of his life, appended to the Poem. It is there said,—“He gambled a great deal harder than present ideas approve,” affirming “the eager attention he gave to the Faro table,” set the clogged machine in motion, “brought the stagnant juices into circulation.” Goethe, speaking of a certain period of his career, remarks, “that he led a dissipated life in taverns and society, since he needed constantly a strong counterpoise to his powerfully laborious soul.” “Nathan the Wise” was most probably written to illustrate, in the Dramatic form, the plausible error we have mentioned. There appear every where in it, traces of a noble genius and a manly soul. The interested attachment of Daja, the purity, and affection of Recha, the villainous selfishness of the Patriarch, the impulsive heroism of the Templar, the artful love of Sittah, the inconsiderate generosity of Saladin, and the meek, thoughtful, beautiful wisdom of Nathan, are in charming contrast; each, like the parts of a picture, adding to the attractiveness of the other. While there is no exuberance of fancy, and no high dramatic power, there are always pleasing and instructive thoughts, in correct and flowing verse, with many scenes exceedingly touching and interesting. Yet, beneath all these charms of genius, there seems to lurk a secret hostility to Christianity, while there is nothing which greatly depreciates Judaism, or Mohammedism. The flings are at the former, and not the latter. After all that has been urged, by way of explanation and apology, it is difficult to suppose there was no design in the arrangement, which makes the selfish Daja, and the weak Lay brother, and the rascally Patriarch, Christians, while the noble Sultan and his devoted Sister are followers of the Prophet. Recha, a Christian by birth, owes her excellence to a Jewish education. Her brother, the Templar, chafes under the restraints of his order, and is no friend to the Religion imposing them. Nathan, who exhibits none of the faults, and all the excellences of the other characters, and is presented as a model of wisdom and love, is a Jew. We do not believe these peculiarities were made necessary by the demands of Art, or the facts of history. They sprang, we fear, from a mind and heart, unconsciously perhaps, at war with Christianity. Yet, if granted the liberty of pointing out both the defects and merits of such productions of genius, we would no more withhold them from our youth than we would the poems of Homer or Horace.

Let us add, that the translation, in point of perspicuity, and the melody and correctness of the versification, deserves high praise.

QUEENS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. By Mrs. ELLET, author “Of the Women of the American Revolution,” “Women Artists, &c.” New York. Charles Scribner & Co. 8vo, pp. 464.

This is really a pleasing Book, which only a woman could write. If it is interesting to know the costume of an ancient Greek Lady, or to understand the arrangements of a Roman dwelling, or to revive the picture of Puritan or Cavalier, we cannot see why we should not be attracted by information in regard to the cues, and knee-buckles, and breakfasts, and dinners, and dancings, and, generally, the dress,

manners, and habits of our Republican ancestors. Many incidents of family history are here gracefully preserved, which would otherwise soon have faded even from household tradition. Such collections of minute, and, to some apprehensions, trivial facts, exert a powerful, but unconscious influence on history itself, and at some distant day may, perhaps, afford material for the reflections of the Philosopher. We are thankful for the industry, which gathers and arranges these incidents in pleasing style, and hope the pictures of the dignified courtliness of our ancestors may have some effect in restraining and refining the manners of their children. Whether the matrons of America should be styled "*Queens*," or the expression "*Republican Court*" should be employed, are questions of taste which will be differently determined,—but however settled, the pleasing interest of the volume remains. We would also add, that the descriptions of the beauty, elegance, and worth of the departed, have been to us more agreeable than the praises of the living. The latter may give rise to the charge of excessive and interested laudation, and, by placing womanly loveliness too glaringly before the public eye, will excite either the blush of modesty, or the smile of gratified vanity.

SELECTIONS FROM THE KALEVALA, translated from the German version, by JOHN A. PORTER, M.D., late Professor in Yale College, with an introduction, and analysis of the Poem. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1868. 12mo, 148 pp.

The Finnish Mythology was dispersed in Songs, until 1822, Dr. Topelius made a collection of Poems, which perhaps suggested the singular, and almost mythical, enterprise of Dr. Elias Lönnrot. He, during years, wandered among the peasants, venturing even to the snows of Archangel, near the frozen shores of the White Sea, and collecting the treasures of the past from living lips. The result of these enthusiastic and wonderful labors, was the KALEVALA, published in 1835. That a Poem, gathered in this fragmentary way, should exhibit unity in its plan, is most remarkable; nor does there seem any reason to suspect imposture, as in the case of Macpherson's Ossian. Still, we are not to be driven, by this fact, nor by the other arguments of the day, from our boyish conviction that *one* soul breathes fire into the Iliad, and fills it with all images of beauty and of majesty. While we do not think it wise to institute a comparison between the Epics of Greece, and of Finland, we recognize in the KALEVALA the invention of Genius; and love to transport ourselves amid the rough scenes of the North, and the simple beings of the past, and feel the charm of a certain inexpressible humor, and grotesque sublimity peculiar to the early literature of those European polar regions, where the silence and prolonged twilight seem to invest nature with a species of spectral gloom, most favorable to the play of the imagination. We rejoice to see the literary creations of all ages and nations thus brought into our country, to stimulate and expand the American mind.

SALOME, A DRAMATIC POEM. By J. C. HEYWOOD. New York, 1867. Hurd & Houghton. 12mo, 222 pp.

We have always supposed that the Christian Religion was capable of being interwoven with every species of Literature and of Art. We hail with pleasure each intimation of a day, when it will pervade and inspire even Fiction and the Drama. We expect nothing less than that there will be millennial genius corresponding to millennial glory. It is therefore, with every prepossession in its favor, that we commence a notice of a volume, where the old Greek chorus is made to express Christian ideas, in such a way that the attempt is not a ludicrous failure. The plot of SALOME has unity: the interest is well sustained; the characters are consistently and sometimes strikingly developed; and the imagery is frequently impressive. History has also been used to advantage. The mind is affected by the descriptions of the Poet, very much as it is by the narrations of the Historian. Vengeance, Discord, Pestilence, Famine, War, hang like phantoms over the doomed city, scattering horrors, while the sweet and gentle Christian virtues—Faith, and Patience, and Love, diffuse their mild influences over Life and Death, amid the tumults of battle, and under the clouds of wrath. There is, however,

in the Poem, a verbosity,—a want of concentration in thought and language, which greatly detract from its power. The measure is not always correct. There is often a noticeable deficiency in the melody of the verse—sometimes even a roughness is apparent. We cannot admire the wit, or the love-scenes of the Drama; they seem constrained and labored. Yet, notwithstanding these blemishes, we believe “*SALOME*” exhibits a fertility of invention, a strength of imagination, and a power of expression, deserving high commendation, and full of future promise.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF GOD. By G. C. JONES, D. D. The Old Testament Dispensation. New York, 1867. Charles Scribner & Co. 1st vol., 8vo. 558 pp.

This Book exhibits that careful culture, that moderation of statement, and yet those decided views, which we should expect from a Professor in a Presbyterian Theological Seminary. It is really nothing but an arrangement of events recorded in the Bible, in a certain order, with a discursion, wherever suggested, or possible, into the regions of Calvinistic Divinity. The Introduction announces that we must appeal alone to the Scriptures for any authorized form of Church Government, thus at once depriving us of those unquestionable arguments, all equally strong, for our present Sabbath observance, for infant Baptism, and the Apostolic Constitution of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH, perpetuated through the Episcopacy. We have, afterwards, the old Calvinistic view of the Covenant of Works between the Creator and Adam, and the Covenant of grace between the Father and the Son, embracing the Elect, and providing all the means for their present and eternal Salvation. This of course involves the antiquated dispute about final perseverance. The doctrine of Reprobation is not so prominently exhibited as in the sterner days of Calvin, or even of Jonathan Edwards. Certainly throughout the volume nothing new is presented, either in argument, or statement. No philosophical investigation is attempted, and the Scriptural proofs are usually given, not by way of quotation, but of simple reference. The respectability of culture evinced in the volume, and the spirit of gentleness which it everywhere breathes, shield it from all harsh censure. We do not believe it will greatly enlarge, or enrich, the treasures of Theological Learning, yet in the circle of the Author's friends, or perhaps throughout his denomination, it may be read by thoughtful persons, and confirm them in opinions previously entertained. How difficult in this age of the world to present substantial Theological Truth in those forms which at once impart fire, and nutriment to the soul—awakening all its stirring activities, and at the same time supplying the aliment which preserves energy from exhaustion.

GREEK THEOLOGY. 1. Introduction a la Théologie Orthodoxe, de MACAIRE, docteur en théologie, Evêque de Vinnitza, Recteur de l'Académie Ecclesiastique de St. Petersbourg. Traduite par un Russe. Paris, Libraire de Joel Cherbuliez, 10, Rue de la Monnaie. Royal octavo, pp. 715. 2. Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe, par MACAIRE, etc. etc. Tome premier. Royal octavo, pp. 734. 3. Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe, par MACAIRE. Tome second. Royal octavo, pp. 819.

We have not put the titles to these elaborate volumes here, because we expect to give a proper analysis of them, but rather to introduce them to the acquaintance of our readers; and, perhaps, to induce some one to attempt an appropriate review of the Theology of the Greek Church—a paper very highly desirable for these days of inquiry. Too many indulge the stolid idea, that the Greek Church is sleeping over a dead and departed Orthodoxy. But, if large and thorough scientific works show the state of science, and the attention paid to it, in any community, then such a work as this, of Bishop Macarius, proves that Scientific Theology is flourishing in the Greek Church, to an extent of which Protestant Christendom knows little indeed. Scientific Theology in Protestant Christendom is at an exceedingly low and disgraceful ebb. In the Church of England, since the days of Joseph Bingham, the author of the immortal *Origines*, not a work on

Church History, or Systematic Theology, has made its appearance, which can at all compare with his production, in the department of Antiquities. Even the works which Bingham, in the preface to his last volume, said other scholars should produce, to render his own labors full and complete enough, have yet no existence; and Bingham died nearly one hundred and fifty years ago! All the learning, all the leisure, and all the opulence, of great Universities, have not accomplished so much as he did, who had but a weak and sickly constitution, and who died a poor country parson, at the comparatively early age of fifty-five.

The age is generally and singularly indifferent about Scientific Theology. A late number of the N. Y. Times, giving an abstract, *in figures*, of the use made of Theological Works, in the libraries of one of our largest and most literary cities, says, that the amount of solid Theological reading is pitifully small, and that the substitute has been, and is, a perusal of the lightest and most frivolous stuff, with which the press now teems.

And yet the Greek Church, which produces, which prints, which reprints, and which translates into foreign tongues, works on Scientific Theology, running through 2,368 royal octavo pages, is religiously altogether behind the age!

To show how thorough is the work before us, and yet how wide its range, we will just refer to what it recommends, as side-studies, to render one an accomplished theologian. The first vol. of Bishop Macarius is an Introduction, and discusses such subjects as Revelation, Inspiration, Interpretation, the Sacred Canon, etc. On pp. 636, 637, he indulges his readers with a conspectus of some parallel sciences, familiarity with which befits a Theologian deserving the venerable name. They are, A history of Religions and of the Church; of Ecclesiastical Geography and Chronology; of Biblical Archæology and Patrology; a history of dogmas, creeds, liturgies, and canon law; a history of Ecclesiastical eloquence and asceticism. The mere mention of these formidable topics is enough to give our queasy, superficial, dilettanti modern students, a huge accession of theological dyspepsia.

We can only say of Bishop Macarius, and those like him, that, if they do reject the "*Filioque*," not as a doctrine, but as an historical error—as an addition to the Nicene Creed, which did not get there by just authority—and yet sympathize with such a portraiture of Scientific Theology as these noble volumes supply, then may Heaven send us such men, for our own schools and churches! If it is not lawful to pray so, we at least cannot help indulging a secret wish, that such men may be added to our Bishops and Doctors!

AMERICAN EDITION OF DR. WILLIAM SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, revised and edited by Prof. H. B. HACKETT, D. D., with the coöperation of EZRA ABBOTT, A.M., A.A.S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Part VII. New York: 1867. Hurd & Houghton.

It cannot be considered strange, that orthodox Christians are sensitive in regard to everything touching Miracles and Prophecy, the two great pillars of Scripture. They would feel otherwise, if they deemed the Word of God a mere publication of His natural Law. Then, the appeal would simply be to its inherent purity, beauty and beneficence, and Reason could, in *itself*, find the demonstration of its truth. The Church, however, in her Creeds, and Articles, and Offices, expresses her belief in Mysteries of Redemption, for which there is no proof in creation, and often scarcely an intimation. She teaches the existence of Three Divine Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, the incarnation of our Lord, the living Presence of the Holy Ghost, the Resurrection of the body, and the Life Everlasting. Here are mysteries in perfect harmony with Eternal Truth, yet forever beyond the grasp of the faculties of any creature. It is difficult to perceive how they could ever be attested to Reason, without a Divine authentication. Hence those who believe that Christianity is not only a system of morality, but also a Mystery of Redemption, must rest their faith on Supernatural proof. Reason thus with them plants herself on those facts of Scripture, appealing to the senses, and supported by what is deemed incontrovertible evidence, which involve Omnipotence in the miracle, and Omniscience in the prophecy.

It is therefore natural, that certain topics should be sought with anxiety in an American Edition of Dr. Smith's Dictionary proceeding from Harvard University, and which, at an immense and most commendable expenditure of energy and money, has concentrated upon itself the best talent and learning of two continents. Take, for instance, the article on Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Here, it is satisfactory to find a synopsis, rich and full, in accordance with the received inculcations of the Church. Its genuineness and authenticity are pronounced beyond question. The skeptical speculations of German criticism are considered baseless. Even the *added notes* seem to cast no shade on the inspiration of the Epistle.

In the biographical sketches of Elijah and Elisha, there is no hesitation in calling the supernatural facts miraculous. They have both proceeded from a reliable pen, and are admirable, as regards the fullness of the information and the felicity of the style. The allusion at the end, by *another hand*, to Stanley's History of the Jewish Church, caused regret, and induced a second perusal of his book, to ascertain the correctness of former impressions. Certainly nothing can be more insidious than his comments, now using the language of Scripture, and seeming to admit the miracle, then, by an unexpected word, a sudden suggestion, an artful reflection, conveying the impression that the whole narration is a legend or a myth, obscured in the mists of a rude and superstitious antiquity.

The Article on Egypt speaks most unequivocally of the wonderful and exact fulfillments of prophecy everywhere visible in the land of the Nile. If the Chronological speculations are not all to be approved, they at least evince a modesty and fairness, becoming those who grope for truth over the defaced fragments found amid the ruins of centuries. In the appended *note*, the wild astronomical speculations of Prof. Smyth of the University of Edinburgh, are endorsed. The astronomer Royal, of Scotland, himself endeavored to avoid the force of his own conclusions against the truth of the Scripture, by impeaching Manetho's list, and following Osburn in his *Monumental History of Egypt*, abbreviating the earlier dynasties. The annotator, however, supposes that evidences unknown to Osburn, and overlooked by Smith,—the Tablet of Memphis, discovered by M. Mariette, and that of Sethos by M. Dümichen—collated with the Turin papyrus, furnish an almost unbroken list of kings, and would place *Menes* B. C. 3000 years, and long before the flood. It is thus, the vaguest speculations from the vaguest data, by the vaguest minds, are employed against the plain teachings of the divine oracles.

However these additions may be regretted as blemishes, this vast work remains one of the noblest proofs of united British and American learning and enterprise, and doubtless comprises more instruction on Biblical subjects, than any similar dictionary ever published. Nor should the Christian scholar, whose Faith rests both on Reason and Experience, fear any possible assault, either open or insidious. Praying to the Holy Spirit for light, for guidance, and having in view the glory of his Saviour he may boldly seek truth in every region of Literature, Science and Theology.

A SUGGESTIVE COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, St. Luke. By the Rev. U. H. VAN DOREN. New York: 1868. D. Appleton & Co. Two volumes, 12mo., pp. 520-528.

This work evinces some scholarship and large research. If there is nothing particularly new in the matter, there is at least great novelty in the form. The capitalization of the first letter in each line, the studied repetition of certain words, the frequent omission of articles, and connectives, with the alliterations, make the comments at first have the appearance of verse. You are, however, on nearer inspection, speedily displeased to discover that these arrangements are to produce a sententiousness which may arrest attention, and a brevity which may assist memory, with perhaps some view to impress you with the originality of the author. Such methods we most heartily disapprove, as leading to affectation, and impairing the purity of style. Where there is substantial learning, there need never be a resort to artifice. If these volumes contain healthful aliment, needed by the Church, the labor of the author would not be lost, should he forfeit his title to originality, and reduce them to another form.

FRITHIOF'S SAGA, from the Swedish of Esaias Tegnér, Bishop of Wexiö. By the Rev. WILLIAM LEABEY BLACKLEY, M.A. First American edition, edited by BAYARD TAYLOR. New York: 1867. Leypoldt & Holt. 8vo., pp. 201.

It would be impossible to forget the glow of delight and admiration, once kindled by an old number of an English Quarterly, containing extracts from the Poetry of Northern Europe. Youth had indeed been familiar with the names of Thorwaldsen, and Derzhaven, and Miss Bremer, but the artist, the poet and the novelist seemed like brilliant tropical exotics, whose seeds had been carried to strange and sterile regions. It was never imagined, that in Sweden, and Russia, and Denmark, the fire of genius had been burning for centuries amid those northern snows. Let any man study, especially, the literature of Sweden and Denmark, and he will be struck with a force, originality and culture, which elevate their best poets to a rank the highest British genius may not disdain. Nor was the mental growth of those nations spasmodic and unnatural. From the rude and simple utterances of Scandinavian Skalds to the immortal FRITHIOF of Tegner, there was a long and illustrious succession. Here the glory of the north has culminated, and it may be ages before this work has a rival. The *Frithiof* expresses the very heart of Sweden. It is as much the national epic, as was the *Iliad*, of Greece, the *Æneid*, of Rome, or the *Jerusalem Delivered*, of Italy. The theme embraced everything which could excite Swedish pride, express Swedish feelings, embody Swedish tradition, or delight Swedish taste. Hence the universal popularity of the poem. It lives in the national mind. It is studied, it is recited, it is loved. The plan has all the unity of a true Epic. The heroic adventures of *Frithiof*, his noble character and fiery nature are dignified and interesting. The meekness, the purity, the fidelity of Ingeborg are described with the most delicate skill. He,

"Strong as the oak, and towering high,
Straight as a tall lance toward the sky,
Its struggling, wind-tost summit, blown
Like helmet plumes."

While Ingeborg, like the fragile rose,
When Winter, parting, melts the snows,
And Spring's sweet breath bids flowers arise,
Still, in the bud, unconscious lies."

The dark Kelge, and the gay Kalfdan, resemble the gloom of midnight, and the glow of morning. There are scenes of tenderness, and of sublimity, difficult to find surpassed in any language. The mythology, the traditions, the manners, the scenery of the North are everywhere so interwoven, the plot is so well sustained, the characters are so admirably preserved, that you seem to live amid those wintry plains, and ocean wastes. Here, if anywhere, are united, the refinement, the grace, the culture of modern times, with the simplicity, the fire, the sublimity, of a remote antiquity. While it would be absurd to read Homer, or Virgil, or Milton, in any other than their own heroic measure, yet it certainly appears reasonable that the verse should correspond to the subject, and the variety of Tegner is admirable. For him at least, the same success would be otherwise impossible. We cannot forbear recording the wish that all the poetical treasures of Northern Europe will be made accessible to our country, by translations much more excellent than this of Mr. Blackley. We believe the American Editor would have expressed the Swedish Poet, better than the English Divine.

THE DUTY AND DISCIPLINE OF EXTEMPORARY PREACHING. By F. BARHAM ZINCKE, Vicar of Wherstead, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. The first American from the second London Edition. New York, 1867. Charles Scribner. 12 mo., pp. 262.

We have not found this book, either in the excellence of its style, or the power of its argument, what might have been expected from a Clergyman, having, in the Church of England, such a position as the author. The allusions to his own experience are not pleasing. Yet to certain minds, the volume may be of greater practical benefit than a more elegant and philosophical treatment of the subject.

The whole question of Preaching is surrounded with difficulties. Some clergymen succeed best in reading; others, in extemporaneous delivery, while a few can adopt either method, according to theme, or inclination, or circumstances. Much can be said on both sides, and, when arguments are exhausted, opinions remain unchanged. The extemporaneous style is certainly better for hortatory addresses, expository discourses, and promiscuous assemblies, while the manuscript seems more suitable for exhaustive treatment, and cultivated audiences. When the fires of youth have expended themselves, or the system has been exhausted by labor, or disease, age is comforted by the conscious possession of a goodly supply of written sermons. That man is perhaps wise, who endeavors to combine in himself the clearness and precision produced by frequent composition, with the fluency, the fervor, the impressiveness which characterize the extemporaneous orator. After all that is advanced, it is not probable the habits of many clergymen will be materially changed.

THE TURK AND THE GREEK, OR CREEDS, RACES, SOCIETY AND SCENERY IN TURKEY, GREECE AND THE ISLES OF GREECE. By S. G. U. BENJAMIN. New York, 1867. Hurd & Houghton. 12 mo., pp. 268.

This is certainly a readable book. The style is sparkling, the descriptions are sprightly and if the volume is not profound, it is interesting. The author has felt the inspiration of his theme, and writes under the glow it kindles. Indeed stupidity alone could remain unmoved amid such scenes. What associations are connected with the Golden Horn, and with Greece, and the Mediterranean Isles! As we stand before the mosque of St. Sophia, or the seraglio of the Sultan, what questions suggest themselves! Shall the palace of the Czar be transported to the shores of the Bosphorus, and the priests of the Greek Church chant beneath that matchless dome, which has so long echoed the name of the Prophet, while the crescent is displaced by the cross? Shall the result be peacefully achieved, or only by convulsions deluging Europe with blood? Shall the pure worship of Jesus be again freely celebrated over the land of His nativity by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church? As the dominion of the Pope arose with that of the Prophet, shall they sink together into darkness? But these serious questions are not discussed in the gay and sprightly book we are noticing; and we repress all temptation to sober disquisition, by recommending it to those who wish to spend in fancy an agreeable hour amid the most beautiful of scenes, and beneath the brightest of skies.

CONDENSED FRENCH INSTRUCTION, consisting of Grammar and Exercises with Cross References. By C. J. DELILE. First American from the thirteenth London Edition. New York, 1868. Leypoldt & Holt. F. U. Christern. 16 mo. pp. 143.

There is scarcely any more difficult task than the preparation of a Grammar. To select what is essential, to omit what is unimportant, to compose suitable exercises, to express rules in condensed and suggestive forms, which will assist instead of burdening memory, and gradually to conduct the pupil from the simple elements of language to an acquaintance, at once philosophical and practical, are ends more frequently than successfully attempted. It is gratifying to notice the numerous and persevering efforts made to render the French attainable in our country. The ever-increasing facilities of intercourse and the wide-spread use of the language over both continents, have stimulated this enterprise of scholars. We hope the Grammar of Mr. Delile will reach as many editions in America as have been published in England.

ELEMENTARY ARITHMETIC, for the Slate, in which Methods and Rules are based upon Principles established by Induction. By JOHN H. FRENCH, LL. D. New York, 1867. Harper & Brothers. 12 mo. 220 pp.

We are really glad to see, in an Elementary Arithmetic, a return to the old way of using the slate. The very possession of so important an article is a stimulus to the child. Armed with slate and pencil he can achieve greater things. Beside,

why should the commencing boy be denied the assistance of the eye in his mental operations, and be thrown back entirely on the difficult processes of abstract reasoning? The space devoted to notation and numeration in this volume is unusually large, and shows the author desirous to lay a solid foundation, whereas generally this elementary and essential part of Arithmetic is most crudely treated, and imperfectly understood. The definitions are clear, simple, concise and comprehensive, and we truly hope the Book will remedy a defect which has been felt by many teachers, notwithstanding the multiplied efforts made in this department of instruction.

A MANUAL OF ANGLO-SAXON FOR BEGINNERS, comprising a Grammar, Reader and Glossary with Explanatory Notes. By SAMUEL SHUTE, Professor in Columbian College, Washington, D. C. New York. Leypoldt & Holt, 1867. 12mo., 195 pp.

It is difficult to comprehend, why there should be any strife between the admirers of the Anglo-Saxon and those of the Classic Languages. In all that requires rapid description, vehement exhortation, or pathetic appeal—in all pertaining to the heart and the conduct, there must be a resort to the former; but the latter will be more frequently employed in scientific definition, in literary disquisition, and where the sublimity of the thought is allied to the lofty rather than the intense. Surely the wise writer will press into service all authorized words which suit his purposes, from whatever vocabulary drawn. But the Saxon foundation of our Language, however plain, will always deserve more attention than the classic superstructure, however ornamental, and we regard with pleasure every attempt which acquaints us with those words forming the basis of our noble English tongue. The Manual which suggests these reflections, comprises a brief Grammar, a Glossary, with extracts from the Anglo-Saxon, both in Prose and Poetry. The plan we conceive to be excellent. This Book will contribute to spread an amount of practical information which can never be made accessible to the ordinary reader by mere translations with explanatory notes, or by the most learned and philosophical dissertations. If a Second Edition is demanded, it is desirable that the work should descend into still greater detail, and be enlarged by more numerous extracts, especially in the department of Poetry.

DUFF'S BOOK-KEEPING BY SINGLE AND DOUBLE ENTRY, Practically illustrating Merchants', Manufacturers', Private Bankers', Rail Road and National Bank Accounts, including all the late improvements in the Science, with a copious Index. By P. DUFF, formerly Merchant, Founder and Proprietor of Duff's Mercantile College, of Pittsburgh, Pa. New York, 1868. Harper & Brothers. 4 to., 400 pp.

The author's long and large experience as a Teacher have given him peculiar advantages in preparing a work adapted to the practical demands of all descriptions of accountants. Scarcely anything more will be perhaps needed in this department than occasional wise accommodations to the changes of the times. We suggest that a smaller volume, suited to Colleges, and those having in view professional life, might become exceedingly useful in teaching literary men many lessons, of which they are generally and most inconveniently ignorant.

THE PIONEER CHURCH, or the Story of a New Parish in the West. By the Rev. M. SCHUYLER, D. D., Rector of Christ's Church, St. Louis. 1867. Riverside Press. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 12 mo., 211 pp.

This sweet story is fresh and pure as a spring prairie flower. It not only illustrates, in a most lively and interesting way, the enterprise and earnestness of Western life, but also the success of Lay effort, when sustained by faith and love. It should have a circulation in our Sunday Schools, and be followed by others from the same pen. We would suggest, that the touching and beautiful extract from our late venerated Presiding Bishop, is liable to misinterpretation by chil-

dren. He, in one place, uses the generic term *prayer*, where he evidently intends simply one of its parts, *thanksgiving*, and might by the thoughtless be understood to teach the strange doctrine, that Christians in this world of sin and death may supplicate in behalf of saints forever saved in glory before the Redeemer's Throne. All the conditions of his eloquent argument are fulfilled, by regarding the words of the Prayer for the Church Militant as expressions of gratitude for the grace bestowed on the servants of God departed this life in His faith and fear, instead of petitions in their behalf.

THE CHURCH, ROME, AND DISSENT. By the REV. W. HERBERT SMYTHE, Incumbent of Christ's Church, Tamworth. Kingston: John Creighton. New York: H. B. Durand. 12 mo., 327 pp.

The argument for the Church, pursued from the Primitive ages, is two edged—at the same time cutting away the excrescences of Romish corruptions, and the wild growths of Sectarianism. To obtain its whole force, it is absolutely necessary to remember that the true Faith and Order were introduced into Britain in Apostolic times; that they were never wholly suppressed by Papal tyrannies, and that the Reformation was simply their resuscitation to a new life. The Church was not one of many fragments, thrown up by the convulsion of that great epoch; but was the old edifice, standing on eternal foundations, and once more revealed in the beauty of her ancient proportions. The work of Mr. Smythe demonstrates this fact. It also shows most clearly, how great the departure from the Apostolic System, recognised by fifteen centuries, was the organization of religious bodies by an unordained Calvin, and an unauthorized Wesley. The volume is admirably adapted to popular use, and should be seen in every Parish Library.

ECCE ECCLESIA. An Essay, showing the essential identity of the Church in all ages. 1868. New York: Blelock & Co. 12mo. 576 pp.

We confess that we were never more disappointed in any book. The title, "*Ecce Ecclesia*," presented it to our minds in some connection with the works styled "*Ecce Homo*" and "*Ecce Deus*." We expected scholarly culture, and perhaps an antidote to widely spread error. We hoped for something that would add to the stability of Christian faith, and extend the circle of Christian knowledge. The whole object, however, of quotation, and comment, and criticism, and attempted argument, is to show, what really we supposed no orthodox author ever questioned, that the New Dispensation, in its relations to the Old, was not an antagonism, but a development. All the writers, so tediously cited, and so presumptuously criticised, obviously had no other view, but simply intended to express an opposition, not in itself, but in the misapprehension of blinded Jews, or else in some subordinate particulars. This anonymous author treats with contempt, scholars so far beneath him, as Dwight, Kitto, Conybeare, Howson, Olshausen, Burkitt and numerous others, equally inferior in learning; or, if he designs them a passing word of commendation, it is with the complacent air of the pedagogue, who strokes a boy's head with a smirk of condescending superiority. We see in the book no single token of the Church, and cannot but feel that the title was adopted, as is sometimes a foreign costume, to give a more easy and successful circulation. But in both cases, detection aggravates indignation. The volume is the evident production of an illogical and half-disciplined mind, filled with extensive stores of badly digested knowledge, where the abundance of the acquisition only makes more manifest the want of mastery by a controlling and discriminating intellect.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS, FROM THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE SILENT TO THE TWELVE YEARS TRUCE.—1609. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D. C. L., Corresponding member of the Institute of France. Author of the "*Rise of the Dutch Republic*." In four volumes. Vol. III, 1590–1600. With portraits. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers. 8vo., 599 pp.

Where lies the power of Mr. Motley? He does not resemble the classic models. He has neither the grace of Herodotus, the sweetness of Xenophon, the terseness of Thucydides, the dramatic picturing of L  vy, or the intensity and sententiousness

of Tacitus. He does not exhibit the purity which characterizes the style of Hume, or the stateliness which marks that of Gibbon. He cannot compare in taste with Irving, in brilliance with Prescott, or in intellectual breadth and grasp with Bancroft. Yet no man can read his works, without solid instruction, and deep interest. You forget an occasional roughness of expression, a vulgar phrase, a grammatical inaccuracy, an approach to a Carlyleism. You surrender yourself to the resistless energy of the narration, and are hurried by a certain fascination of intensity through battles and sieges, and intrigues, until you confess yourself under the spell of a masterly intellect. In the conflict of Ivry, you see the white plume of Henry go down in the shock, and, suddenly emerging from his peril, you hear the very shout of victory. His siege of Paris, his base recantation, the midnight surprise, when he entered his capital, are most vividly delineated. The whole character of the bloody and detestable Philip is drawn with power, while the descriptions of the closing scenes of his gloomy life, and of the vast extent of his fortuitous and misgoverned Empire, are not often surpassed. Mr. Motley's "*Rise of the Dutch Republic*," and his "*History of the United Netherlands*," will probably take a place in the permanent literature of the world.

Small blemishes will not obscure so much acknowledged excellence. It is certainly marvellous, that an American should enter the libraries of Europe, and, before her most august intellects, really open a new province of History, and by the genius of industry, make countries, before comparatively unnoticed, take their true place in the estimation of the world. It is like constructing from the ruins of the eternal city, another republican Rome.

We are pained to notice some remarks, which we fear may give encouragement to skepticism. Can the following passage be mistaken? "A day of civilization may come perhaps sooner or later, when it will be of no earthly consequence to their fellow creatures, to *what Creed, what Christian Church, what religious dogma*, kings or humbler individuals may be partial." The clause succeeding, scarcely relieves the objectionable inference. In the conclusion of the volume, we have a noticeable departure from the Chronology of the Scripture. He says, "For the few centuries, or year-thousands of which there is definite record, are as nothing compared to the *millions of unnumbered years, during which* man has perhaps walked the earth." And he again speaks of "*general rules for the infinite future*, during which our species may be intended to inhabit this planet."

If Mr. Motley is a sincere believer in Christianity, we should be sorry to see an influence based on so solid a foundation of learning, industry, and talent, turned, by expressions thus unguarded, against our Holy Religion; or if he designed an insidious attack, we would be equally grieved that so manly an intellect would not be more open in its assault. But in any case, the literary merit of his volumes will make them a benefit to the world, and probably an enduring monument to the glory of his country.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S JOURNAL; OUR LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS. Edited by Arthur Helps. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers. Chicago; S. C. Griggs & Co. 12mo., 287 pp.

Queen Victoria's "*Life of the Prince Consort*," and the volume whose title we have just written, so unpretending in themselves, are made remarkable by their royal authorship. When Louis Napoleon wrote his biography of the great Roman, it was quite palpable that his uncle was the modern Julius, and he the immortal Augustus, whose business it was, to unite, strengthen, and adorn a Latin Empire.

The baths, and palaces, and temples, which arose in marble and gold over the seven hills of the eternal city, were to have their resemblances in the splendid improvements which more than ever have made Paris a centre of beauty and luxury. How much the French Monarch gained by his literary venture, may be questionable. We know, however, that the whole scheme was a policy. That Queen Victoria could have had any political motive, in exposing her heart and her home to the world, is impossible. The publication of her books was not the dictate of her head. Nothing could better evince the gentleness, the purity, the beauty of her character. It is delightful to remark her maternal interest in her family, her friends and her people. The modest claims of her books, her character as a

woman, and her position as a Queen, will shield her from harsh criticism, while the masses of her subjects will be pleased with that condescension which unveils to their gaze the sanctities of her affections and her palaces. Especially will severity be softened into silence, when we consider that these volumes have traces of the tears of widowhood, striving in part to relieve its sorrow by sharing with others the sacredness of its memories. We therefore omit any critical review, believing that, if the Queen has added nothing to the treasures of literature, she has done much to purify and elevate the domestic affections. And yet, in reading her books, we cannot but ask ourselves, if the time has arrived in history, when the Sovereign can be disconnected from the State. Now, when a revolution has been initiated in England, which must affect the nobility, the Church, and at last the Throne—when men are so fearfully losing respect for the past, and veneration for the Law—when the popular element is seeking to engulf the entire social, ecclesiastical, and political system of Great Britain, it seems strange that her Majesty should throw aside the reserve which usually veils the heart and the home, and expose their sanctities to the gaze of the curious and the cynical. We trust, however, that so far from diminishing the respect due to one of the most pious and popular of England's Queens, it will, by its pictures of domestic purity and joy, assist in raising the affections of her people, into a barrier of resistance against all stormy violence of a revolution, approaching and inevitable, and it is to be hoped, salutary.

STORIES OF THE GORILLA COUNTRY, narrated for Young People. By PAUL DU CHAILLU. Author of "Discoveries in Equatorial Africa," etc. With numerous illustrations. 1868. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo., 292 pp.

This volume contains descriptions of some marvellous adventures, and cannot fail to entertain the young.

THE CHAPEL WINDOW. By FANFAN. Published through the offerings of the Sunday School of Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y. Gen. Prot. Epis., Sunday School Union and Church Book Society, 760 Broadway, N. Y. 1867. 16mo., pp. 186.

FOLKS AND FAIRIES. Stories for little children. By LUCY RANDALL COMFORT. With engravings. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 259.

HOME LIFE IN AFRICA, OR A NEW GLIMPSE INTO AN OLD CORNER OF THE WORLD. Written for the young people, by one of their friends who went there. Boston. 1868. A. Williams & Co. 12mo., pp. 184.

This little work is written by a Missionary, who proposes devoting its profits to the education of an African boy. Its object, and its merit, give it a double title to notice. We hope it will have an extensive sale, and find a place in all our Sunday School Libraries.

FRED, MARIA, AND ME. By the author of the "Flower of the Family." Illustrated by W. Magrath. New York. 1868. Scribner & Co. 12mo., pp. 71.

LIBRARY OF SELECT NOVELS. 1868. By Harper & Brothers. 1868. New York. Containing the following:

No. 304. **GUILD COURT**. A London Story. By GEORGE MACDONALD.

No. 306. **PLAYING FOR HIGH STAKES**. By ANNIE THOMAS.

No. 307. **MARGARET'S ENGAGEMENT**.

No. 308. **ONE OF THE FAMILY**. By the Author of "Carlyon's Year."

No. 310. **BROWNLOWS**. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Author of "Agnes," &c.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. March, 1868. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. LITTELL & GAY. No. 30 Bromfield St., Boston.

CASSELL'S MAGAZINE. February, 1868. London: Cassell, Peter & Galpin. Ludgate Hill, and 596 Broadway, New York.

THE PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE. London Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. 77 Great Queen Street, U. C. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. Magazine of the American and Foreign Christian Union. New York. Published by the Society. 156 Chambers Street.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS. An illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls. Edited by J. T. TROWBRIDGE, GAIL HAMILTON, and LUCY LARCOM. 1868. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Subscription office for New York City and Brooklyn, 63 Bleecker St., New York.

PROCEEDINGS at the Thirty Fourth anniversary of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, with the annual Report of the Board of Managers, and of the Treasurer, Philadelphia. 1867. King and Baird, Printers, 607 Sansom Street.

CATALOGUE OF HOBART COLLEGE. 1867-1868.

THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION of the Charitable Associations of Christ's Church, New York: Francis, Hart & Co., 63 Cortland Street.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL CATALOGUE of St. Stephen's College. Annandale, New York. 1867-1868. Albany: J. Munsell, 82 State St.

BISHOP GRISWOLD ON THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE. No. 1344 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT of the American Church Missionary Society, 1866-1867.

STATEMENT of the Missionary Convocation of Northern New York, and Map of its Field. 1868. Albany, N. Y.; Charles Van Benthuysen & Sons.

THE MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. A Record of Diocesan Missions in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1868. King & Baird, 607 Sansom St.

THE LIBERTY OF PREACHING. Its Warrant and Relations. By Rev. STEPHEN H. TYNG, JR. New York. 1867. John A. Gray & Green, 16 and 18 Jacob Street.

THE SCOTTISH GUARDIAN. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co., 77 Union Street. Glasgow: D. Bryce & Co., Buchanan Street. London: I. Masters.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. New York: John F. Trow & Co., 50 Greene Street.

HALL'S JOURNAL OF HEALTH, 1868. New York: No. 2 West Forty-Third Street.

REPORT of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Society for the Increase of the Ministry, and of the Board of Directors, held in Christ's Church, and St. Ann's Church, N. Y., Oct. 13 and 15, 1867. Hartford: Press of Wiley, Waterman & Eaton.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. A Lecture. By the Rev. WM. B. CORBYN, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Mo. 1867.

CITY MISSIONS. By Rev. WM. A. MCVICKAR, M.A. Second Edition. 1868. New York: Pott & Amery.

THE CHURCH THE SOURCE AND CENTRE OF STABILITY. Annual Sermon preached before the Society for the increase of the Ministry. In Christ's Church, N. Y., Oct. 13th 1867. By Rev. WM. F. MORGAN, D. D., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York.

THE TEMPLE. An Address delivered at the Laying of the Corner Stone of St. Paul's Church, Washington, D. C., Nov. 8th, 1867. By the Rev. CHARLES H. HALL, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Epiphany. Washington, D. C.: MCGILL & WITHERAN.

BIBLE SOCIETY RECORD, Feb. 1868. New York.

- SERMON** before the Convocation of Northern New York. By the Rev. ROBERT LOWELL, D. D. Church Press Company. 1867. Hartford, Conn.
- OLD ISSUES UNDER NEW TERMS.** A Letter addressed to Rev. J. J. McELHINNY, D. D. 1867. New York: John A. Gray & Green, 16 and 18 Jacob Street.
- CATALOGUE** of Juvenile and Miscellaneous Works, Illustrated. Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue, New York. 1867.
- SECOND ANNUAL REPORT** of the Metropolitan Board of Excise. 1867. New York: A. C. Rogers & Co., 26 John Street.
- THE CHURCHMAN'S ALMANAC.** for the year of our Lord 1868. New York. Gen. Prot. Epis. Union, 762 Broadway.
- THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.** 1868. Domestic Missions, Protestant and Episcopal Church, 17 Bible House, New York.
- THE NEW ENGLANDER.** Edited by Prof. GEORGE P. FISHER, Prof. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, and WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY. January, 1868. New Haven: Thomas J. Stafford.
- THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY.** January, 1868. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 530 Arch St.
- THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY, and PRINCETON REVIEW.** Edited by CHARLES HODGE, D. D. Philadelphia: Peter Walker, 821 Chestnut St.
- THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS.** Conducted by Profs. B. SILIMAN & JAMES D. DANA, in connection with Profs. ASA GRAY & WOLCOTT GIBBS, of Cambridge, and Profs. S. W. JOHNSON, GEO. J. BRUSH, and H. A. NEWTON, of New Haven. January, 1868. New Haven.
- EPISCOPACY and the PRAYER BOOK.** A Contribution to the Unity of the Church. Richard McCauley, No. 1314 Chestnut St. Philadelphia.
- A LETTER to the REV. RICHARD NEWTON, D. D.** By the Rt. Rev. W. R. WHITTINGHAM.
- THE CHURCH PENNY MAGAZINE.** By Rev. R. WHITTINGHAM, Editor. 1868. New Haven.
- HOLIDAY CATALOGUE** of the General Protestant Episcopal S. S. Union, and Book Society. C. G. Houston, Agent. Depository, 762 Broadway, N. Y.
- A STATEMENT** of the objects of the Society for the Education and Advancement of young Seamen. New York. 1868. Holt Brothers, 104 William St.
- THE SCHOOL REGISTER.** New York, February, 1868. Church School Agency, 86 E. Ninth St., N. Y. Rev. JAMES E. KENNY.
- A COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE,** mainly abridged from Dr. W. SMITH, with important additions and improvements. Illustrated with five hundred engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway.
- THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,** January, 1868. New York: the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street.

The articles in this number, on Don Carlos, and Philip II, Liberal Education in England, and Sir Philip Francis, are recommended as admirable. While the Foreign Quarterlies may not exhibit their former brilliancy of style, they have not depreciated in exhaustive treatment, while they have certainly improved in dignity and urbanity towards opponents.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Fisher, George,	Potter,	Jan. 19, 1868,	Ch. of the Resurrection, N. Y.
Fleming, James,	Johns,	Jan. 17, "	Theo.Sem.Chap., Alexan'ia, Va.
Hume, J. N.	Kip,	Jan. 5, "	St. James, San Francisco, Cal.
Sumner, William G.	Williams,	Dec. 28, 1867,	Trinity Church, New Haven, Ct.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Beaubien, J. B. C.	Potter,	Dec. 21, 1867,	Gen.Theo.Sem. Chapel, N. Y.
" Caskey, T. F.	Potter,	Jan. 19, 1868,	Ch. of the Resurrection, N. Y.
" Falls, Nelson,	Whitt'gham,	Dec. 23, 1867,	Grace Church, Baltimore, Md.
" Girault, J. F.	Wilmer,	Dec. 1, "	St. Luke's, New Orleans, La.
" Hayward, Wm. S.	Coxe,	Dec. 22, "	Rome, N. Y.
" Heaton, W. S.	Stevens,	Feb. 18, 1868,	Scranton, Pa.
" Kellogg, Justin B.	Bedell,	Feb. 23, "	St. Andrew's, Philadelphia, Pa.
" Laramour, W. J.	Whitt'gham,	Dec. 22, 1867,	Grace Church, Baltimore, Md.
" Morgan, Brockholst,	Odenheimer,	Dec. 28, "	St. Stephen's, Millburn, N. J.
" Murray, James,	Southgate,	Feb. 23, 1868,	Zion Church, N. Y.
" Pratt, James E.	Williams,	Dec. 23, 1867,	St. Paul's, Hartford, Ct.
" Reed, Mr.	Lee,	Dec. 6, "	St. Andrew's, Wilmington, Del.
" Rice, F. F.	Potter,	Jan. 19, 1868,	Ch. of the Resurrection, N. Y.
" Selleck, C. M.	Williams,	Dec. 21, 1867,	St. Paul's, Norwalk, Ct.
" Stryker, Wilson P.	Whitt'gham,	Dec. 22, "	Grace Church, Baltimore, Md.
" Warriner, E. A.	Stevens,	Jan. 6, 1868,	Lancaster, Pa.
" Upjohn, Samuel,	Williams,	Nov. 24, 1867,	St. James, New London, Ct.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
St. John's,	Kip,	Oct. 13, 1867,	Goldhill, Cal.
Calvary,	Kip,	Oct. 27, "	Santa Cruz, Cal.
St. George's,	Potter,	Dec. 19, "	New York City.
St. James',	Bedell,	Dec. 19, "	Wooster, Ohio.
St. Mary's,	Whipple,	Jan. 28, "	Basswood Grove, Minn.

OBITUARIES.

The Rev. BEARDSLEY NORTROP died Dec. 12th, 1867, in Utica, N. Y., in the 78th year of his age, and the 47th year of his ministry. He was born in New Milford, Conn., January 18th, 1790. His parents were in the Church. He was ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop Brownell, May 3d, 1821, at New Haven, and to the Priesthood, June 5th, 1823. His first Parish was Oxford, and his second, Trum-

bull, both in the Diocese of Connecticut. In May, 1825, he was transferred to the Diocese of New York, and became Rector of Hobart Parish, where he remained four years. He was thence, successively, in Windham, Perryville, Fayetteville, Lockport, Moravia and Jordan. In 1846, he came to Utica, where he labored in connection with Mission services, resulting in the organization of Calvary Church, Cornhill. After about six years, he removed to New Hartford, and was placed on the list of Infirm Clergy, but, about a year before his death, returned to Utica. He was a meek, faithful, self-denying, laborious Clergyman, and, after abundant and successful labor, passed away, serenely, to the presence of his Master.

The Rev. DANIEL LE BARON GOODWIN, for nearly thirty years Rector of St. John's Church, Wilkinsonville, in the Diocese of Massachusetts, died, in the 68th year of his age, in Providence, on the evening of Dec. 25th, 1867.

The Rev. GEORGE S. CARRAWAY died at his residence in Hanover, in the Diocese of Virginia, on the 16th of December, 1867, by apoplexy. He entered the Theological Seminary in 1842, graduated, and was ordained in 1845. He first was Rector of the Churches in Middlesex, but twelve years since removed to Hanover, where he expired.

'The Rev J. B. HENRY, Rector of Emmanuel Church, Cumberland, Maryland, died January 1st, 1868.' This brief record recalled the manly and noble form, and Christian urbanity, of this departed Clergyman, seen, on a recent occasion, by the writer, attracted by the beautiful mountain scenery, to linger in the village, and inspect the Parish Church, of Cumberland, so remarkable for its commanding position, and graceful proportions.

The Rev. JAMES GILBURN LYONS, D. D., of West Haverford, Philadelphia, died from erysipelas, on February 2d, 1868.

Dr. Lyons was born in England; he came to this country about 24 years ago, and has been, since that time, engaged in clerical duties, joined with those of a teacher. His first charge was that of Assistant Minister of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, at the time that Bishop Doane was the Rector. Here he remained only for a short time, and then removed to Philadelphia, and opened a classical and preparatory School, of a superior grade, remarkable for the scholarship of graduates.

The Rev. THOMAS ATKINS died at Farmingdale, Me., January 22d, 1868, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was born in Mt. Vernon, Maine. When a Methodist preacher, his attention was arrested by the Prayer Book, and he subsequently became a Clergyman of the Church. He was a most godly man, and laborious minister. He passed away without a struggle, to realize in Heaven those words, so dear to him on earth,—“whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's.”

The Rt. Rev. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D., D. C. L., Bishop of Vermont, and Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, suddenly seized with a congestion of the lungs, expired January 9th, 1868, at Burlington, Vt.

Perhaps no death in this country has, throughout the Church in England and America, excited such deep and general grief, as that of the noble and venerable personage, whose name we have just written. His strength of intellect, his extensive learning, his cultivated taste in art, united to a creative genius in music, painting, and architecture, his genial manners, his noble courage, his impressive presence, his successful authorship,—his faith, his zeal, his activity,—his varied gifts as Lawyer, Writer, Teacher, Poet, Preacher, Bishop,—his Leadership at home, and his recent prominence among the highest Episcopal Dignitaries from all the world in Council abroad, furnish an explanation why the hearts and minds of all classes, including even opponents, have been moved to lamentations so universal, and eulogies so glowing. A physical and intellectual manhood, refined by culture, and consecrated to Religion, commands the spontaneous homage of humanity.

The family of Bishop Hopkins removed from England to Ireland about the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. He was born in Dublin, January 30th, 1792. He was nearly related to Stephen Hopkins, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He accompanied his parents, in 1800, to Philadelphia. Al-

though, for a brief period, at the Academy of Bordentown, N. J., he was principally educated by a mother, remarkable for accomplishments fitting her to develop and mould such a son. Painting and music received his early attention. He even assisted Wilson in preparing plates for some of his immortal Ornithological volumes. After disappointments in business at Pittsburgh, occasioned by the prostrations of the war, he turned his attention to the Law, and soon had the promise of a brilliant career, both as regards wealth and reputation. Within him, he felt, however, a Divine impulse to a higher vocation, and with characteristic decision and nobility, abandoned his prospects of worldly advancement, for the Church. He was ordained, and elected Rector of Trinity Parish, Pittsburgh. In 1826, and again in 1829, he was Clerical Deputy to the General Convention, and was prominent in its debates. During the interval between these dates, he was nominated as Assistant to the venerable Bishop White, and, in a close contest, urged to cast a ballot for himself. This he refused, and, voting generously for Dr. Onderdonk, terminated the controversy.

Having been admirably prepared by his educational labors at Pittsburgh, he was elected Professor of Systematic Divinity in the Theological Seminary, and Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, Boston, then under the Rectorship of Dr., afterwards Bishop, Doane.

In 1832, Vermont having been constituted a Diocese, he was elevated to its Episcopate, and called to show, that, with limited resources, and in a contracted sphere, manly energy of will and intellect, taking inspiration from the recollection of the Cross and the hope of the Crown, may mark out for itself a career of usefulness, which shall command the love of the Church, and the admiration of the world. In his new field, he was Rector, Teacher, Bishop. Here he founded an Episcopal Institute. Here he made sacrifices and endured labors in the cause of Christian education, such as are seldom recorded. Here he nobly donated the lands and buildings of the Institution he established, to the Church. There is scarcely a hamlet, or village, or lake, or valley, or mountain, in Vermont, that has not been a witness to his labors, and that will not be in sacred association with his memory.

Amid all the varied activities of his Diocese, he was a most tireless and successful author. In 1833, appeared his "Christianity Vindicated;" in 1834, "The Primitive Creed Examined and Explained;" in 1836, "The Primitive Church compared with the Protestant Episcopal Church;" in 1836, an "Essay on Gothic Architecture;" in 1837, "The Church of Rome in her Primitive Purity, compared with the Church of Rome at the present day;" in 1839, "Twelve Canonets, Words and Music;" in 1844, "The novelties which disturb our Peace;" in 1850, his "History of the Confessional;" in 1854, his "Refutation of Milner's 'End of Controversy';" in 1857, "The American Citizen, his rights and duties;" in 1864, "The Bible view of Slavery;" in 1866, "The Law of Ritualism;" and his "History of the Church in verse," for Sunday Schools.

The suggestion of Bishop Hopkins, in regard to the Lambeth Conference, his participation in its proceedings, the universal regard he everywhere commanded in England, his masterly rebuke to Dean Stanley, are all events so recent, and so widely known, that they need here no notice or comment.

It may be remarked, as characteristic of the position of our venerable Father in the Church, that while, on the one hand, devoted to the Primitive Faith, and Apostolic Order, and in antagonism to every Popish usurpation and corruption, yet, on the other hand, fearless for the truth and careless of popularity, he was willing to recognize and adopt whatever remained untainted by Rome.

Having attempted a visitation of his Diocese during this inclement winter, and, at the request of Bishop Potter, administered confirmation in Plattsburg, his fatigue and exposure induced congestion of the lungs, and after a few days of suffering, sitting in his chair, supported by his son, he passed sweetly away from his family on earth to the presence of his Redeemer in Heaven.

During the evening before the funeral, the body was taken from the Episcopal residence to the Parish Church. On the oaken coffin was a raised cross, and at the intersection of the arms, a radiating crown, the foot resting on a pyramid of steps. A solitary light burned above. Four of the younger clergy watched, vested in surplice and stole. Over the purple pall, with its cross of white, lay the Pastoral staff, while around were the choicest flowers, the contributions of affection.

At noon of Wednesday, a procession of five Bishops, and nearly fifty surpliced Clergy, moved down the middle of the Church. Eight laymen acting as bearers, preceded by the same number of clergymen as pall-bearers, took up the body. The Bishop of Quebec said the processional sentences. On a raised catafalque, just before the altar-rail, the body was placed, and remained until after the Holy Communion. A flood of white light, pouring from a window yet unstained, gave brilliance to the flowers, and green upon the purple pall. After the Nicene Creed, the Bishop of Quebec delivered an admirable address, and was followed by the Bishop of Connecticut in a sketch of the life of the departed, closing with an appeal of most touching eloquence and beauty.

The service of the Holy Communion having been concluded, as the body was lifted, the choir broke forth into a triumphant hymn. The procession then moved to the Cemetery. At the grave, the Pastoral staff was taken up and its green wreath, being untwined, was cast into the earth, a token of Immortality. The Bishop of Rhode Island said the opening sentences. The Bishop of Connecticut pronounced the committal. The Bishop of Maine concluded the service.

MISSIONS.

The Advent and Epiphany Appeals of the Domestic and Foreign Boards are at once painful and encouraging—painful in showing us how small our contributions in proportion to our wealth, and encouraging, in demonstrating a most wonderful growth in the enterprise and the benefactions of the Church. During the fiscal year, the receipts of the Committee were more than thirty-one thousand dollars in excess of any previous year, amounting to nearly one hundred and ten thousand dollars. The Spirit of Missions has increased its circulation to nearly eight thousand paying subscribers. Twenty-eight thousand young soldiers have been enrolled in the Domestic Missionary army. There are now in the field four Missionary Bishops and two hundred and thirteen Missionaries, with one vacancy in the Episcopacy to be supplied. To increase our pleasure and our confidence, the Board have had the heroism to ask the Church, during the present year, for *two hundred thousand dollars*, and, notwithstanding the discouragements of the times we believe this bold and noble faith, inspired by the energy of a new Missionary life, will have its reward.

The *Board of Foreign Missions* has also dared to make large demands, and we most sincerely hope that the response will be correspondingly liberal. It gives us pleasure here to publish its resolutions, with the prayer that the Church, in rising to the measure of this appeal, may experience a new impulse of zeal and love, which shall eventually plant Her in every portion of our world.

Resolved, That the prosecution of the Apostolic work of evangelizing the nations is essential to the spiritual welfare of our Apostolic Church, and that, as a means of increasing the vitality of our Church at home, renewed efforts should be made to direct the attention of the younger clergy, and of candidates for orders, to the manifest call of God for more laborers among the heathen, and elsewhere in Foreign parts.

Resolved, That the Board recognize the duty of the Church to provide, during the coming year, **ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS** for the support of her Foreign Missions; that the Committee be requested to use diligently such ordinary and special means, as may be in their power, to secure that sum, and that each member of the Board hold himself pledged to keep in mind and heart the recognition of his duty adherently to sustain it.

SOCIETY FOR THE INCREASE OF THE MINISTRY.

It appears from the Epiphany Appeal, that, during the academic year 1866-7, aid has been rendered to 132 pupils in various Theological Seminaries. Since the organization of the society, the whole number assisted has been 357—of these, 27 have been ordained this year—making in all 127, who have reached the ministry by its aid. The receipts for the year from 29 Dioceses have been \$21,000—\$3,000 over the past year. The Treasury, however, is exhausted, and 70 applications have been refused, or deferred. The appeal to the Church to increase her efforts in preparing her sons for the ministry, is most earnest.

AMUSEMENTS AND MISSIONS.

It is exceedingly interesting to observe the difference in the amounts contributed in the various Dioceses throughout our vast Republic to the cause of Domestic Missions; and the sums lavished on certain kinds of entertainments in the single city of New York. We perceive, by the contrast, that while the Church has so laudably increased her contributions, she still falls painfully below the measure of her duty. The profit realized from mere spectacular amusement, appealing only to the eye and ear, shows a decline from that more substantial and manly taste which demanded elevated sentiment, true poetry, and superior histrionic delineation. It is said, that New York expends more on the theatre than either London or Paris. But we hasten to annex the tabular statements.

DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

During the year 1867, Maine contributed to Domestic Missions, \$213.62; New Hampshire, \$215.16; Vermont, \$378.75; Massachusetts, \$6,457.04; Rhode Island, \$2,418.52; Connecticut, \$6,289.26; New York, \$39,632.09; Western New York, \$3,329.52; New Jersey, \$2,437.68; Pennsylvania, \$6,690.16; Pittsburgh, \$1,635.83; Delaware, \$311.14; Maryland, \$3,948.96; Virginia, \$163; North Carolina, \$127.60; South Carolina, \$197.26; Georgia, \$77.50; Florida, \$39; Mississippi, \$53.70; Louisiana, \$92.75; Texas, \$12; Arkansas, \$140.25; Tennessee, \$25.33; Kentucky, \$1,739.95; Ohio, \$853.37; Indiana, \$196.68; Illinois, \$2,865.49; Michigan, \$921.48; Wisconsin, \$601.39; Minnesota, \$421.18; Iowa, \$190.07; Missouri, \$909.75; Kansas, \$24.21; Nebraska, \$120.78; Dakota, \$3.30; Washington, \$100.50; Oregon, \$61; California, \$141.15; Young Soldiers of Christ, \$7,799.31; Legacies, \$10,804; Miscellaneous, \$6,617.54; Total, \$109,251.07.

THEATRES, ETC., IN NEW YORK CITY.

Academy of Music,	\$165,089
Broadway Theatre,	174,101
Bowery Theatre,	87,374
Butler's American Theatre,	62,482
Banvard's Museum,	46,466
Circus and Amphitheatre,	186,230
French Theatre,	73,732
Kelly & Leon's Minstrels,	68,846
Niblo's Theatre,	508,864
New York Theatre,	127,109
Olympic Theatre,	216,069
Fifth Avenue Opera House,	43,690
San Francisco Minstrels,	92,279
Stadt Theatre,	92,337
Steinway Hall,	148,000
Theatre Comique,	36,406
Tony Pastor's,	84,616
Wallack's Theatre,	246,327
New York total,	\$2,456,917

BROOKLYN.

Academy of Music,	\$74,908
Hooley's Minstrels,	46,549
Park Theatre,	86,101
Eddy's Opera House,	31,548

Brooklyn total,	\$239,106
New York city,	\$2,456,917
Brooklyn,	239,106
Add other amusements, circuses, shows, panoramas, &c., exhibited in New York and Brooklyn, not included in the above statement.....	467,551
Grand total	\$3,163,574

NEW YORK. THE NEW DIOCESE.

A meeting was held at St. Paul's Chapel, Troy, it is announced, for the purpose of taking measures to raise by subscription the amount credited to Troy to aid the endowment fund necessary to the establishment of the new Diocese. Rev. Dr. Coit presided, and a resolution was adopted, pledging the Episcopalians of Troy to subscribe the sum of \$10,000 towards the proposed endowment fund. It is understood that Albany will contribute at least \$15,000.

PENNSYLVANIA.

From the Journal of the Diocesan Convention, we gather the following statistics:

Whole number of parishes in the table, 179. Number of parishes reporting, 159. Edifices, 133. Sittings, 45,979. Parsonages, 55. Baptisms—adults, 570; infants, 3,018. Confirmed, 1,774. Communicants—added new, 1,729; added by removal, 760; died or removed, 1,134; present number, 18,180. Marriages, 1,069. Burials, 2,173. Sunday School teachers, 2,665; Sunday School pupils, 27,463. Bible Classes—teachers, 158; members, 3,839. Parochial collections—alms for poor, \$28,029.02; for schools and libraries, \$23,322.87; improvements, repairs and current expenses, \$123,926.57; pew rents and subscriptions for salaries, \$164,511.79; miscellaneous, \$75,406.26; total parochial collections, \$415,196.51. Extra-parochial collections, missions—Diocesan, \$12,091.98; Domestic, \$19,414.35; Foreign, \$14,550.41; Church hospital, \$9,594.74; books, book societies, and theological education, \$19,705.04; miscellaneous, \$51,956.48; total extra-parochial collections, \$139,680.96.

MASSACHUSETTS. CAMBRIDGE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

In a period not much over six months from the creation of Mr. Reed's munificent trust, the endowment of the Cambridge Theological School has been nearly doubled. Commodious buildings have been procured for the use of the Seminary, and an estate of six acres has been purchased or leased. A very valuable and central lot in, sufficient proximity to the Colleges, has been purchased, and the erection of a church edifice, as a Seminary chapel, as well as a pew church for general use, will be at once commenced. The Seminary has now begun its immediate work, of preparing students for the ministry; and though the number in attendance is small at present, yet the situation and claims of the institution indicate an early increase. Two immediate wants, however, are to be met. The first is a Library. The second is, a fund for incidental expenses.

CONNECTICUT.

LEGACIES.—The late Mrs. William H. Phelps, of Winsted, bequeathed to St. James' Church and Parish, Winsted, \$5,000, the avails to be applied to the support of preaching.

To Nashotah Theological Seminary, \$4,000.

To the Seabury Mission of Faribault, Minn., \$4,000.

To the Missionary Society of the Diocese, \$4,000.

To the aged and infirm Clergy and Widows' Fund of the Diocese, \$4,000.

To the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, \$3,000; the increase to be used in purchasing books for distribution to needy Parishes.

To the Foreign Missions of the P. E. Church in the United States, one-half for Africa, and one-half for China, \$2,000.

To the P. E. Freedman's Commission, \$1,000.

OHIO.

The Committee of fifteen, appointed at the last Diocesan Convention, it is said, have agreed upon a Report, substantially embracing two points:—

1. That the Diocese of Ohio, and the interests of the several Churches, require more frequent Episcopal visitations.

2. That, when a fund of \$40,000 shall be raised north of the line indicated by Bishop McIlvaine, and an equal sum south of that line, they would recommend a division.

BISHOP ELECT OF GEORGIA.

The presiding Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Smith, of Kentucky, has taken order for the Consecration of the Rev. Dr. Beckwith, Bishop elect of Georgia.

The Consecration, D. V., is to take place in St. John's Church, Savannah, on Thursday, April 2d.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Atkinson, Bishop of North Carolina, is to act as Consecrator, assisted by the Bishops of South Carolina and Alabama.

The Sermon, at the request of the Bishop elect, is to be preached by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Wilmer, Bishop of Alabama.

OREGON.

The meeting of the House of Bishops in New York, on Wednesday, the 5th ult., resulted in an election which we hail with great satisfaction. The Rev. Benjamin H. Paddock, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Detroit, Michigan, was elected to the Missionary Bishopric of Oregon and Washington. Dr. Paddock is a thorough and conservative Churchman, a scholar of fine attainments, and remarkably energetic and successful in parochial labors. He was graduated at Trinity College in the year 1848, spent the following year at Cheshire, Ct., as an instructor in the Episcopal Academy, went from there to the General Theological Seminary, and, having completed the regular course of study there, was elected, after his ordination—at once, we believe—to the Rectorship of Trinity Church, Norwich, Ct., afterwards taking his present Rectorship.

Since this notice was written, we are pained to see that Dr. Paddock has declined.

CALIFORNIA. SAN JOSE.

On the 13th of November the Convocation of the First District met at San José, to welcome Dr. Breck and his associates to their new field of Missionary labor. The Bishop of the Diocese, the Dean, and several clergy, besides those of the Mission, were present. In the evening there was a social gathering of clergy and laity. It was held at the "Mission House," which is to be the residence of the Missionaries for the winter. The building contains about twelve rooms, and was furnished, before Dr. Breck's arrival, by means of funds obtained by the Bishop in San Francisco. The students connected with the Mission have begun their studies, two of the clergy have commenced holding services at Santa Clara, and one has undertaken work at San Juan and Watsonville. On the 14th of November, in Trinity Church, morning prayer was said, the Bishop preached upon self-denial as it applied to Missionary labor, and the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. In the afternoon, after the clergy had attended the daily service which is held at the "Mission House," there was a business meeting of the Association. In the evening a Missionary meeting was held in Trinity Church. After religious services, the Bishop made an address, cordially welcoming the Missionary party to the Diocese. The Dean then spoke of the need of such schools as Dr. Breck was about to establish, in order to have an increase in the number of candidates for Holy Orders. The Dean was followed by Dr. Breck, who stated what course he and his co-laborers intended to pursue in founding Church institutions and performing Missionary labor.

NEBRASKA.

Twelve hundred dollars were raised in St. Thomas's parish, N. Y., during the first week of the new year, and presented to Bishop Clarkson, by the Rector, the Rev. Dr. Morgan. One thousand dollars of this amount is to be devoted to a new church in Nebraska, to be named St. Thomas's, and two hundred dollars applied to the Training School, projected by the Bishop.

The Missionary from the Santa Sioux Agency writes thus encouragingly:

This whole tribe is now well nigh Christianized. We number our communicants by hundreds, and the baptized people are over a thousand souls. We have translated the Prayer Book, and other books, into the Indian language. And, on the Lord's Day, and all other Holy Days, the full service of the Church is said and sung in the Indian tongue. Our congregations fill our chapel, and it is the uniform testimony of all who have worshipped with us, that, as far as man may judge, these people are devout and earnest worshippers of our Father in Heaven. Our schools, too, are full, nearly two hundred having been in attendance during the last term.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ARCHBISHOP PHILARETE.

A really great light has been recently extinguished in Russia. Perhaps few Americans have heard of Archbishop Philarete. Yet his influence has been most widely extended over Russia. He has been for half a century the preacher selected there on the greatest national occasions. He almost lived in the pulpit, and also wielded a vast influence as an author. The Great Catechism, found in every school and home throughout the wide dominion of the Czars, is principally the work of the late Archbishop of Moscow. His books are all on religious topics.

He began to write in 1811, when he published some sermons; in 1813, he printed a funeral oration on the death of Prince Golenischeff-Kontoussoff. In 1814 appeared his first political sermon, called, "The Voice of Him that crieth in the Wilderness,"—a composition of very considerable merit. This discourse appears to have established his fame as a preacher. About the same time, he published "An Examination of the Moral Causes of the Surprising Successes of Russia in the War of 1812," and a commentary on the Sixty-seventh Psalm. These works were followed in 1815 by "Dialogues between a Skeptic and a Believer on the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church." Next year came out a much more ambitious work, entitled "A Sketch of Ecclesiastico-Biblical History," and another, called "Notes on the Book of Genesis." This last work it was, which procured for him the friendship of Alexander, who gave him the Bishopric of Revel. The "Great Catechism" came out in 1826, and, since then, Philarete's publications have been limited to sermons. He brought out two volumes in 1844, of which a second edition appeared in 1848. A third volume of collected discourses appeared in 1861, and this, we believe, was the Archbishop's last literary effort.

Philarete's sermons, both in matter and form, much more resemble the best specimens of English pulpit eloquence than those of Romish preachers, such as Bossuet, Massillon, Fenelon, or the more philosophical disquisitions which are favored in Protestant Germany.

The frequency with which Scripture quotations are introduced, is another feature in which Philarete's sermons differ strikingly from those of Romish preachers, and approximate closely to the Anglican fashion. Russia has an authorized version of the Bible, which is as exclusively used as King James's translation among ourselves, and religious thoughts have thus naturally embodied themselves in that country in Scriptural phraseology, to an extent impossible in France or Italy, for example, where different versions exist in competition with each other. The theology of the sermons is Greek, of course, but the peculiarities of the Eastern Orthodoxy are by no means prominent.

A very large proportion of the discourses would pass muster with an average English congregation. The Archbishop's views appear to have been as nearly as possible identical with those of the early Anglicans, such as Hooker, barring the Eastern reverence for relics, and a belief now and then expressed in the efficacy of prayers to the saints. The doctrine of sacramental grace is assumed, without being much insisted on, as is the Real Presence in the Eucharist, but the Archbishop scarcely believed in transubstantiation. Of Mariolatry there is not a trace, though the Virgin is sometimes spoken of in terms not usual with Protestants, and auricular confession is never enjoined. The Fathers are sometimes quoted, Chrysostom especially, but, with this exception, the good Archbishop's reading would seem to have been confined pretty much to his Bible. There is no evidence in his sermons that he knew anything of English or German theological works, or had any appreciation of the great religious crisis which is agitating Western Europe. For all that appears, he might have been preaching in "The Ages of Faith," which indeed have hardly yet come to an end in Russia.

Personally, the late Archbishop was much beloved and venerated. He was not only pious, but benevolent and affable. He could never be induced to sit for his portrait, even to a photographer, but numerous likenesses, furtively obtained, are in circulation in Russia. From the one prefixed to M. Serpinet's French translation of the Sermons, and which seems to have been recently taken, he must

have been a man of impressive and venerable aspect. He wore a long flowing beard, as is the custom of Eastern Ecclesiastics. As stated in the newspapers, he was eighty-three years of age, having been born in 1784. His family name was Drowdoff. He entered the service of the Church in 1808, became Archbishop of Moscow in 1821, and was raised to the dignity of Metropolitan in 1826, by Nicholas, on the occasion of his coronation.

We would suggest to those desirous of promoting a union with the Greek Church, that selections from the Archbishop's works, might, just now, be highly serviceable to their cause, and we are not certain that their publication would not be pecuniarily profitable. The procession accompanying the body of the Archbishop to the Kremlin exhibited the utmost magnificence of the Greek Church.

THE NEW PRIMATE OF MOSCOW.

The official appointment of Mgr. Innocent, Archbishop of Kamtschatka, to the dignity of Primate of Moscow, in the room of the late venerable Philarete, is announced. The new Archbishop, who was but a simple Priest thirty-five years ago, had devoted himself to the holy mission of converting to Christianity the idolatrous population of that Asiatic country, and, by his untiring zeal and eloquent language, obtained results so important, that, in a few years, there arose a necessity to raise Kamtschatka into a new Diocese. The worthy Missionary, who was then named Jean Veniaminof, was married, and the father of several children. He repaired to Moscow, to lay before Mgr. Philarete, the requirements of the new See. During his stay in the city, he received the news of the unexpected death of his wife, whom he had left in good health. Having thus become a widower, he was in the condition required for the Episcopacy, and Mgr. Philarete did not hesitate to confer on him the dignity, to which, in no circumstances, would his modesty have allowed him to pretend. M^dme. Potemkin, who is always ready when there is a work of charity to perform, undertook to bring up the Missionary's daughters, educate them, and marry them honorably. The simple Priest then became a Bishop, under the title of Innocent, and returned to Kamtschatka. He is now elevated to the place made vacant by the death of the venerable Philarete,—the loftiest Ecclesiastical position in the vast Empire of the Czars.

THE NEW BISHOP OF NATAL.

The person chosen for this difficult post, is the Rev. W. K. Macrorie, M. A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, formerly a master of Radley College, afterwards incumbent of Wapping, and since presented to the living of St. James's, Accrington, by the Hulme Trustees.

Mr. Macrorie is said to be a man of moderate views, and of a character at once energetic and conciliatory.

To avoid some technical legal objections, it was proposed to consecrate him in Scotland. His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, finally withdrew his approbation from the plan, and the whole matter remains in suspense.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE WESLEYAN BODY.

The members of both Houses of Convocation for the Northern Province, assembled on the 6th, at York Cathedral, for the transaction of business. Among the other business, was a motion by the Ven. Archdeacon Hamilton, that, "whereas there now existed a very general desire for Christian Unity, and the causes which led to the formation of the Wesleyan body as a distinct community were sensibly diminished, it was the opinion of the house that an attempt should be made to effect brotherly reconciliation between the Wesleyan body and the Church of England, and therefore, with a view of promoting this most desirable object, a committee of this house be appointed to enter into communication with the president of the Wesleyan Conference, and to invite him to procure the nomination of an equal number of that body, to meet such committee for the purpose of considering the possibility of a thorough re-union between the Wesleyan community and the Church of England." The Archdeacon of Carlisle seconded the motion. Chancellor Thurlow, the Bishop of Ripon, and Archdeacon Pollock, spoke against

the motion; and Archdeacon Churton, the Rev. C. Oater, and the Rev. Canon Hornby expressed themselves in favor of the motion. Archdeacon Dumford moved that a committee be appointed to consider and report whether there be a reasonable probability of union, and upon what terms and in what manner such an attempt should be made.

ITALY.

The following is reported,—we will not vouch its truth:—

On the evening of the 7th inst., the Pope signed the bull convening the universal Episcopate for an Ecumenical Council to assemble at Rome on December 8, 1868. The bull, which bears the date of the 8th, exactly one year before the appointed day of meeting, will be disseminated without delay.

Also,—in Secret Consistory, on the 20th ult., the Pope delivered the Allocation on the perils of the temporal power, with thanksgiving for recent events. We give part of its concluding paragraph, as a contrast to the form of prayer left by the only true Head of the Church:—

“That God may the more readily hearken to our prayers, we implore fresh intercession of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, who is for us all a mother full of affection, the *most powerful aid* of all Christians, who obtains what she seeks for, and is never frustrated. We then have recourse to the intercession of the blessed St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles; of Paul, his colleague Apostle; and of all saints who reign with Christ in Heaven.”

CANADA.

BISHOP STRACHAN.—The funeral of this eminent Prelate was one of the most imposing events ever witnessed in Western Canada. His humility, his piety, his energy, his executive ability, his successful labors, constrained from all classes an affectionate remembrance. His funeral is thus described:—The bells in St James's Cathedral, which were muffled, commenced pealing a little before midnight, on Monday night, and continued to play a mourning requiem, till the body was committed to its last resting-place. The solemn music of the bells had a very peculiar effect—being so much unlike anything of the kind that had ever been heard in this city, that all who listened to their mournful notes felt the more the sadness of the event, which had occasioned the playing of the melancholy dirges. The inside of the Church presented a very sombre appearance—daylight being excluded, and the edifice being draped with deep mourning. The few gas lights that were used, had the effect of adding to the solemnity which was everywhere visible. Festoons of black cloth hung along in front of the gallery, beneath the pillars; the aisles were carpeted with black, and the organ, reading-desk, and Altar, were draped in black. The scene was impressive in the extreme, and one not easily to be forgotten. The Church was crowded to excess—the main body occupied by those who took part in the procession, and the gallery, by ladies and children. The introductory sentences were chanted, and a hymn and anthems were sung, in addition to the regular services. The grave is beneath the chancel, in front of the large window in the north end of the Cathedral—the floor of that portion of the Altar having been removed, for the purpose of having the grave placed there. The vault, which is constructed of brick, is about six feet in depth, and about the same distance from the foundation wall. The Altar will, in future, stand over the vault that contains the ashes of him who so often officiated there, and from that very spot, called upon his Divine Master to bless his flock. A large stone slab has been placed on the mouth of the grave, and an arch about four feet in height. At the conclusion of the service, a large number of spectators, many of whom were ladies, gathered around the mouth of the grave, and took a farewell look at it, and then sorrowfully departed from the Cathedral.

[Most of our items of Home and Foreign Intelligence are omitted for want of room. We had prepared a synopsis of the Committee Reports of the Lambeth Conference, and wished to notice the Ritualistic Blue Book, and Wolverhampton Congress.

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ART. I. — COMTEAN ATHEISM.

Augustus Comte, and Positivism. — By JOHN STUART MILL.
Reprinted from the Westminster Review. London: N. Trüb-
ner & Co., 60 Paternoster Row. 1865.

North American Review, Art. IX. "*Religious Liberty.*" April,
1867.

"*A Scientific Religion.*" *Founding of the "Church of Human-
ity" in the United States.* Addresses by Mr. HENRY EDGER.
New York: April 5, 1868.

THE ancient classic nations regarded Atheism with horror. Shrinking from its gloomy desolation, their natural instincts, perverted into superstition, filled the Universe with a fellowship of life, expressed, according to their hopes or fears, in forms of beauty or of terror. While the Stoic bound all things in the chains of a relentless destiny, and the Epicurean laughed away the gods from the superintendence of human affairs, and Philosophers generally disdained the Worship they encouraged as a policy, the popular consciousness branded the man denying Divinity as a species of moral monster. Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian — those bitter, and contemptuous enemies of Christianity — would,

probably, have resented the appellation Atheist. The English infidels of the last two centuries, so venomous in their opposition, not only to the supernatural in the Scriptures, but often, also, to their moral system, and even the person of our Saviour, yet, founded their rejection of our Holy Religion on the absolute sufficiency of reason to discover the Deity in nature, and prescribe laws of life and rules of Worship. Perhaps the pantheist Spinoza, believed himself injured by that indignation of the world against his supposed Atheism which consigned him to poverty and obscurity. Whatever may have been the logical tendencies of the abstract systems of the German philosophers, they, generally, sought some escape from a conclusion which would have forced them to the practical denial of a God. The principal encyclopædists of France, indeed, sank themselves into the hopeless darkness of Atheism. Yet, here, they were compelled to separate, even from the sneering Voltaire and the wretched Rousseau. The French nation, after voting away their belief in their Creator and their Immortality, were compelled to restore the altars they demolished. But, in this wonderful age, remarkable for a knowledge of the Universe, and the subjection of its forces to supply human wants, individuals and societies unblushingly avow their Atheism. The name Positivist is even popular. Instead of a reproach, it is frequently deemed the indication of a bold and superior intellect. It designates a school in the world of science, regarding all who question its claims as the fettered victims of old superstitions, not to be answered with argument, but with contempt. Thus, under an assuming phrase, is veiled the chasm of darkness implied in the rejection of a Supreme Intelligent Cause. Sir William Hamilton, doubtless a believer in the Deity, pronounces the "Unconditioned," embracing the "Absolute," and the "Infinite," as "unknowable," and, by a strict logical deduction, seems to argue God from his Universe. John Stuart Mill, with a masterly clearness, indeed, exposes this wordy confusion of the Scotch Philosopher, and shows that the Infinite, and the Absolute, are mere mental abstractions, for which there can be no corresponding entity, and are therefore, of course, not the subjects of our knowledge. But the great English Scholar and Reformer, having been, for a moment, logically on the side of those who trust and worship a Creator, has himself enunciated opinions alarming and terrible. He approves that Comtean theory of human development, taking for

granted that the Bible is a myth, and making a desolate belief in the mere sequences of things the crowning excellence of philosophic attainment. In the "Essay," named at the head of this Article, he says :—

"Though conscious of being in an extremely small minority, we venture to think that a Religion may exist without a God, and that a Religion without a God, may be, even to Christians, an instructive and profitable object of contemplation."

The April number of the "North American Review" of the last year, quoting this sentiment with seeming approval, announces opinions which, formerly, it would scarcely have dared to publish. We will let the Article declare itself in its own words :—

"The general dissatisfaction with traditional theology, not confined to any sect or denomination ; the skeptical tone of Science in regard to the dogmas on which the Church has rested its claim to the obedience of men ; the sharp conflicts between the upholders of the ancient dogmatic theology, and the promoters of the new views of Science, the renewed interest of the thoughtful in the study of the Metaphysics, and the profound dissatisfaction at the results—the growth of so numerous and widespread a body as the Spiritualists ; the almost corresponding growth of simple Materialism as a speculative doctrine ; the increasing number of *religious men outside of the Church*, and who, in the *language of the Church*, are *infidels, unbelievers, and atheists*, these are some of the signs of that fundamental doctrine of all true Religion—the *responsibility of man to himself alone for his opinions*."

The closing remarks of this writer deserve our special notice :—

"In such a view of Religion as that which has been set forth, *theist and atheist, Christian and infidel*, find ground for union in mutual charity, confidence, and self help."

Mark his concluding words :—

"That spirit which is the corner-stone of our modern society, the Religion, the Christianity of America, rejects all bonds, claims all men as hers, receives all as equal brothers, makes no distinction in love, feasts with publicans and sinners, lifts the lowest and most forlorn to her breast, binds the whole nation in indissoluble union, is popular, is democratic, is individual, is universal."

The fellowship here described, is not that flowing from the charity inspired by the Gospel, but that supposed to follow from

the annihilation of all theological creeds and opinions as false, or useless. The Article is evidently in harmony with the view of Mr. Mill, that there may be a Religion without a God. Is *this* the culmination of New England culture? Is *this* the final achievement of all Literature and Philosophy? Is *this* to be the Religion of our New World? Is this the perfection of Humanity? A future without a Hope, and an existence without a God!

Nor are such opinions confined to a few scholars of New England. The poison infects our youth. It enters our Colleges. It pervades our periodicals. It reaches our homes. It lurks everywhere, diffusing death. Societies are organized in all parts of our Republic to obliterate from the human mind all conceptions of God and Hereafter, asserting, that a believer in a Deity and an Immortality, is a necessary slave, so that true Freedom implies the extinguishment of such exploded superstitions.

Recently, in the city of New York, a disciple of M. Comte, on the day of our Lord, before a large and cultivated audience, commenced a series of discourses which are to inaugurate a system of Propagandism designed to displace Christianity, and, indeed, all Worship, and to hasten that universal triumph of Positivism, predicted by its author, which is to secure the social, political, and intellectual unity of our race, when Paris will be the centre of Philosophy, and the Capital of the world.

That these peculiarities of the atheistic tendencies of our age are traceable to habits induced by scientific pursuits, is undeniable. We might have hoped that familiarity with the Universe, simply as a vast mechanism controlled by exact law; that the analysis of its substance into elementary forms; that the manifest presence of a thoughtful wisdom and a boundless power; that the constant contact of the finite spirit of the creature with the infinite Spirit of the Creator, would have excited in the students of Nature a filial faith, and an adoring wonder. But, in multiplied instances, how different the result! In the observation of phenomena; in remarking the unvarying sequences of cause and effect; in exhibiting the mechanical arrangements of the human frame; in tracing the connection of the soul with a merely physical organism; in the pursuit of discoveries and inventions to overcome material obstacles, and by material combinations to secure material comforts; in measuring, and weighing, and calculating with an exactitude so minute, a disposition has been generated to rest in

second causes, to acknowledge only what is evident to sense, to overvalue mere generalization, and draw over the invisible a veil of skepticism.

The system of Comte is both the offspring and the promoter of this tendency. It has, for the odious term Atheism, supplied the less offensive and more imposing designation — *POSRIVISM*. Multitudes flippantly use the pretentious and fascinating word without reflecting what an abyss of unbelief darkens beneath. Besides, there is something gratifying to the vanity of superficial intellects in assuming that the supernatural is a myth, suitable to a superstitious age, whereas, Science has elevated the nineteenth century to a commanding superiority from which it can compassionately look down on preceding generations of human infants, groping in their darkness, and regarding with childish awe the fancied Mysteries of Creation. Compared with the ripe generalizations of the mental manhood of M. Comte, how insignificantly boyish the speculations and discoveries of such believers as a Bacon or a Newton!

We do not apprehend, that the theory of the French Philosopher in regard to the different stages of human development, will long impose on even his most devoted disciples. It rests simply on his dogmatic assertion. He does not seem to condescend a proof. He takes for granted that Theism is superstition, and Christianity a myth. This master of Induction unblushingly states, as an undeniable truth, that, in the progress of society, there are three necessary stages arising from the human constitution — the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive. The Theological is subdivided into three periods. The first is Fetichism, where material objects, as rivers, trees, mountains, stars, are worshipped as divinities. Then succeeds Polytheism, presenting for adoration numerous personal gods, as presiding over Nature. Lastly, Monotheism is reached, and teaches, that the Universe is created, and governed by a single Infinite Spirit. This, however, is a temporary illusion of the intellect. The belief in one God, is but a step in the ladder of progress to be abandoned in the higher ascent — an infant superstition, vanishing before mature truth. The human soul, gathering force with each advance, like a giant hastening to his destined manhood, now drops its childish faith in a single Deity, and enters, on its upward path, the Metaphysical period. It no longer really believes a Supreme Being hears or answers its

entreaties, but substitutes certain abstract virtues, not subjects of adoration, which are supposed to linger in Nature, and direct her operations. In what particular nation, or epoch, this phase of development has distinctly prevailed, is not made very apparent; nor is this material. M. Comte's assertion will suffice. At last, however, the perfection of the race is attained. What was once doubted to be the possible degradation of a savage, it now seems, is the highest glory of the Philosopher. The Millennium of Science is — POSITIVISM. This is the manhood of the world. What we imagined was light, is darkness, and what we styled darkness, is light. Happily, now, the human family entertains a universal, and inevitable doubt as to the existence of a God, and the possibility of our Immortality. The illusions of the Supernatural disperse. The dream of ages is realized. Positivism displaces the Scripture, and enthrones Comte above Jesus!

We repeat, that we are not afraid such absurd dogmatism will ever permanently disturb the common sense of mankind. These are the wild generalizations of a mind, which, after the confinement of an asylum, sought to extinguish life and suffering in the Seine. They are not, indeed, even essential to the system of Positivism. Mr. Mill, the commentator of Comte, states the following as its fundamental doctrine: —

“We have no knowledge of anything but phenomena, and our knowledge of phenomena is relative, not absolute. We know not the essence, nor the real mode of production of any fact, but only its relations to other facts, in the way of succession or similitude. These relations are constant; that is, always the same in the same circumstances. The constant resemblances which link phenomena together, and the constant sequences which unite them as antecedent and consequent, are termed laws. The laws of phenomena are all we know respecting them. Their essential nature and their *ultimate causes, either efficient or final*, are unknown and inscrutable to us.”

Thus, we are presented in the Universe, not with a series of causes, terminating in one great, central, originating Cause, but with a blank succession of events, happening, in some way, at present, utterly beyond the circle of our knowledge.

Before proceeding to investigate the truth of this assertion, we will pause, and ask, if, indeed, unassisted Reason can lay any substantial foundation for our faith in a Supreme Creator? However curious the speculations of Dr. S. Clarke, and however interesting

his attempt to prove the necessary existence of an Absolute, Independent, and Infinite Being, no man would make them alone his ground for trust, and duty, and Worship. The "Consciousness" and "Intellectual Intuitions" of the German Philosophers, are too vague and shadowy to support that belief, and direct that conduct, which involve our highest interests. M. Cousin, indeed, demonstrates that there are in the human reason two elements — the soul within, and the world without, — but he seems rather to indulge beautiful declamation than pursue rigid argument when he speaks of their relation, and describes "the *Unity* in which they are contained and by which they are explained, — a unity, absolute, as they are conditioned, substantive, as they are phenomenal, and an Infinite Cause, as they are finite causes," — which "*Unity*" he pronounces, "God." The argument of Socrates, related by the inimitable Xenophon, where he deduces the Being of the Deity from the supposed motions of the sun, and the designed protection of the eyebrow, is as complete as that which stands in the "Living Temple" of Howe, or delights in the brilliant pages of Paley, and the sublime discourses of Chalmers. But, if causation is a figment, these splendid structures become a ruin.

Here, then, it is evident, M. Comte has shifted the whole ground of argument. The questions now presented are — Must we consider the Universe a mere sequence of phenomena? Are there efficient causes? If there are, and these are links in the ascending chain to one Supreme Originating Cause, on what do we rest our belief? To these inquiries we wish, if possible, to give a practical answer.

In seeking thus, we must go precisely where M. Comte imperially forbids. We must *enter our own minds*. We must then simply assume, as the basis of all physical and mental science, the testimony of sense, in regard to the external world, and the testimony of consciousness, in regard to the internal world. M. Comte, with a stroke of the pen, omnipotently blots out Psychology. His dictum obliterates all we have attained by painful processes of induction in regard to the laws of Perception, Conception, Memory, Imagination, Reason, and Will, and our knowledge of which is based upon the same foundation of observation and reflection, as that of the combinations of Chemistry and the revolutions of Astronomy. But when the French Philosopher says, "Our Intelligence can observe all other things but itself," his assertion,

even by the admiring English disciple, is pronounced "*an aberration.*" He is rather magisterially referred to the "experience" of M. Cardillac, and of Sir William Hamilton, for information, "that the mind may be conscious of its own impressions." The master is again emphatically rebuked by the pupil, and told, "that it might have occurred to him, that a fact may be studied through the medium of memory, not at the very moment of our perceiving it, but the moment after, and that this is the best mode in which our best knowledge of intellectual acts is acquired. We know our observings and our reasonings at the very time, or by memory the moment after — in either case by direct knowledge, and not merely by their results."

After such a clear and manly statement of the fundamental truth in mental science by so ardent and admitted a Comtist as Mr. John Stuart Mill, we may be permitted once more to enter the domain of our own souls, and inspect our intellectual operations.

If, independently of ourselves, we gazed without, and abroad on external things, perhaps the conception of *causation* might never be obtained. The Universe would then be regarded as a dreary scene of sequences, recurring in a dark, monotonous, and interminable order. But look into the MIND! Do we simply, in the language of M. Cousin, acquire a knowledge of the "ego," and the "non ego?" Do we only perceive ideas of a world within, and a world without? Do we then advance to a vague and dreamy conception of an embracing Infinite? Or must we resort to the "Consciousness" and "Intuitions" of the abstracted Germans for our proof of a Divine Being? It seems strange these acute speculators should have overlooked an undeniable fact evident to the experience of every man. Mental Introspection reveals to us, not only the consciousness of our own existence, and the conviction of the reality of an external Universe, but a *third idea* — not, indeed, of a fancied unity, or of a necessary infinity, or, directly, of a God. It is something far more practical and palpable. We soon discover that the mind within can affect the world without. In objects which have no power to stir, my *will* produces motion. I can lift the chair. I can hurl the stone. I can carry the load. I can move matter, weigh matter, mould matter, combine matter, exert upon matter all the forces of my own intelligence. Thus, *in man himself* originates the notion of a

cause. This obtained within, is applied without. We need not resort to consciousness of the Infinite, or intuitions of the Absolute, or any such theories, utterly beyond the range of common apprehension. I will. I think. My volition occasions motion. My intellect achieves visible and tangible results. I am a perceived *cause*. What I accomplish on a limited scale, I see accomplished in Nature on a scale which is unlimited. Having in *myself* obtained the idea of *cause*, by an instinctive and resistless logic, I transfer it to the Universe. From the conception discovered to my consciousness, and applied to the tokens of presence, and power, and wisdom scattered about me with such exhaustless profusion, I rise, first, to believe in an Infinite Creator, and then, to bow in adoration before His Majesty.

If this reasoning be correct, there is established a foundation for the arguments of the Natural Theologist. We may return with confidence and joy from the desolate speculations of the generalizing Frenchman, and the puzzling theories of the idealistic German, to the old, healthy, beautiful proofs of Socrates and Paley and Chalmers, at once the delight of youth, and the admiration of age.

Nay, perhaps we may advance even farther. Possibly, here we have an explanation of that instinctive belief in a Supreme, or at least, Superior Power, pervading all nations and all ages. Man, the "microcosm," carries into the "macrocosm" about him, the notion of *causation*, derived from effects produced on Nature by his own Spirit. In his uncivilized condition, this may, indeed, be a crude conception, but, as he rises in intelligence, he analyzes the operations of his intellect producing faith in a Divine Personality. In illustration, let me suppose that an unlettered laborer digs amid the scoria of a silenced volcano. He penetrates the dark mass, once a river of fire. Vestiges of art appear. Soon entire streets are exposed. Statues, pictures, jewels, monuments, temples, implements, marred by fire or worn by age, crowd to view. There are stately edifices on deep foundations; there are stones smoothly polished and nicely joined to stones; there are windows for light; there are doors for entrance; there is everything for use and for ornament. You need not persuade by argument the uncultured workman that these wonders received shape from the contrivance of the head and the skill of the hand. He believes, unconsciously, that the dwelling, the court, the theatre, the temple, were *caused*

by man ; nor would he ever dream of investigating the reasons of his faith. On the contrary, a learned antiquary, trained to habits of minute observation and careful reflection — noting, comparing, analyzing — would just as certainly and inevitably believe in the past existence of a constructive agent, as in the present testimony of his senses. Now, as the laborer took for granted that the buried city had been erected by a human architect, so, when the panorama of Creation, with its mystery of harmony and magnificence of glory, speaks to the thoughtless barbarian, there is forced on him a conviction, imperfect, obscure, and by him inexplicable, that the Universe was produced by some Divine Architect. When, however, the mind attains a higher culture, and reason assumes the place of sense, and logic dispossesses fancy, a foundation is laid for our convictions, not in evanescent feeling, but in solid argument. We pass the circles of perception. We investigate mental processes. We point out uses, relations, correspondences. Just in proportion as arts and discoveries multiply, and we find in ourselves an increased power of *causation*, in impressing our intelligence and our will on matter, and as Science opens to our view the multiplicity, the complicity, the infinity of Nature in her varied operations, we perceive, more clearly, because more profoundly and rationally, how the Creator has inscribed Himself on His Universe.

And this view seems confirmed by acknowledged facts, perverted from their true signification by the sweeping generalizations of M. Comte. The mind, sunk in its lowest degradation, having the dimmest perceptions of any superior agency, undoubtedly adores those natural objects which supply the most pressing human wants. When its faculties become awakened to a higher activity and power, it multiplies the personal intelligences supposed to preside over Earth and Heaven. But what do we discover in the character of its gods ? They are deified *men*. They have the passions of *men*. They have the intellect of *men*. They perform the actions of *men*. They have the very forms of *men*. Mars and Apollo and Jupiter, and all the host, filling air, earth, sea, sky, are but magnified human personalities. The reason is evident. The only conception the mind has of *cause*, it has found *in itself*, and then imparted to the numberless divinities with which it peoples the Universe. Behind these, are, often, perhaps, always, discoverable, the traces of a vague belief in One Single Being, who,

unrevealed to mortal vision, reposes in obscure majesty, and governs the inferior agents presiding immediately over His Creation. But, even when Polytheism drops away, and the highest conceivable idea is attained of an infinite, absolute, and independent God, pervading all things and directing all things with perfect love and power and wisdom, from Eternity to Eternity, so strong is the proof demonstrating the notion of *causation* as originating in the human breast, that, although the Sovereign Spirit is not made palpable in material forms, yet, is he always described by passions and faculties and actions, exhibited by *man* himself, and conveying figuratively to his soul, the only conceptions it can possibly entertain.

Keeping in view the principle unfolded as the foundation of this entire argument — after reading the ancient theories of atheism ; after considering the Pantheism of Spinoza, and the more modern German speculations ; after reflecting on the superior containing unity of M. Cousin, and the three assumed periods of M. Comte ; after pondering the assertions of Herbert Spencer in regard to Force and Matter as the dualities of Nature, and the suggestion of John Stuart Mill, that there may be a Religion without a God ; after perusing the Article in the “North American Review,” acquiescing in the views of the English Reformer, and which, on the ruins of Faith, would have a Church without a Creed, and *man* without responsibility to his Maker ; after hearing the faint echoes of Mr. Edger, who borrows the Christian Sabbath to popularize French Atheism — in view of the fundamental principles we have just sought to establish by an appeal to Common Sense, — we cannot divest ourselves of a youthful conviction that every reason proving that a machine has a contriver demonstrates that the Universe has a Creator. Visit a Planetarium ! You enter a contracted room. You find planets represented by wooden balls. The sun is a round globe of brass. The motions are performed, not by the invisible power of a noiseless attraction, but by a clumsy application of the hand, while screws and pivots and wheels move, perhaps, heavily to the eye, and unpleasantly to the ear. Not a ray of light beams. Not even a fly is warmed into life. Expand now the low, dark, square ceiling into the broad, blue, bending dome of Heaven ! Push out the walls into the infinitudes of space ! Swell the opaque ball of brass into a vast World of Light, thousands of miles in diameter, throwing out from its fountains of glory exhaustless rays through the midnight of our system ;

penetrating with grateful warmth our distant earth ; the gracious parent of grasses, and flowers, and fruits, and harvests ; causing sea and land to teem with an infinity of animated existence ; bringing to view valley and mountain and ocean, the pleasing landscape and the wide sky ; making the agreeable changes of day and night with the delightful alternation of the seasons ; sending out the imperceptible influences of gravitation, and compelling immeasurable and innumerable spheres for ages, with a motion so noiseless, that mortal ear never caught the sound, and a precision so exact as to be expressed in the formulas of mathematics ; above all, sustaining man, the visible crown of Creation and the aspirant for Immortality. What does Atheism give you for your pains ? You have exchanged uniformity for variety ; clumsy contrivance for unequalled mechanism ; death for life ; littleness for magnificence — a plan mortals comprehend for a wisdom angels cannot fathom. The substance in both mechanisms is the same ; the laws are the same ; the obstacles overcome are the same ; the results are the same in kind, but widely different in degree. Yet, in one case, an author is admitted ; in the other he is denied. In the one case, you have an imperfect design and a designer ; in the other, a perfect design and no designer. In the one case, there is an awkward mechanism and a mechanist ; in the other, a perfect mechanism and no mechanist. For the finite effect, there is a cause traceable to the human spirit ; for the infinite effect, there is no cause traceable to the Divine Spirit. Where the proofs are few, you are directed to reason ; where the proofs are multiplied, you are directed to — nothing. Atheism has a maker for a screw, and none for a star. It grants to human skill the tarnished circle of brass with its rubbing wheels, and denies to Divine skill those invisible orbits along whose silent paths roll worlds with almost the impress of immutability. It ascribes to man the insignificant brazen ball ; it refuses to God the mighty effulgent sun.

Or compare the great Roman Cathedral with the Human Body ! What stately pillars on deep foundations lift into the skies the dome of St. Peter's ! What vast dimensions ! What majestic proportions ! What miracles of art ! What crowds from all lands ! What music seeming from the gates of heaven ! Who in the multitude doubts that structure had for its *cause* the spirit of man ? Who does not recognize there his power and genius ? Who dreams that by some blind, stupid, mysterious agency — by

some dreamy, unvarying, unconscious chain of sequences — without a directing mind or assisting hand — it lifted itself from the earth into that stately magnificence? Such a theory would brand a man a lunatic. But behold the Body! *It grows.* From the smallest germ, shut up in the recesses of darkness, it takes shape and proportion; and then, passing through infancy, childhood, youth, advances in manhood to what strength and grace and majesty! *It moves.* So perfectly is the law of gravitation controlling the heavens seen in its constitution, that it proceeds over the earth with the greatest ease and rapidity, while each limb, each bone, each joint, each socket, each motion is in exact accordance with mechanical principles, so that extremes almost inconceivable are united — firmness and flexibility, strength and pliancy, swiftness and certainty, robustness and beauty. *It feels.* All over are spread unseen nerves, in ramifications which are infinite, thrilling with sensation, and conveying through the system reports quicker and more accurate than the net-work of wires flashing intelligence round our world. *It tastes.* The golden apple, the purple grape, the flushing peach; the pear, the plum, the citron, the orange; berries, melons, grains; the countless tribes from air and land and ocean, contribute their wonderful chemistry to excite the invisible little organs sleeping in lip and palate and tongue, and starting up at a touch to impart pleasure. *It smells.* The odor of gums, the fragrance of flowers, the aroma of spices breathe their secret and refined perfumery, until the nostril expands with welcome to the breeze. *It hears.* Creation almost seems a vast apparatus to prepare for its auditorium an infinite diversity of sounds, exciting often to an ecstasy. *It sees.* Painted within the eye, so curiously and artistically formed, by rays of light, are images from all parts of the universe, with every degree of beauty and sublimity. *It speaks.* The lip, assisted by the lungs and tongue, in conformity with laws the most mechanical, pours forth various sounds; the deep bass, the shrill tenor, the agreeable treble, — kindling passion, exciting sympathy, charming the imagination, informing the intellect, persuading the will, shaping empires, impressing time, affecting eternity, while the eye glows and the features change with emotion, — nerve, organ, limb, lineament, all uttering their marvelous language as man stamps his soul on man. *It propagates.* From a single pair could proceed all generations of all the ages of our world. *It is inhabited.* Are the

thrilling nerve, the beating heart, the moving limb, the reporting senses, the majestic form, subjects of wonder? These are but in the outer courts of the temple. Within dwells the glory! The shekinah is the soul. Here is a being which seems to propagate itself as spark ignites spark, and flame lights flame, shrinking with sensibility, kindling with emotion, teeming with thought; sorrowing, rejoicing, reflecting, willing; susceptible of the relations of family, neighborhood, country, race; subduing the earth and measuring the heavens; grasping after Infinity and aspiring towards Immortality. Now in this nineteenth century, when the dogmatism of Comte is styled philosophy, and the sentimentalism of Rénan is dignified as argument, and the infidelity of the "North American Review" would be considered religion, shall we be ashamed of our common sense, and abandon the proofs once deemed so convincing and so beautiful? Shall we say that the power and wisdom and personality of man are inscribed on the temple of stone, and that the power and wisdom and personality of God are not inscribed on the Temple of the Body? Shall we trace to a distinct causation the one, while we trace, to lifeless law, or blind sequence the other, with its hidden susceptibilities, its wonderful combinations, its secret chemistries, its exact mechanism, its matchless philosophy, its innumerable relations to earth, light, heat, water, electricity, air, and the whole surrounding Universe; with its strange contrivances, its wise adaptations, its skillful compensations, its endless arrangements, its curious accommodations, and, above all, its indwelling Spirit, endowed with its amazing capacities of Perception, Conception, Memory, Imagination, Passion, Reason, Will? Shall we attribute to Intelligence the foundation of stone, and deny to Intelligence the foot with its flexibility and beauty, its power of support and capacity of motion, uniting the firmness of the pedestal with the progression of the wheel? Had the column a designer, and the limb no designer? Was the window produced by wise thought, and the eye in mere sequence? Were the galleries of the edifice contrived by a person, and the galleries of the ear not contrived by a Person? Does the dome proclaim an architect, while yet the head, with the expressive countenance, the speaking lip, the sensitive nostril, the listening ear, the lofty brow, — an image of thought and of command, — proclaims *no* Architect? We are not prepared to yield an argument which seems invincible to Reason unperturbed by a false Philosophy.

In view of what has been urged, we may not then be too bold in assuming, that the idea of *causation*, originating in our own minds, is as much a first principle of our nature, as our reliance on the testimony of sense to the existence of matter, or of consciousness to the reality of spirit. This thought man instinctively carries into the Universe. Here, possibly, is the explanation of the prevailing belief in a Superior Being. Here, certainly, is a foundation for the whole superstructure of the argument from the Creation to the Creator. Here is a bridge across that abyss separating man from God, over which Reason may lead Faith, and bowing before the Divine Majesty, show that Worship is not only a Supreme Duty, but a Rational Service.

ART. II.—SKETCHES OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

THE little city of Bangor lies in a romantic valley, which, overhung on one side by precipitous hills, the outskirts of Snowdon, looks out upon Beaumaris Bay, and the rocky coast of Anglesey. Till modern skill had bridged the Menai Straits, and made the Holyhead road a chief line of communication with Ireland, Bangor was one of the most quiet and secluded spots which could arrest and attach a meditative traveller. It had been an Episcopal See from a somewhat uncertain period before the conversion of the Saxons. Time, war, and poverty had left a Cathedral still unfinished till 1532, when its low tower, and embattled, cruciform walls, though just completed, wore but the humblest aspect of ecclesiastical dignity. The Diocese embraced a hundred and seventy-nine Parishes, in Caernarvonshire, Anglesey, and parts of the counties of Merioneth, Denbigh, and Montgomery. It comprised no large towns, but was the most mountainous and picturesque region of Wales, with the stern castles of Caernarvon and Conway, and all the Druid recollections of the ancient Mona. Along rough shores, up shadowy glens, on the banks of foaming streams, in lonely valleys, or by peaceful lakes, rose the plain churches in which mass was said before a simple people, mountaineers or fishers. There, when

“ The sun goes down,
Far off his light is on the naked crags

Of Penmanwawr and Arvon's ancient hills,
And the last glory lingers yet awhile,
Crowning old Snowdon's venerable head,
That towers amid his mountains."

On the nineteenth of April, 1589, along with Goodriche and Rowland Lee, a Bishop of Bangor also received consecration. This was John Capon, who, in an age when surnames were still a little unsettled, sometimes bore that of Saliot. It would seem that he had been a Chaplain of Wolsey, and that, when Latimer was brought before the Cardinal, it was he who was directed to examine the plain preachers in logic and divinity. Not one monastery was left in his Diocese after the first hostile enactment, which swept away all whose income was less than two hundred pounds a year. On the passage of the Six Articles, in 1534, Shaxton, the Bishop of Salisbury, laid down his crosier; which Capon, who seems never to have been oppressed by conscientious doubts, did not hesitate to take up.

Suffragan Bishops were known in Britain till some time after the Reformation; and John Bird, before he succeeded to the See of Bangor, had been suffragan of Penrith, and then of Coventry, his native city. Already advanced in years, small of stature, and blind of an eye, he added little dignity to the robes of office. But, as the last Provincial of the Carmelites, and as a Royal Chaplain, he had preached and printed sermons in defense of the supremacy of the Sovereign. His unimposing person presented itself to Catharine, when Bishop Fox came to request her to lay aside the title of Queen; and to Bilney, when he lay in prison at Norwich. He was regarded as one of the reproofing Ecclesiastics; but the Six Articles were established; and he was not the man to disturb much the repose of the retired Diocese, which indeed he held but two years, and relinquished on the erection of the See of Chester.

Then followed Arthur Bulkeley, one of the many Bishops of Bangor who have been natives of their own Diocese. Except his residence at the University of Oxford, his life had been passed in Wales, and his family has been eminent in Anglesey to this day. There is a story that he sold five bells of his Cathedral, and, going to see them shipped, was struck with sudden blindness, and never saw again; but he is, more probably, described by others as a worthy man, whose sight was good till the day of his death. The Reformation penetrated these mountain districts but slowly; and

when Mary reigned, the Bishop quietly returned to the old customs, and died two years after.

Of Anglesea also was William Glynn, who returned from the Vice-Chancellorship of Cambridge to preside over his native Diocese and island. A Priest, who, like many of his brethren before the Reformation, lived in unconsecrated wedlock, was his father; and he had a brother, Geoffrey Glynn, Doctor of Laws, who built and endowed a free school at Bangor. Bishop Glynn was one of the first Fellows of Trinity College, was Archdeacon of Anglesey, Margaret Professor of Divinity till 1539, and then Master of Queen's College; and throughout, had the character of an able and an excellent scholar. In the disputation with the martyr Prelates at Oxford, he maintained the Papal doctrine without passion; and afterwards, visiting the prison of Ridley, who had esteemed him his friend, he craved his pardon for some severity of language. Doubtless, he would gladly have checked the hands that shed the blood of the saints; for it never stained the northern shores of Wales. His death occurred in May, 1558, a few months before the close of the persecution.

His See remained vacant, till it was filled by a Protestant. One of those first four Prelates whom Parker consecrated, three days after his own consecration, was Rowland Merrick, a native of Anglesea, who had been Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, and was now made Bishop, like his predecessor, of the region of his birth. While he was a Canon of St. David's, he had been one of the opponents of Bishop Ferrar, whose eccentricities not unreasonably excited a resistance, which, after his martyrdom, may have been remembered by such as shared his faith, with painful regret. At one time, during the Episcopate of Merrick, there were in his Diocese but two Clergymen who were preachers; so silent had been the Word in the previous days. He presided about five years, and died at the age of sixty-one. His son, Sir Gilly Merrick, thirty-four years later, lost his life in the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex.

Nicholas Robinson, who succeeded, had suffered in the time of Mary for the gospel. As Archdeacon of Merioneth, he already knew well his Diocese; and sitting in that character in the Convocation of 1563, he had voted against that abrogation of ceremonies which one vote more would have carried. He appears to have been a distinguished preacher; and there remains from his pen an account of the reception of Queen Elizabeth on the glad occasion

of her visit, in 1564, to the University of Cambridge; an occasion which, though now it may seem slight, good men, just delivered from the danger of the flames, regarded with devout thanksgivings.

After the death of Robinson, Hugh Bellot received consecration as Bishop of Bangor, at the same time with Westphaling of Hereford, and Bickley of Chichester. It was on the thirtieth of January, 1586. His name is very obscure; but he presided at Bangor nine years, embracing the period of the execution of Mary of Scotland, and that of the Spanish Armada, and was transferred to Chester.

The same path was followed by his more eminent successor, Richard Vaughan, who, like several other Bishops of Bangor, was born in the Diocese, being a native of Caernarvonshire. He had been of St. John's College, Cambridge, and had become Chaplain to Bishop Aylmer, whose epitaph he wrote; and Examiner to the Lord Keeper Pickering, for the disposal of benefices. In that character, he had acted with a conscientious and unusual strictness; and the ill-prepared Chaplain of a nobleman found no more favor at that gate of promotion than the unfriended dunce. While yet young, he, like his patron Aylmer, and like many men of prompt speech and bold honesty, was sometimes called factious. In riper age, though very firm in duty, he knew how to be indulgent towards the errors of the good. A cheerful day it was for his native mountains, when he entered the Episcopal residence; "a corpulent man," says Fuller, "but spiritually minded"; pleasant in discourse, especially at his own board; a hater of all connivance of fraud, so that, without hesitation, he ascribed the cure of "the King's evil" to natural causes; a man of a pious life, and excellent in the pulpit. But after two years he passed to Chester, and towards a later post of still more extensive importance.

The next Bishop, Henry Rowlands, was born also within the Diocese, and was educated at Oxford. Along the valley of Bangor, he listened, in his latter days, to the chime of four large bells, his gift to his Cathedral; and since his death, after an Episcopate of eighteen years, two Fellowships at Jesus College have subsisted by his endowment.

On the same day, in 1616, two Prelates of practical excellence knelt together to receive the imposition of consecrating hands: Arthur Lake and Lewis Bayly. The latter was a Welshman, of the county of Caermarthen, who, after leaving Exeter College, Ox-

ford, had become Chaplain to Prince Henry and to King James; had held a parochial charge at Evesham; and had been Rector of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London. At Evesham, he preached a succession of sermons which were afterwards arranged in the form of a book, under the title of the "Practice of Piety." This book became in its day most wonderfully popular and useful; passed through no less than sixty editions; and was translated into the Welsh, the French, and even the Polish and Hungarian languages. Although now lost from all but antiquarian libraries, it was a manual which came to America amongst the few books of the Puritan settler; from which Bunyan early received an impulse towards the Christian pilgrimage; which men of pious benevolence, like Gouge, delighted to circulate; and which shared the hostility of those who opposed the "Apology of Jewel," and the "Book of Martyrs." Its author seems to have been a mild, active and conscientious Bishop, who ruled his own household well; and of four sons, brought up three to be Clergymen. When the Elector Palatine, in 1619, contended for the crown of Bohemia, and carried with him the Protestant sympathies of Britain, but not the policy of his father-in-law King James, Bishop Bayly was sharply reprov'd in the council-chamber, by the royal command, for praying publicly for the Elector and Electress, under the title of King and Queen. Notwithstanding this, he had the courage to state, in the next Parliament, that the incorporations of eighteen hospitals were at that time impeached; and an act was passed for the confirmation of these charters, in the face of grasping and corrupt courtiers. The Court was, of course, ill-satisfied; and a month after the adjournment, he was committed for a short time to the Fleet Prison. He died after an Episcopate of fifteen years, and a little before Archbishop Abbot. While the youngest of his sons, who had been Subdean of Wells, became a Papist, and closed his days in Italy, the eldest was the father of a line of Baronets, who intermarried with the house of Paget, and assuming its name, and inheriting its honors, were the paternal ancestors of the Marquis of Anglesey.

A Welshman also, of a good family in Denbighshire, David Doulburn, was the next in succession. He had been Rector of Hackney; and was fifty years old at his consecration, and but fifty-one at his death, in November, 1633; too soon to leave memorials.

Equally obscure is the name of Edmund Griffith, which discloses

a Welsh origin. He was consecrated on the sixth of February, 1637, under the Primacy of Laud, and died three years after.

He was followed by the Archdeacon of Anglesey, William Roberts, whose name bears a similar testimony to his nativity. After holding a Fellowship of Queen's College, Cambridge, he had been Subdean of Wells; and by a discovery of some church goods which he had made, had acquired a claim on the recommendation of the vigilant Laud. With his brethren, he joined in the protest against the acts of the Long Parliament, and was placed in the impeachment; and, passing through all those afflicting times, was summoned in 1642 as a delinquent, and suffered in 1644 the sequestration of his temporal estate. While Archbishop Williams struggled to hold Conway Castle, he lived in quietness, though in depression; and when Cromwell had triumphed over all resistance, he still survived to resume his seat at the Restoration. The bells of his Cathedral tolled not for him till the twenty-seventh year of his Episcopate; the longest time through which the See of Bangor has been occupied by any Protestant Prelate.

Doctor Price, for whom the vacant See was designed, died before he could receive consecration. It was therefore given by the government of Charles the Second to Robert Morgan, Archdeacon of Merioneth. The civil wars found him a Prebendary of Chester; and on his ejection, he displayed loyalty and prudence in sustaining the royal interests in North Wales. These services were remembered; and he became Bishop of Bangor, and survived seven years, honored and beloved.

One of the clergy of the Diocese was again selected to be its head, Humphrey Lloyd, the son of a Vicar in Denbighshire. From the Welsh fraternity of Jesus College, Oxford, he was advanced to a Fellowship of Oriel College; and, as an eminent tutor, when Charles the First, during the troubles, met his Parliament at Oxford, he became known to Archbishop Williams, and was made Chaplain to that remarkable Prelate. He succeeded his father in his benefice, and held some other promotions; and must have been advanced in years when he was raised to his Bishopric. As he procured the annexation, by act of Parliament, of some preferments to his See, he was reckoned, as well as for other causes, amongst its benefactors. His Episcopate fell in troubled days, but his age perhaps prevented any conspicuous part; and he died not long before the time when James the Second was compelled to abandon, with his

crown, his hope of supplanting the Protestant Church of England.

With the consent of Archbishop Sancroft, and before his deprivation, Humphrey Humphries received consecration. With the other Bishops nominated by King William, he had doubtless many valuable qualifications for his office; but, as a writer, is chiefly or only known through some additions which his diligence appended to the great academic history of Anthony Wood, the Oxford antiquary. In 1701, he was translated to Hereford.

The last Bishop who was consecrated under William was John Evans. His Episcopate at Bangor coincided almost entirely in duration with the reign of Queen Anne; for in 1715, he accepted translation to the See of Meath in Ireland. His vote was recorded against the bill which was promoted by the High Church party, for preventing occasional conformity, and thus depriving Dissenters of influence. He was also the last of those Bishops of Bangor who had been chosen, in part, because they were of Welsh descent and education. This circumstance, as was reasonable, appears to have been steadfastly regarded under every government, till that of Walpole merged it, with even higher considerations, in that of political expediency. It was true, no doubt, that the Welsh language was less familiar to persons of the higher orders than formerly, and that the Welsh Prelates had been men of less eminence for learning and general ability than many of their brethren. But, if the Bishop was to be a pastor indeed, he should have been one who, in all things, could share the natural sympathies of his charge, and who could address them all in their own tongue; and the vast growth of dissent in Wales attests but too well the loss which the Church sustained through the withdrawal of such supervision.

So it happened that Bangor never saw its next Prelate, though he held the See for six years, and gave its name to a famous controversy of his own. This was the celebrated Benjamin Hoadley. He was born in Kent, but his father was Master of the Grammar School at Norwich. At Catharine Hall, Cambridge, he became the rival of Sherlock, his future antagonist in graver affairs. From his Fellowship he passed to the life of a London clergyman, being Lecturer of St. Mildred's in the Poultry, and Rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, Broad Street. He was never an attractive preacher; and his own statement was that he preached down his Lectureship to thirty pounds a year. But the excess of Atterbury kindled

in him an early spirit of opposition ; and thrice he assailed the eloquent partisan of High Church theories ; and ventured also objections to publications of Blackhall, and even of Fleetwood. At twenty-six, he wrote on the Reasonableness of Conformity ; and from that time, with all the skill of a candid, acute, and learned controversialist, urged, to the utmost, the doctrines of civil freedom and religious toleration. Boldly he taught, in the face of a torrent of hostility, the two principles, that, politically, the duty of submission to the magistrate was limited by the right to good government ; and that, in Religion, sincerity is acceptable to God, and should be sufficient with men. He spoke, besides, so much and so directly of errors of a large body of the Clergy, that, as he expressed it, "fury seemed to be let loose upon him." The Commons, by a special vote, recommended him to the Queen for preferment, as one who had done signal service to the cause of civil and religious liberty ; but they probably expected nothing ; and, till the accession of the House of Brunswick, his only advancement came from a private person, — Mrs. Howland, who had never seen him, but, being allied to the Duke of Bedford, presented him to the rich living of Streatham in Surrey. The indiscriminate abuse of later days, as well as of his own, has named him a mitred Dissenter and a Socinian ; but the praise of Burnet, who esteemed him "a pious and judicious divine," may at least be balanced against the prejudices of Leslie, Low, and the other Nonjurors. It is probably true that his mind, dry, logical, and confident, revered too little the more mysterious themes of religion ; and that cheerful, facetious, and, in the end, prosperous, he had an aspect of worldliness, and even violated the limits of Ecclesiastical decorum. When, at the age of thirty-nine, he was invested by the Whig ministry of George the First with the Episcopate of Bangor, danger from an exasperated populace was pleaded as his wretched excuse for the complete breach of all the vows of his office, by uninterrupted absence from his Diocese. He could even employ his pen in composing a hasty prologue for a play, to be performed at Blenheim House before the great Duke of Marlborough in his declining health. His "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors," published in 1716, was followed by a sermon, in 1717, on "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ ;" which, repeating the same doctrine, was the occasion of what was called the Bangorian controversy. Headstrong as a

reasoner, though in his feelings coldly calm, he was accused of denying all authority in the Church or Ministry, as well as the right of the State to sustain or promote religion by civil sanctions. He was answered by Snape, Sherlock, Hare, Potter; he found defenders in Balguy and Pyle; but his own active mind was his chief strength. The Lower House of Convocation represented his offensive positions; but before their representation could be brought to the Upper House, the royal authority interposed, and prorogued the Convocation, which has never since been permitted to enter on any important business. Thus, the discussion was confined to the press; and there it was still warm, when, in 1721, Bishop Hoadley was transferred to Hereford. The Diocese of Bangor could have no cause to mourn that a distinguished controversialist in London derived his title thenceforth from another spot; for its connection with him had been little more than this.

Bishop Richard Reynolds was two years at Bangor, before his translation to Lincoln, where he lived twenty years longer. During his short Episcopate in Wales, he published a "Charge to the Clergy;" and he appears to have been an animated and earnest teacher.

The next Bishop was William Baker, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford. He remained four years, and was then removed to Norwich, giving place to a name of far wider reputation.

Hoadley and Thomas Sherlock were together at Catharine Hall; and in due time, the younger succeeded the elder in two Sees, and both at length died in the same year, chief pastors of the two great divisions of the metropolis. Sherlock was the son of the eminent Dean of St. Paul's, whose writings are well known and prized, but whose name has been somewhat overshadowed by that of his son. That son was in his youth studious, bold, and active; and when he had reached the age of twenty-six, his father resigned in his favor the Mastership of the Temple—an office which was held by the two for seventy years. He was also, at one period, Master of his College, Vice-Chancellor, and so much the soul of Cambridge, that Bentley called him "Cardinal Alberoni." In the civil, canon, and common law he was well versed; but he particularly delighted in comparing Scripture with Scripture, and illustrating the writings of the Apostles. These masculine, lucid, and sometimes, though too seldom, moving sermons, which have so high a place in the sacred literature of England, were preached

under the venerable and beautiful arches of the Temple Church, to a congregation of lawyers. In 1716, he was made Dean of Chichester; and in the three following years he was at the head of the opposition to Bishop Hoadley, in reply to whom, and in defense of the Test and Corporation Acts, he published five pamphlets. But Sherlock, in his old age, it is said, remembered this controversy with no pleasure, and would not collect his tracts for republication. His book on the "Use and Intent of Prophecy" appeared in 1725; and in 1729, after he had entered on his Episcopate, the "Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus." It was his custom to preach at the Temple in term-time, and to make his Diocesan visits in the vacations. His voice was unmelodious, his utterance naturally thick, his appearance ungracious, and his manner unfortunate; yet in the pulpit his energetic delivery commanded the attention which his words held fast; and in the House of Lords, where he spoke more often on secular subjects than his character, and his strong feeling of Episcopal propriety would have promised, he won the ear of the assembly by his judgment and solidity in debate. He was married to Judith Fountaine, sister of a gentleman of Melton, but was childless. On the translation of Hoadley from Salisbury to Winchester, in 1734, Sherlock, who was much with the intelligent Queen Caroline, and whose talents and worth were attended by the deep respect of the Clergy, succeeded him at Salisbury. So it has often happened in the Church of England, whose doctrine remained unchanged through the operations of its spiritual rulers.

The Bishop of Bristol, Charles Cecil, was transferred to Bangor; the first instance of a translation to this See since the Reformation. He presided there somewhat more than two years, and died on the twenty-ninth of May, 1737, of gout, which had reached the vital organs.

One of the most popular preachers at that time was the Dean of Rochester, Thomas Herring. He was now forty-four years old, and was the son of the Rector of Walsoken in Norfolk. His education was at Wisbeach School and Jesus College, Cambridge, and he became a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and officiated as a Curate for some time at Trinity Church, Cambridge. Bishop Fleetwood made him his Chaplain, and said, eminent as he himself was in the pulpit, that, when Mr. Herring was accustomed to preach before him in Ely Chapel, he never heard a sermon from

him, of which he should not have been proud to be the author. From Bishop Fleetwood he received the benefices of Rettingdon and Barley, and from the King, whom, as Chaplain, he afterwards accompanied to Cambridge, the offer of the Rectorship of Allhallows, London; but the benchers of Lincoln's Inn were a more appropriate audience for a speaker of so much refinement of style, and he accepted their appointment. It marks the low tone of the times, that when he alluded in a sermon, with just condemnation, to the immoralities of the "Beggar's Opera" of Gay, clamor was stirred up, and he had the honor of being attacked by Dean Swift in one of the periodical publications of the day. Sir William Clayton presented him in 1731, to the Rectorship of Blechingly in Surry; and, having thus been born under the roof of an affluent clergyman, and having held one rich benefice after another, he received, in 1732, the Deanery of Rochester, which he continued to hold after his promotion to a Bishopric. But he never solicited the steps of elevation which he obtained with general approval. Courteous and obliging in his manners, of an unaffected and felicitous delivery, without relish for metaphysical studies, but adorned with a graceful and classical taste, he was not prepared to arouse a slumbering age, but he bore himself meekly in high stations. His principles were moderate in all respects, and he thought, as he expressed it, that the High Church fire, though it slept, was covered by their embers. Visiting his mountainous Diocese, in 1739, on horseback, he described its picturesque scenery in his letters, with the fancy of a poet and with devout feeling. But, after five years, he was called, on the death of Archbishop Blackburn, to the Metropolitan dignity of the North.

A college associate of the same age followed him, step by step, in his three successive Sees, Bangor, York, and Canterbury. This was Matthew Hutton, who was descended from a branch of the family of the former Archbishop, Matthew Hutton, of the days of Elizabeth. The second Primate of those names was born in Yorkshire, near Richmond; and, after being at Jesus College, became a Fellow of Christ's College, and Chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, and married Mary Latman, a lady of Petworth, where that nobleman had a seat. From the patronage of that family, he received the living of Trowbridge, afterwards held by the poet Crabbe; and, having accompanied George the Second, in 1736, to Hanover as his Chaplain, became, on his return, a Canon of

Windsor. When he was made Bishop of Bangor, in 1743, he continued to hold a Prebend of York, two benefices in Anglesea and Denbighshire, and the Rectorship of Spofforth; till, after four years, he followed his predecessor to York. A man who attained the very highest stations in the English Church left no trace of his character, or powers upon its history; but he is described as attracting the notice of the great and the regard of his Sovereign by well-digested learning, knowledge of men and things, a clear understanding, a tenacious memory, and a constant but very decorous cheerfulness.

A more eminent name is that of Zachary Pearce, at whose consecration the sermon was preached by Jortin. Bishop Pearce was the son of a wealthy distiller, in St. Giles', who was still living; and he had received a large fortune by his marriage to the daughter of Mr. Adams, another London distiller. From Westminster School he had proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he attained a Fellowship. On being ordained, he found a liberal patron in the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Macclesfield, who gave him the benefice of Stapleford Abbott in Essex. His early distinction was in the character of a classical scholar; for, he published editions of "*Cicero de Officiis*," and of Longinus; he wrote a masterly criticism on Bentley's Milton, and on the text of Milton; and a few of his lighter compositions appeared in the "*Spectator*," and the "*Guardian*." But he also published a reply to the unbelieving Woolston; and he defended Waterland against Middleton; whom, clergyman as he was, he regarded and treated as an infidel in disguise. His greatest service to Theology was his Commentary on the Historical Books of the New Testament; a work of consummate judgment. From 1725, he was Vicar of St. Martins in the Fields; and he preached at the consecration of the stately Church of that great Metropolitan Parish. His voice was too feeble to allow him to become a distinguished preacher; but his conscientious activity, and marked discretion placed him amongst the most useful of the prominent Divines of his day. For two years he was Dean of Rochester; for nine, Dean of Winchester; and now with reluctance he accepted a Bishopric. Tall, and of a benign aspect, he knelt for ordination at the age of fifty-eight, with the prospect of an honorable and beneficent age, a prospect which was fulfilled; but he remained at Bangor but eight years; and then, still with reluctance, was transferred to Rochester.

At thirty-five, borne on by family influence, John Egerton, son

of the former Bishop Egerton of Hereford, son-in-law of the Duke of Kent, and a near kinsman of the Duke of Bridgewater, was raised, in 1756, to the mitre. From Eton to Oriel College, Oxford, to the Rectorship of Ross in the Diocese, and gift of his fathers, to a Prebend, and to the Deanery of Hereford, his path had been open and easy. He held his benefice, and his Prebend with his See; and at Ross, where, while yet a Parish minister, he had been very exemplary and contented, he was a friend, benefactor, and almost a father, to his people. His frame was elegant and strong, his countenance animated and ingenuous, his manners kind and polished; he was active, good-tempered, vivacious, self-possessed; firm in his duties, and accustomed to recommend nothing to his clergy which he did not practice in his life and approve in his closet. Such is the description of contemporary eulogy; and while Secker, Butler, and Benson had been his friends, his adversaries framed no more bitter charge than those of courtliness, narrowness, and the absence of mental vigor. He was twelve years in this See, through the Seven Years' War, and on to the year 1768, when he succeeded Archbishop Cornwallis in that of Lichfield.

Then, for five years, Bishop John Ewer, who was translated from Llandaff, presided at Bangor. On the twenty-eighth of October, 1774, a painful illness, which had continued for several months, brought him to the grave.

From an humble origin to the highest responsibility of the English Church, John Moore, arose, by the aid of one powerful patron, and of his own amiable and estimable qualities. His father, a glazier of Gloucester, was unable to sustain him at Oxford, where he obtained some place in Pembroke College, applied himself to mathematics, and became a Student of Christ Church. The Duke of Marlborough sought a Tutor for his son; Moore became an inmate of the family; and, after the death of the Duke, acted, under circumstances of difficulty, with so much honorable and conscientious delicacy, that his pupil presented him with a handsome annuity, and obtained for him preferment. He was a Canon of Christ Church and a Prebendary of Durham; and in 1771, was made Dean of Canterbury, and now Bishop of Bangor, where he remained from the age of forty-two to that of fifty-one. By his first marriage, he was the brother-in-law of Sir James Wright, Minister at Vienna; by his second, of Lord Auckland and Lord Henley. Bishop Moore was an esteemed preacher, and a conscientious

officer of the Church ; and when he preached, in 1782, before the Propagation Society, he spoke of slavery with just horror, and of the duties of masters with zealous solemnity. In the following year, he was summoned to the Primacy.

Bishop John Warren was then transferred from St. Davids. He nobly repaired the Cathedral, and kept for five months in each year a seat of hospitality, where the Clergy were entertained with plentiful elegance, and the sound of the harp of Wales was heard in the summer evenings. It is noted of him, that he gave attention to the welfare of humble curates, and that most of the benefices at his disposal, which were numerous, were bestowed on Welshmen. In Parliament, he spoke rather often, and disclosed some interest in legal questions. His legal propensities were more disagreeably called into action, in a dispute with his Registrar. He sent, on that occasion, for the key of the office ; and on the refusal of the Registrar to deliver it, ordered that the lock should be removed, and a new one substituted, the key of which was in his possession. The Registrar, armed with pistols, broke open the office ; and the Bishop, going to him with several clergymen, showed some anger, but withdrew. It was mortifying that he was indicted at Shrewsbury for an assault, riot, and rout in thus endeavoring to eject his officer ; and although he was acquitted, yet the Judge seemed to blame him for mistaking the title of the Registrar, and for employing force. He gave the Deanery of Bangor to his nephew, who seems to have been his nearest representative ; and died on the twenty-seventh of January, 1800 ; leaving a See, the pecuniary emoluments of which had much risen within a century, so that it was now one of the wealthiest.

Thus it was, that while, two centuries before, Bellot and Vaughan had been successively translated from Bangor to Chester, the process was now reversed. The See of Chester was now by far the more laborious, and the less lucrative ; and it is most painful to think how much it had passed into a maxim to study considerations like these, when Bishoprics were offered and accepted. Bishop William Cleaves now made this exchange ; and in 1806, accepted the still richer See of St. Asaph. While he was at Bangor, he preached, in 1802, before the University of Oxford, a sermon of some celebrity, on the Thirty-Nine Articles ; maintaining that they were not articles of peace, nor ambiguous, but limited and moderated in their statements, because designed to unite all

who agreed in the necessity of the Reformation. It was through him that, in 1805, the Welsh Clergy applied to the Christian Knowledge Society for a new edition of the Welsh Bible, after the want of it had suggested the great design of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Bishop John Randolph was translated in 1806 from Oxford to Bangor, and in 1809 from Bangor to London. Within that short space, he censured, in a charge, with his accustomed vigor and even with vehemence, a class of clergymen, known under the name of "evangelical," whom, throughout his Episcopate, he labored to repress.

From Chester, came also Bishop Henry William Majendie, who survived twenty-one years, and died in 1830, at the age of seventy-five. He added many decorations to the Cathedral. In the decline of his life, he lost two sons; and he died at the house of another, a clergyman near Lichfield. He held till the last the opinions of George the Third; and one of his last acts was his vote against the bill for Roman Catholic relief.

On this vacancy, Bishop Christopher Bethell, who had just been removed from the See of Gloucester to that of Exeter, received, in preference to Exeter, that of Bangor. He could say, in 1833, that there resided not in his Diocese one beneficed clergyman who could not speak Welsh; and, as by far the greater part of the benefices were at the disposal of the Bishop, this circumstance indicates, in several preceding Prelates, a conscientious fidelity to the spiritual interests of their charge. In the Cathedral, besides its own appropriate services, the Worship of a congregation is also offered in their ancestral language. The generous regard of Bishop Bethell for that laborious class of ministers by whom many of the Welsh Parishes were served, was shown by a gift of a thousand pounds to the Society within the Diocese of Bangor for the aid of the families of deceased Clergymen. His position in Theology commanded reverence; but in the great discussions of the time his Clergy were probably but little involved, and he forbore any suspicious action.

ART. III. — ECCLESIASTICAL TRIALS OF PRIESTS AND DEACONS.

IN the Primitive Church, and for a long time after that name had ceased to be strictly applicable, the discipline of the Church was administered upon the true principles of paternal government. This was practicable, because the Dioceses were then small, the relation between the Bishops and their Clergy intimate, and in worldly matters, all were upon one very humble level. There were no formal Ecclesiastical Trials, and no Ecclesiastical Courts. The Bishop of each Diocese admonished, suspended, or deposed his Clergy as he thought fit. But parental government was a fact, and the Bishop did nothing without the advice of his Clergy. Yet, even then, the decision of the Bishop was not final, but might be revised in the Provincial Synod, which met regularly twice a year.

When, under Constantine, the State began to interfere in Church affairs, a great change took place. About the same time, and partly, though not altogether, in consequence of that interference, party spirit entered into the Church. Its great manifestation was in what have been called the trials of Bishops. These could scarcely be called trials. Their nearest analogy was to the expulsion of members of deliberative bodies. In that case, expediency is the resulting idea, and there is little of either the form, or spirit of a judicial proceeding. In such a state of things the paternal government of Dioceses became impossible. The Bishops, at least the more eminent of them, were at once partisans and candidates for court favor. The bond of love between them and their Clergy was weakened, and the moral characters of the Bishops lowered. In the West, there were other causes at work. The large size of the Dioceses, the rising of a Parochial Clergy, and the introduction of lay patronage, all tended to a separation between the Bishops and the Presbyters. The Bishop of Rome, and many other great Bishops, became temporal Princes. The second class of Bishops became great Lords. Others were Courtiers or Statesmen, or temporal Judges ; some were even Soldiers.

Thus Ecclesiastical Courts became a necessity, as the only possible mode of enforcing discipline. The Bishops had neither time,

nor inclination for the paternal supervision of the Clergy, and had lost all personal interest in men, whom they did not personally know. The Clergy were, not without reason, distrustful of such Bishops. Both parties were desirous of a change. The Clergy wanted a more formal, and judicial mode of proceeding. The Bishops wanted to be rid of the labor involved in the old mode. The Papal power had grown up, and the Popes were very willing to abridge the power of all Bishops but themselves, and so were very willing that the Clergy should be tried before delegated judges, in order that the cases might be brought by appeal before them.

All parties were desirous of Ecclesiastical Courts, and such Courts were instituted; there was an end to the pretense, as well as to the reality, of paternal government. The delegated judges would decide only according to Law, and a system of Canon Law grew up as formal, as technical and as unbending as the temporal Law. This afforded the Clergy protection against the Bishops; but in time that protection became distasteful to the Popes. When the Bishops of Western Europe had become the Bishops of the Roman Obedience, they were allowed to suspend the Clergy at their pleasure. The Ecclesiastical Courts were too cumbrous, and too expensive a protection to be of use to the Priests. The consequences are to be seen at this day in France and Italy, where a Bishop has the power, not unfrequently exercised, of bringing a Priest to beggary by a word of his mouth, reduced to writing by an official dependent. In England, the country of Law, the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline is committed to Courts held by lay judges. Besides other evils, these are the most expensive Courts in the world, and the Bishops are favored with permission to act as public prosecutors at their own private expense. There are, therefore, very few proceedings, and almost no discipline. The proceedings are generally commenced in order to settle some party question. The question is seldom settled short of the lay Court of final appeal, which cannot settle it in the mind of the Church.

In this country, our fathers had no choice, but between abandoning an idea of enforcing discipline, and adopting some judicial system. The paternal system was out of the question. Neither the Clergy nor the people were accustomed to it, or would understand it. It was contrary to all their notions of Law and Liberty. There must, therefore, be Courts, and Trials. The Constitutional Conventions, as they may be called, which organized the National

Church, did not think themselves competent to devise a scheme. They were right. They had not sufficient experience, and acted wisely in committing the matter to the Diocesan Conventions, who could, with less hazard, institute a series of experiments. It was only by experiments, that the requisite knowledge for framing a good system could be obtained. It was discovered, though not very soon, that this course was unchurchly so far as it related to the trials of Bishops. The General Convention, having obtained authority for the purpose, instituted, itself, a series of experiments upon that subject. After several failures, a system was enacted, which has not yet been tried. Its existence has, however, stopped the flood of accusations against Bishops, which reminded one of the days of Constantius II.

The trials of Priests and Deacons are still regulated by the Diocesan Conventions, which have invented a great variety of Courts. The Canons providing for these Court all embody a few ideas, which rest upon the same principles, and are probably all sound; though the provisions differ very much as to the details. The notion of paternal discipline is everywhere rejected. The authority of administering discipline is everywhere attributed to the Bishop; but he is everywhere prohibited from exercising it, unless with the advice of a Court or Council of Presbyters, who are to ascertain the guilt of the accused, and fix upon a sentence to be passed upon him, the severity of which the Bishop may mitigate, but cannot exceed. It is composed of Clergymen, whose fellow-feeling for the accused, unless when overborne by violent party prejudice, will always make them favorable to him, so that there is no great danger of over-severity. The same cause operates in producing a favorable construction of his actions, and ought to produce a construction of the Law favorable to him, as it probably generally does. There ought, in fact, to be in the Court a power somewhat analogous to the pardoning power; but, perhaps, this want is sufficiently provided for by the power of reducing the sentence to the nominal one of admonition.

The intention of the present writer is to throw out a few ideas upon the proper constitution of these Courts, or as they might, perhaps, better be called, Councils of Presbyters; for they are really Councils to inform the consciences of the Bishops. But that they may be able to do this properly, they must first inform their own, by inquiring into the facts, and law of the case. This

inquiry may be best conducted in a forensic form. The distinction between fact and law is apparently very plain, and it is so in extreme cases; but the experience of ages has proved, that, in practice, it is often difficult, sometimes impossible, to draw the line. The difficulty arises from this, that the meaning of a word which is used in the description of a fact is often a question of law. The necessity for drawing a line grows out of the rule of the Common Law, which refers the decision of the two classes of questions to different tribunals. The difficulty of drawing the line is so great, that there is a growing disposition to get rid of the division, so to speak, of jurisdiction.

It seems to be conceded that no such division is to be introduced into our Ecclesiastical Law. There is an unanimous opinion, that there shall be nothing in the nature of a petty jury. Whether there shall be anything which shall represent a grand jury, is another question, and it seems to be the general opinion that there should, although some of the attempts at providing it have not been very successful.

The leading idea of a grand jury is, that of a body of men, who shall stand between the accused, and the accuser for the protection of the accused. It would seem that, the reasons for such protection are at least as strong in Ecclesiastical as in civil cases; moreover, there is an additional reason for such a body in order to protect the Church from the manifold inconveniences involved in the assembling of a Court. Civil Courts assemble at stated periods, and always find business: Ecclesiastical Courts are only assembled upon special occasions, and for special purposes.

A grand jury is a body of men selected by a public officer for the discharge of certain duty in connection with all the cases which may be brought before them. They assemble at stated periods, at each of which all the members are changed; but they are always in theory, and in practice in a vast majority of instances, chosen without reference to any particular case. Their deliberations are private.

It is plain that the Church cannot imitate this institution except in the matter of private sessions, and in that it is worthy of imitation. Ecclesiastical offenses do not occur very frequently, but for that, and for other reasons they generally become matters of gossip and scandal, and it is therefore important to keep the proceedings as secret as possible. It would, however, not be possible

to keep up a succession of Ecclesiastical grand juries, for which there would at least nine times in ten be no business. When, once in ten or twelve years, a case occurred, the men who were to act upon it, would perhaps be chosen with reference to their opinions in matters connected with it, and if they were not, it is almost certain that it would be said that they were.

The object of interposing a body of men between an accused Clergyman and a trial, is to protect him from party violence and individual malice. It is desirable that there should be such a body. How can it be formed? Is it to be selected for the occasion? By whom? By the Bishop? That could not be satisfactory to both parties in party cases. Could any person be found who would be so? There is no other person to whom it can be intrusted.

In some Dioceses there is a provision, that a certain small number of Presbyters may form themselves into a presenting body; but will it be a protecting body? In a party case the requisite number of party zealots could always be found. In other cases, the activity of the accusers, who would have all the Presbyters of the Diocese to choose from, could scarcely fail to find them. If they make a mistake, and find men who will not answer their purpose, they may choose others. This they may do, either after, or before the case has been examined by one of these voluntary boards. They may even take the minority who have made up their minds in favor of the accusation, add others to them, and change those others until a presentment shall be found. They could scarcely fail of getting one sooner or later. In the mean time gossip and scandal are busy, and the poor Clergyman, whom it is intended to accuse, is perhaps ruined by unfounded rumors. This idea is imitated from the notable provision in certain repealed canons of the General Convention, that any three Bishops might present any other Bishop. This provision is now generally considered to have done much more mischief than good.

In some Dioceses, a check upon this plan has been provided by requiring the Presenters to make their presentment to the Standing Committee, who are, if they think fit, to find a second presentment, upon which the accused is to be tried. But all the mischiefs of the investigation by a number of irresponsible men chosen by the accusers, have been done.

Why not make the Standing Committee the substitute for a

grand jury? It resembles a grand jury in assembling at stated times, and in being chosen without reference to any particular case. It may sit with closed doors. These circumstances will very much diminish the unwholesome publicity of the proceeding. The members of the Standing Committee are annually chosen by the Diocesan Convention, and of course they have its confidence, and are among the best and wisest of its members. It is perhaps an advantage, that, in most Dioceses, there are lay members, who, either as lawyers or grand jury men, have had some experience in similar business.

After the presentment comes the trial. The Court must be composed of Presbyters. No argument is necessary on this point, for it seems to be settled by the public opinion of the Church. No other class of persons unite the fellow-feeling for the accused which is necessary for his protection, with the age and experience which will insure calm deliberation. But how are the Presbyters to be selected? They are to inform the conscience of the Bishop, and therefore ought to have his confidence. But he would not be allowed the power of selecting them absolutely, because the Court exists in consequence of a jealousy of the Episcopal Office. It is out of the question, that the accused should be allowed to choose his judges. Yet the general practice is an odd combination of these two ideas. The Bishop names a certain number of Clergymen, out of whom the accused chooses a certain smaller number, sometimes having the power of rejecting more than one half of those named by the Bishop. This scheme is an awkward imitation of the old Common Law mode of selecting a petty jury, when the jurors were named by the sheriff subject to a certain number of absolute challenges by the accused. It may work well in many cases; but where there is much division of opinion in the Diocese, and the accused has many friends, it can scarcely do so. The Bishop might exclude from his list all the friends of the accused, or admit only an inconsiderable minority. But in either case, he will be accused of injustice, and the public would want confidence in the Court. If the Bishop name half of his list, or even a third from the friends of the accused, the accused will have the power of securing a Court in which a majority or all of the members will be his friends. Thus in New York, the Bishop names twelve, out of whom the accused chooses five. If the Bishop name more than two of the friends of the accused, the accused will have the power of

naming a majority of his judges. If the Bishop were to name so few as three, he would be deemed partial. The only mode of avoiding these difficulties is to have a permanent Court not selected for any particular case.

This is now done in Maryland. The scheme was adopted in 1847, and has worked well ever since. It was adopted when party spirit ran high in the Diocese, and was preferred by the minority, when a very small one, to several others which were suggested. Every second year the Bishop nominates, and by, and with the advice and consent of the Convention, appoints seven Presbyters to be members of the Ecclesiastical Court. They serve for two years, unless they shall be elected members of the Standing Committee, which is the presenting body, resign, leave the Diocese, or die. When a vacancy occurs in any of these ways, it is filled at the next Convention. In practice no change is ever made, except when such vacancies occur, but it might be better if the appointment were to continue during the life of the Bishop, and until his successor shall be consecrated, subject to vacancies made in any of the above-mentioned ways. It would then be impossible to pack a Court, with reference to a particular case. At present, it is morally impossible to do so, for no Bishop would venture to make a change in the existing members of the Court with such an object.

The Court should be composed exclusively of Clergymen, who should have the absolute power of deciding the question of guilt or innocence, and fixing the limits of the sentence to be pronounced, if the accused should be found guilty. These are matters, with which no layman should interfere.

But it does not follow that the clerical members of the Court may not advantageously have lay advisers, and, if they have, they had better be official advisers. The evidence will often be circumstantial and sometimes complicated. In such cases, it may not be easy to apply the Law to the facts. In other cases, questions may arise as to the propriety of admitting certain evidence. The Law of evidence is the most logical part of the Law, but the logic is not always very obvious to those who are not conversant in such matters, and Clergymen will often need advice on such subjects. This they will obtain, perhaps, not always from the best sources. Those to whom they apply will not be under any special responsibility, and may labor under the disadvantage of not fully understanding the case, in which they are called upon for advice. It is

better that they should be official advisers, attend all the sessions of the Court, hear all the evidence, and express a deliberate opinion under the weight of official responsibility. Official responsibility does not here mean liability to punishment, but the sense of duty imposed by official trust. This is often very keenly felt, especially by lawyers, and even by some whose sense of moral duty seems rather dull.

To answer the purposes for which advisers are designed, they should be lawyers, as only they possess the knowledge, and the habits of thought which will make them useful. They should also be men who are attached to the Church, and feel the weight of religious obligation. Advisers so qualified, will be able to render other important services to the Church. It may happen, and has happened, that an advocate is disposed to introduce into a trial, facts and arguments which have nothing to do with the cause. The Court, fortified by the opinion of its official advisers, will be able to restrain such attempts, and confine advocates to the real merits of the question. It may be the more necessary to do so, because the extraneous matter is sometimes not intended to affect the mind of the Court, but to furnish means for an agitation out of doors. There is still another service which official advisers may render. It may happen, and has happened, that advocates, who are looking to future agitation, may browbeat and bully the Court, which has no means of defense. For reproof would be disregarded, when not backed by secular authority. Yet such conduct would rarely be ventured upon in the presence of lawyers, who would be perfectly sure of their ground, and could boldly advise the Court to refuse to hear an advocate who had insulted them.

For all these reasons, it seems right that the Court should be provided with official advisers. The number had, perhaps, better be left to the circumstances of each case. That question, and several others, cannot be better disposed of than they have been by the General Convention in the cases for which it has a right to provide, in the Digest of Canons, Title II. Canon 9, § vi. clause 13,¹ which will be found in the margin.

¹ "Every court constituted under the authority of this Canon, may be attended by one or more lay advisers, who shall be communicants of this Church, and of the profession of the Law. Such advisers may be present at all the proceedings of the Court, but they shall have no vote in any case whatever; it shall be their duty to give in person to the Court an opinion on any question not theological, upon which the Court, or any member thereof, or either party shall desire an opinion. If a dispute shall arise whether any question be or be

There still remain two questions. Ought the Court to hear advocates? Ought the advocates to be professional men? The necessity of arguments before Courts arises out of an infirmity of human nature. The minds of all men, are, more or less, one-sided. Hence, when a question is presented to any man, he is apt to come hastily to a decision, or something like one. This he does not readily abandon, and seldom seeks very diligently for arguments against it; in fact such arguments are apt to be considered very slightly, while those in favor of the foregone conclusion are much dwelt upon. It is then all important that arguments should be presented to, and pressed upon the mind of a judge in favor of that side of the question against which his first impressions lean. But no one can tell, or ought to know which side that is. The only resource is, that men shall be appointed whose interest or duty it shall be to seek, present, and press all the arguments on one side, and that there shall be such men for both sides. No judge will then be able to exclude or pass lightly over the arguments on either side. This is the true reason for forensic discussions, and advocates to conduct them, and it applies at least as strongly to Ecclesiastical as to Civil Courts.

But ought the advocates in an Ecclesiastical Court to be lawyers? It may be sufficient to reply, that, if a thing is to be done, it is better that it should be done well, and that forensic arguments will be best made by men who have had a forensic training and have forensic habits. If the advocates are not to be Lawyers, the only alternative is that they must be Clergymen, for if any laymen are permitted to act, Lawyers cannot be excluded. The whole habits of a Clergyman's life unfit him for an advocate. He would not appear in a case in which his convictions and feelings were not strong. Overstrong convictions and feelings tend to disqualify a man for the office of an advocate. Moreover, there is something which grates upon the feelings in the notion of a Clergyman acting as an advocate for the accusers.

not theological, it shall be decided by the Court by a majority of votes. The Court may always, by unanimous consent, appoint an adviser or advisers. If they are not unanimous, each member of the Court may name a candidate; if not more than three are named, they shall all be advisers. If more than three are named, the Court shall reduce them to three by lot."

ART. IV. — THE LITURGY AND THE DEPARTED.

It may be affirmed, as the accepted doctrine of the Church, that spirits leaving the body, enter a state, either of happiness or of misery. For the Hebrew *שֵׁמֶת* in the Old Testament, the Septuagint, usually substituted the Greek, *ᾗδης*. This expressed the common receptacle of all the departed. The Elysium of the ancient classic poets seems to correspond, in some sense, with the Paradise of the Jew, where our Saviour was immediately to admit the dying thief, blessed with His own presence, and fellowship, and to which Paul was transported, either really, or in ecstatic vision. If Tartarus indicated the dark regions of Hades, then the vocabulary of Greece had found for them a name, to which there is nothing answering in the language of Judea, since, while Heaven is the final resting-place for the bodies, and souls of the righteous, Tophet and Gehenna, both, probably, denominate the opposite state of eternal punishment.

As the Scriptures inculcate a fixed condition after death, and neither by precept, or example, afford a warrant to supplicate in behalf of spirits passed away from earth, we might suppose, both from reason, and authority, that the practice of prayer for the departed, would have never prevailed in the Christian world. Is their condition determined? Are they in joy, or in misery? Are they in light, or in darkness? Are they with the Saviour, or forever exiled from His Presence? Are they separated by an impassable chasm? Will all in Paradise, passing the ordeal of Judgment, infallibly ascend, forever saved in soul, and body, to Heaven, while those in the *gloom* of Hades, receiving sentence in the final day, must as certainly sink to their ceaseless punishment? The acceptance of such a belief seems absolutely to preclude in their behalf the very conception of prayer. For the one class, it is not needed — for the other, it is vain. Besides, while the state of the dead is, in itself, at once and forever fixed, from us it is concealed by an impenetrable veil, and our uncertainty as to their condition renders supplication painful, and confusing, since it must be both without knowledge, and without faith. Yet, notwithstanding these considerations, it is a singular, but admitted fact, that peti-

tions for souls separated from the flesh, commencing with the Jews, passed, at an early period, into the Christian Church, until they became universal, not only among the ignorant, but the learned, and both in private devotion, and Public Worship.

In the Second Book of the Maccabees we find a single fact which probably indicates a prevailing practice. Judas Maccabæus, discovering on his slain soldiers proofs of idolatrous defilement, offered sacrifice to purify their stain.

But it must be remembered, in the strictly Primitive Church, there are no traces of Prayers for the Dead. They are not authorized by the example of our Lord. They receive no warrant from the Apostles. They have no encouragement, we believe, in a single instance, from any of the writings of the Fathers during the first two centuries. After the time of Origen, who believed in a species of purgatorial fire, and in a final universal restoration, the proofs that they were practiced begin to multiply. They are discoverable in the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Nazianzen, Epiphanius. They are found in all the ancient venerable Liturgies, including the Clementine, that of St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil. The petition of St. Augustine for his mother Monica is everywhere known. During the mediæval ages the custom of Prayer for the departed extended through the Church, until it became absolutely rooted in all parts of Christendom. It was witnessed in private, and in public, in the cell, and in the Cathedral, by the coffin, and by the grave, within the hovel of the serf, and the palace of the king, amid the superstition of the camp, and the culture of the university.

First premising that the supplications of the earlier centuries proceeded simply on the supposition that the spirits of the faithful, although in peace, might yet receive accessions of grace, and glory, and did not at all imply belief in the later figment of a purgatorial fire, it is interesting to inquire, how a practice so prevalent, and so fascinating, became, in any part of the world, extirpated. Perhaps it will be more instructive to confine our attention particularly to England, where all the steps of the process are distinctly traceable.

Here we have throughout an entire nation a custom inherited from centuries. It prevails at all times, in all places, and among all classes. The Roman missal is filled with prayers for the Departed. Supplications ascend for them at the Communion, the

burial, and in private and public devotion. Yet, in a brief space of time, the practice is almost obliterated. It was occasionally, indeed, indulged by even pious and learned men, of a certain delicate sensibility, and refined organism, and who had no sympathy with the Romish corruptions, in regard to Purgatory. For instance, Archbishop Usher seems to give it countenance. Bishop Barrow in the Cathedral of St. Asaph, had inscribed on his tomb the following words: "O vos transeuntes, in domum Domini, in domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam, in die Domini." Jeremy Taylor distinctly says, "Concerning Prayers for the dead, the Church hath received no commandment from the Lord," and "that the Church of England never did condemn them, but left it in the middle." Bishop Cosin, changing the present form in the Communion Office, petitions, "that at the last day, we with them, and *they with* us, may attain the resurrection of the just." In this country, Bishop Seabury remarks, "the Church of Rome, by grafting the absurd errors of purgatory, and prayers to departed saints, instead of *for* them on this old, and pious, and Catholic Christian doctrine, hath almost banished it out of the minds of Protestant Christians." The opinions of our late, learned, pious, and venerable Presiding Bishop are widely known. And recently, both in England and America, volumes have been written by Clergymen most estimable for purity of life, and general correctness of faith, encouraging the practice of supplication for the Departed. Nay, more than this, in an authoritative decision of the Arches Court of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1838, Sir Herbert Jenner ruled, that while the custom was certainly discouraged by the Homilies, it was not pronounced unlawful, and gave, therefore, judgment against the removal of a tombstone from a Parish church-yard, containing a request to pray for the soul of the deceased.

Yet, notwithstanding certain individual proclivities, the great fact stands unquestioned, that the practice of prayers for the dead, so deeply and firmly rooted in the habits and theology of a nation, passed generally and suddenly from the Church, and receives no support from the vast majority of the Anglican Fathers, or from the sympathies of our people, either in England or America. It simply remains to trace the particulars of the process in that revolution which restored us to the truth of the Scripture, and the example of the purest ages of Primitive Christianity. A change, so

radical and remarkable, can only be explained by the fact that our Standards of Faith were completely expurgated, and that the Public Teachers of the Church, who shaped the popular sentiment, by their writings, their preaching, and their example, directly and indirectly, must have been united in opinion, and effort. But we hasten to examine what History records in relation to the subject.

In the Communion Office of the First Book of Edward VI. the Prayer stands, "For the whole State of Christ's Church." After thanking God for his grace to all Saints from the beginning of the world, especially declared in the most blessed Virgin, it proceeds — "We commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. — Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the General Resurrection, we, and all they which be of Thy mystical Body, may altogether be set on His Right Hand."

In the Communion at the Burial of the Dead is a petition for the Departed, and in the Service itself are these words: "Grant unto this, Thy Servant, that the sins which he committed in this world, be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of Hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the regions of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where there is no weeping, sorrow, or heaviness, and when that dreadful day of general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just, and righteous, and receive this body again to glory."

As is well known, the First Prayer Book of Edward was printed in 1549. In the subsequent year Bucer's opinion of the work was expressed. This will be found more particularly by a reference to the "*Scripta Anglicana*." Strype says, in his "*Memorials of Cranmer*," Martyr concurred in the judgment of his friend, so that, "Oil in confirmation, extreme unction, and *prayer for the dead*, which was before used in the Communion office, and that of the Burial," were "*laid aside*."

But the influence of these celebrated Lutheran Divines will more particularly appear by examining the Second Prayer Book of Edward. The first thing which strikes us is the addition made to the "whole state of Christ's Church" of the words, "militant here on earth." Mention of the Departed is absolutely obliterated. Thus the Prayer, by both its title and its terms, is confined to the Saints battling below, and no longer presents the

spectacle of men, groaning in a state of sin, supplicating for the Redeemed in a condition of glory. The change in the Burial Service is also complete. It says, "Beseeching Thee, that we, with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation, and bliss, both in body, and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory."

In the Book of Elizabeth, printed in 1559, and in that of James which appeared in 1604, the "Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church here on Earth," still leaves the Saints who have died, without commemoration; but in that of Charles II., bearing date 1662, we find the words as they now stand in our own Prayer Book: "And we also bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life, in Thy faith, and fear, beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that, with them, we may be partakers of Thy Heavenly Kingdom." Here it will be observed there is not anything resembling a petition for those who have by death passed into the Presence of our Lord. We express our *gratitude* for the grace by which they were enabled to triumph over their enemies, and supplicate grace, not for them, but *for ourselves*, that we may imitate their holiness, and share their victory. It is astonishing that a discrimination so obvious in itself, and so evidently intended, has not been universally observed.

The only consistent ground of prayer for the Departed, is the Romish dogma of Purgatory. If the soul is indeed, in a middle state between Hell and Heaven, suffering the pains of fire, or writhing in any punishment that can be terminated, or alleviated by money, or by supplication, alms, and petitions, are not only a suitable service, but an imperative duty. The moment, however, you admit that the condition of the departed is certainly fixed in pain, or in joy, and that their final state at the Judgment is irrevocably determined, you seem to remove all reason for your prayers. That this is the doctrine of the Church, clearly appears in every part of Her Liturgy. In the Prayer for a "Sick Person," we say, "that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with Thee in Life Everlasting through Jesus Christ our Lord." In that for a "Sick Child," are these words, "Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus, enjoy perpetual rest, and felicity." In that for a "Sick Person at the point of departure," we commend the soul to God, supplicating, "Wash it, we pray Thee, in the Blood of that

Immaculate Lamb, that was slain to take away the sins of the world, that whatsoever defilements it may have contracted in the midst of this miserable and naughty world, through the lust of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged, and done away, it may be presented pure, and without spot before Thee.” And in the Burial Office, instead of a state of disquiet needing our prayers, we declare the “Souls of the Faithful delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in a state of *joy and felicity*.”

Nor can the tradition of the Church be affirmed in favor of Prayer for the Departed, as in the case of Orders, Infant Baptism, and the observance of the first day of the week, instead of the Jewish Sabbath. In all those cases there is a *joint* testimony from *Scripture*, and from *History*. The evidence meets you in every direction. It ascends to *Apostolic times*. You read it on the pages of all the Fathers of the strictly Primitive Church. When you descend even into the gloom of the Catacombs, and explore those Sanctuaries of Martyrs, the light of every torch flashes to your eye inscriptions which have the force of demonstration. Yet, amid the tombs of these simple witnesses to the early Faith, and Practice of the Church, or among those wonderful records which have been transferred to the Vatican, is not a single proof, that during the first two centuries after our Lord, was there ever *one* prayer offered *for* the dead.

That we have not misinterpreted the meaning of the Prayer Book, and the design of its framers, not only appears from the records of the manner in which it was changed, with the corresponding revolution in the habits of a people, but also from the Book of Homilies. Here we have an unmistakable commentary. Here we have expressly declared the opinions of the English Reformers. Here we have nervous, pointed, powerful discourses, which must, themselves, have been mighty agencies in moulding the nation, and the Church. “The third Part of the Sermon concerning Prayer” contains the following emphatic language: “Now, to entreat that question whether we ought to pray for them that are departed out of this world, or no? wherein, if we will cleave only unto the WORD OF GOD, then must we needs grant that we have no commandment so to do. For the Scripture doth acknowledge two places after this life: the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate.” Again, it is said, “But, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing

out of the body, goeth straightway either to Heaven or to Hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer and the other is without redemption."

Neither must the particular influences which produced the change, impair our confidence in its propriety, or its lawfulness. The very key to the explanation of the Prayer Book, to the genius of the English Reformation, and the mission of the Church, is found in the fact, that the Anglican movement was the resultant of combined Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Romish tendencies. Overlooking this circumstance, we fail to catch its signification, and can never sympathize with its spirit. From a chaos of warring elements, the Reformed Church emerged into the beauty and glory of Primitive Faith and Order.

But we remark, in conclusion, that we should not infer, since, the Departed in our Liturgy, are not subjects of supplication, they are not therefore objects of *commemoration*. The delicacy and wisdom of its compilers are seen in not disregarding the constitution of human nature, and at the same time not violating Scriptural truth, and example. In the secret chambers of the heart linger sacred memories of the dead. We cherish their tokens. We multiply their images. We strew their graves with flowers. The State honors its deceased benefactors with festivals, with medals, with processions, with eulogies, with monuments. Particular days and ceremonies are designated to celebrate their birth, to recall their achievements, or mourn their death. And shall the Church forget her children? Shall She preserve no remembrance of Prophets, and Apostles? Shall She not keep before the people, for their encouragement and imitation, the sufferings, and the triumphs of Her Confessors and Her Martyrs? With a beautiful propriety, She expresses gratitude for the grace visible in their lives, and their translation to the Presence of Her King, but *never* requires Her children, amid the gloom of earth, and not yet certified of their own Salvation, to venture a petition for those already bright in the glory of Heaven, and possessors of Everlasting Life. In the Benedicite, when invoking the Universe, in all its parts to bless the Lord, She exhorts the Spirits and Souls of the righteous to "praise Him, and magnify Him, forever." Bending in the Litany before the Majesty of Heaven, She makes us ask that their sins be not remembered, and imputed, humbling us with the reflection, that once they were transgressors in darkness, although now saints in

light. The Te Deum, transporting us in awe before the Trinity, opens our ears to the cries of angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, filling creation with their praises, and then lifts our vision to Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, encircling the Eternal Throne. Commemorative days are consecrated to preserve in the Church, a grateful recollection of those Spiritual Heroes, who, having conquered earth, have attained the crown of Heaven. Above all, when, in the Holy Communion, we are about to feast on the Body and Blood of our Lord, at once recalling His atoning death, and refreshed with His Divine Presence, — we give thanks for the long line of the Departed, who in all ages of the world partook these Holy Mysteries, and now behold, without a veil, the glory both shadowed and promised, and utter our humble petition, “that with them we may be partakers of the Heavenly Kingdom.”

ART. V. — FREQUENT DIVORCE IN NEW ENGLAND.

Vermont Registration Reports. — 1862–1866.

Statistics of Divorce in Vermont for Five Years Past. — Office of the Secretary of State, 1867.

Massachusetts' Twenty-fourth Registration Report, 1865.

Report by the Secretary of State to the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on Divorces granted from 1860 to 1865. — Doc. No. 10, Jan. 15, 1866.

Reports of the State Librarian to the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, for the years 1865–66.

Marriage in the United States. — By AUGUSTE CARLIER. Translated from the French by B. JOY JEFFRIES, A. M., M. D. Boston: DeVries, Ibarra & Co. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1867.

The Hon. Hugh Davy Evans on Divorce. — “American Church Monthly,” May, 1857.

The Hon. Isaac F. Redfield, on the Law of Divorce. — “Church Monthly,” July, 1862.

No thoughtful man can behold, without solicitude, the low grade of domestic morals, which seems to prevail to a large extent in our New England families. The general decay of public sen-

timent in respect to Family Religion, the practical neglect of the Holy Scriptures, the infrequency of Family Prayer, the reluctance of parents to make their children obey, the transfer of responsibility for the manners and morals of children from parents to public-school teachers, the common rudeness and arrogance of boys and girls, the great prevalence of untruth amongst the young, the license and familiarity of intercourse which is allowed between the growing youth of different sexes, the murder of living but unborn children, the number of illegitimate births — all these are sufficient to fill one with consternation and dismay. Doubtless New England stands not alone in these evils; but these things in her require every energy for their amendment and suppression, and if other sections of the country are nearly as bad, then may God help them!

To all these signs of demoralization there is to be added one, which is closely connected with them, which fosters them, and is fostered by them in turn. We refer to the very great and alarming frequency of Divorce. This has grown to be a portentous evil. It is certainly one of the most significant signs of the real condition of our Domestic Life. It is communicating a sad coloring to the whole inner life of the people. It is working its way from the lower strata of society upward, and exerting a decided influence in the control of public opinion. Its progress is increasing, and at the present rate, a time seems to be rapidly approaching when the public sentiment on this point shall be almost wholly debauched.

We propose in this Article to treat, *First*, Of the Frequency of Divorce in New England; *Second*, Its Immorality; *Third*, Its Causes; and *Fourth*, Its Remedy. We shall be glad if we can help to throw further light upon this very dark subject.

I. First, as to the Frequency of Divorce in New England. Lest we should seem to be only an alarmist in this matter, we will state some facts which will fairly illustrate the progress of this social vice amongst us during the last five years. Not to be too tedious, we select our principal facts from the Statistics of the State of Vermont, as furnished by its indefatigable Secretary. We select Vermont as being by geographical position the most secluded of the New England States, the least affected by foreign immigration, and by marriages of mixed nationalities, and probably, with New Hampshire, the most tenacious in maintaining the traditions and social morals of the early settlers.

1. First, we find that the number of Divorces is very evenly distributed through the population of the State. Vermont is divided into fourteen counties, and for the last five years the population has not materially changed. We find, therefore, that for the last five years, the Divorces are as nearly as possible distributed as follows, amongst the counties: In Addison County to every 1000 persons, the number of Divorces is 1.1, and in Essex County, .8. To the great honor, or rather less shame, of these counties, this is the smallest proportion to be found in any portion of the State. In five counties, Chittenden, Franklin, Windham, Orange, and Caledonia, the Divorces vary in number from 1.5 to 1.7 to each 1000 people. In Orleans, and Rutland Counties, they are 2 to each 1000 people. In Bennington, Lamoille, Grand Isle, Washington, and Windsor Counties, they number from 2.3 to 2.4 to each 1000. Certainly this shows that the number of Divorces throughout the different sections of the State does not greatly vary, and is very evenly distributed according to the population.

2. Again, we find that the number of Divorces has been steadily increasing from year to year. For the year 1862, there were granted 91 Divorces; for 1863, 105; for 1864, 101; for 1865, 141; for 1866, 155; a sufficiently rapid increase one would think, to alarm the most phlegmatic mind; a steady increase from 91 in 1862, to 155 in 1866; the fifth year alone showing an increase of 70 per cent. beyond the first year.

3. But still further. The increase from year to year becomes more noticeable when we compare it with the population of the State, which has scarcely varied during the whole time. The sum of the population according to the census of 1860 is 315,098. Now, according to the yearly number of Divorces just stated, we find that in 1862, there was one divorce to each 3462 people; in 1863, one to each 3000; in 1864, one to each 3119; in 1865, one to each 2234; and in 1866, one to each 2033. But this population includes children and youth under eighteen, comprising, as is generally estimated, *three fifths*. For our purpose it will be near enough to estimate them at *one half* the population. If, therefore, we deduct 50 per cent. for all under 18 years of age, we have for 1866, one divorce to every 1011 persons above the age of 18.

4. From another point of view, however, it comes still more closely home. Observe that these Divorces have been increasing while the population of the State has remained stationary. The

whole number of libels granted in the last five years amounts to 593. We have then 593 Divorces to 315,098 people, or one Divorce to every 532 persons. Here again, if we deduct 50 per cent. for the children and youth under eighteen, we have one Divorce to every 266 marriageable persons. And as there are two parties to every Divorce, there are two out of every 266 marriageable persons, or one man in every 133 men, and one woman in every 133 women, personally concerned in this matter.

That we do not actually recognize this as a fact in our daily experience is owing doubtless to these reasons. 1st, That the population of this State is frequently shifting by emigration westward. 2d, That in five years death must have withdrawn some portion of the number of the divorced. 3d, That cases of desertion often imply the departure of one of the parties from the State. 4th, That by removals from one part of the State to the other, the fact of divorce is not so clearly associated with the same person by different neighbors. 5th, That a second marriage still further contributes to obliterate its memory.

Nevertheless the comparison which we have made comes nearly enough to truth to give a very disagreeable impression.

5. But perhaps a more startling view is derived from a comparison between the last five years of Divorces, and the last five years of Marriages. There have been, as we have said, in five years 593 Divorces. There is also an aggregate of 11,325 marriages reported during the same time, which, however, it would be fair to state at 11,400, so as to cover the number of marriages not reported through accident or carelessness. Compare then 593 Divorces with 11,400 marriages, and we have this result of 1 Divorce to every 19 marriages. Or, in other words, to every 38 persons married during the last five years, two are concerned in a Divorce. We might add, that at this rate there is a certain degree of probability that during the next five years, two at least, out of every 38 persons entering into the married estate, will be divorced. If the annual increase of Divorces goes on unchecked, the proportion will be still larger.

6. Finally, the prospect is very dark from another point of view. The last recorded year of marriages gives us the number of 2983, (call it 3000 to compensate for possible errors). This is the highest number of marriages in this State in any one year. Now compare this with the number of Divorces, 155, for the same

year. It will be found that whereas, five years since there was less than 1 Divorce to every 22 marriages, the latest yearly record assures us of 1 Divorce to every 19 marriages.

It affords but sorry comfort to reflect that Vermont is not alone in this melancholy retrograde march of Domestic Morals in New England. In the State of Massachusetts, things are not quite so bad, but bad enough. There being during the last five years 1 Divorce to 44 marriages, and during the last recorded year 1 to 37 marriages. The State of Connecticut shows a record worse than Vermont. There, the aggregate of five years of Divorces to five years of Marriages is as 1 to 11, and during the last year as 1 to 10. Neither the States of Maine, Rhode Island, or New Hampshire have collected full statistics. From the observations we have made, however, and from the information we have received, we have no reason to suppose that either State can give at the best, so good a record as Massachusetts. The estimated number of Divorces in the State of Maine for the last five years is 950, which, in proportion to the population, gives 1 Divorce to every 330 men and women above eighteen years of age, placing Maine upon a very little better standing than Vermont.

So far then as numbers and calculations can approximate to the exact truth, the prospect is dismal. Few of the Clergy, perhaps, are very often brought consciously into contact with this sort of thing. Certainly, it is to be hoped, that Divorces are not often found amongst those who profess to submit themselves to the requirements of the Gospel, or who hear the Ten Commandments declared weekly in the Congregation, but as yet, rather in that too numerous class of New England people whom the Christian Pastor would influence if he could, but who refuse to give him the slightest opportunity. Still, something of it the Clergy must see and must hear. We are disposed to hazard the assertion that scarcely one of the Clergy in New England is without a case in his Parish of parties, or children of parties, to a Divorce, causing the Pastor greater or lesser degree of solicitude. Perhaps we become callous, in a measure, from frequently hearing of such things. We well remember the astonishment and dismay expressed by two persons who had been obliged to leave the northern part of Virginia at the beginning of the war. When they learned the custom amongst us in regard to Divorces, they both declared, that, in all their experience in that part of Virginia where they lived

together for many years, and where one was born, they had heard of but three instances of Divorce, and then it was invariably at the cost of the reputation of the offending party ; and *here* (said they) it seems to be considered only a trifle, and to be almost as freely contemplated and resorted to, as marriage.

II. Having considered the frequency of Divorce in New England, we pass on to the next point, namely, its IMMORALITY. And by Immorality we mean the transgression of the CHRISTIAN LAW. These Divorces are no offense against the Civil Law, for they are granted according to Law, but wherein they transgress flatly the Positive Commandment of God, the Law and the Divorces, are *both*, grossly immoral and wicked. We make this very grave charge, with a full sense of the responsibility which it imposes upon us of proving its truth.

1. In the first place let us look at the Law of God upon this point, as declared by his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Gospels. The Gospel plainly teaches the *indissoluble* nature of Marriage. The Ancient Law allowed the Jews to put away their wives by writing a bill of Divorcement. It is not necessary to particularize the cases in which this was allowed. It *was* allowed, and was therefore made a plea for trying our Lord. St. Mark x. 3, *et seq.*

“ The Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. He answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered us to write a bill of Divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your hearts he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh ; so then they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.”

And furthermore, —

“ In the house his disciples asked him again of the same matter. And he said unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, committeth adultery against her, and if a woman put away her husband, and marry again, she committeth adultery.”

To this St. Luke adds, —

“ And whosoever marieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery.”

Two things are here plainly taught. First, That Marriage in its first estate, and now by the Lord's reiteration, admits of no polygamy, — “*They twain shall be one flesh*,” excluding utterly a third party to this union. But secondly, There is also here taught most distinctly and strongly, the *Indissoluble* Nature of Marriage. According to this it cannot be obliterated. To put away a wife and marry another, or to put away a husband and marry another, or for a third party to marry the one put away, is, without any equivocation, pronounced to be an act of Adultery.

2. Again, secondly, the Gospel Law permits one single exception only to the stringency of this rule. And this exception *confirms the Rule*. The Marriage bond *may* be dissolved upon the ground of *Adultery*. Dissolved, we say, so far as to permit the innocent party at least to marry again during the lifetime of the other. This we learn from several passages. St. Matthew, xix. 3, *et seq.*, narrating the same conversation which was just quoted from St. Mark's Gospel, records the Lord's declaration as follows: —

“And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife *except it be for fornication*, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, and whoso marieth her that is put away committeth adultery.”

Again in the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. 31, 32, the Lord thus declared His holy will:—

“It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife let him give her a writing of Divorcement. But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife *saving for the cause of fornication*, causeth her to commit adultery, and whosoever shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.”

This exception of adultery proves the general rule of the Indissolubility of Marriage. It is the sole exception. This has been declared by Divine Authority, to be the one only cause which can be urged to dissolve the marriage relation. Except upon this ground, every Divorce which allows the parties to marry again, contradicts the Lord's Law, and offers a premium for Adultery—for the parties are still, by the light of the Divine Law, Husband and Wife. And whosoever of them marries during the lifetime of the other, offends against the sanctity of Marriage, and is guilty of a breach of the Seventh Commandment. And whosoever is joined to either of them, is in the same fault, for he, or she marries one who belongs already by Marriage to another living person.

In various Christian countries this Law is distinctly recognized. There may have been certain obstacles existing *at the time* of marriage, such as consanguinity within the forbidden degrees, insanity, idiocy, etc.; either of which it is generally agreed by Jurists, invalidated the Marriage from the beginning; and the proof of which, with certain precautions indeed, authorizes the Court to declare it to be null and void as if it never had been. But no obstacle or event, whatever, which may arise *after* the marriage, can interfere to procure a Divorce from the Marriage bond, saving only this one of Connubial Infidelity. This being fully proved authorizes the Court to declare a Divorce, a *vinculo matrimonii* (as it is technically called), by which the Marriage is utterly dissolved, and the innocent person is allowed to marry again.

However, it is to be acknowledged by the way, that even where adultery is not charged, there is one step which the civil Law may, and sometimes does take, without transgressing the Divine Law. Certain cases of intolerable hardship, of violent and shameful treatment, of abuse and indignity, may easily be imagined, and do sometimes occur, which justify the interference of the civil authority to afford that protection which the State is bound to furnish for all her citizens, as for the protection of life, for the preservation of public order, for the rights of property, and for the safety of children. And in this case, it is usually agreed that the Law may justly separate the Husband and Wife, so far as to exclude both "from whatever claim the Law may give one upon the other," but not closing against them the door of reconciliation. Further than this, however, it may not go. The Divine Law holds in force. A legal *separation* may be decreed, but not that *dissolution* of the bond which permits either of the parties to marry again during the lifetime of the other. This kind of legal separation, though not properly Divorce, is in Legal phrase called, Divorce *a mensa et toro*. The French phrase is *separation de corps*. It should be granted only with very great caution. For while the case of an oppressed individual, man, woman, or child, ought always to receive the attention of the guardians of the Law, there is also to be weighed against each case, the possible risk accruing to the sound morals, and safety of the whole structure of society. Care must be taken that in giving protection, mercy or sympathy or prejudice may not be allowed to injure the highest ends of Justice. All right-minded Christian people certainly ought to be satisfied

with St. Paul's directions (1 Cor. vii.), where he affirms that even voluntary separations of Husband and Wife, and that only for religious objects, and with mutual consent, and restricted to a certain time, are to be used with great caution as they are liable to be abused, and offer an opportunity to Satan. If there is risk even in such separations, as those of which St. Paul speaks, who cannot see the far greater risk attending a state, in which, as Lord Howell expresses it, the Husband is left without a Wife, and the Wife without a Husband.

To return then to the point. The Divine Law allows no act to obliterate the sanctity of the Marriage Contract, except the Adultery of one of the parties. In that case only, may either of the parties contract marriage during the life time of the other. The sense of the Law in England, and in other Christian countries, is, that, for the protection of the Citizen, in extreme cases of hardship, the Law may separate the parties and deprive them of certain privileges and mutual rights expressed by the phrase *a mensa et toro*. That is, in certain cases, the Law may take the privilege of a custodian of the persons of the subjects of the State; but in no case, except that of Connubial Infidelity, may relieve them *a vinculo matrimonii*. The opinion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, upon this subject, is expressed with sufficient clearness in the following Resolution of its General Convention, held at Baltimore in May, 1808.

*"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Church, that it is inconsistent with a Law of God; and the Ministers of this Church shall not, therefore, unite in Matrimony any person who is divorced, unless it be on account of the other person having been guilty of Adultery."*¹

¹ The question is here suggested: Does separation by Divorce for the cause of Adultery authorize the *guilty* party to marry again? We make no charge against the above implied prohibition; but we ask leave to quote some passages from an article upon Divorce, written for the May number of the *American Church Monthly*, 1857, by the Hon. Hugh Davy Evans. After speaking of the greatly increased temptation to incontinence on the part of the guilty person if marriage is forbidden, he goes on to say: "Logically, too, it is not easy to see how a marriage can exist as to one party, and not as to the other. If the adulteress is still the wife of her injured husband after he has put her away, he must be still her husband, and so unable to take a second wife. If she be not his wife, it is not easy to see why she should not marry, unless a direct Divine prohibition could be found, which is not pretended."

"Yet, the danger of inducing the commission of Adultery as a means of dissolving a hated marriage, and bringing about an union with a new and preferred partner, is very obvious. The proper remedy for that is, however, the infliction of penalties by the State upon the Adulterers, not the treating a marriage, not Divinely prohibited, as a nullity. If

Now what, on the other hand, is the Law and the practice in New England? Here again we take for illustration the Law of the State of Vermont, which is almost identical with that of the other five States, unless it be Massachusetts. (See the Revised Statutes of Vermont, A. D. 1863, Title xxiii. chap. 70.) After stating that on account of consanguinity, or insufficient age, or the idiocy or lunacy of one of the parties, or force or fraud used to obtain consent, or of impotency, marriages in certain cases may be declared void from the beginning; the Law goes on to mention these other causes for which the Supreme Court of the County in which one or both of the parties reside, may grant a Divorce, namely: 1st. Adultery in either party. 2d. The sentence of either party to confinement in the State Prison for three years or longer. 3d. Intolerable severity by either of the parties. 4th. Wilful desertion for three consecutive years. 5th. Seven years unexplained and silent absence. 6th. Neglect of the husband to support his wife, he having sufficient pecuniary ability. All libels based upon either of these conditions, and proved, must be granted by the Court. And finally, section forty-two thus declares: "*Whenever a marriage shall be dissolved, pursuant to the provisions of this chapter, the parties shall be deemed single and may lawfully marry again.*" Here then the Law ignores all distinction between separation *a mensa* for the protection of suffering subjects of the State, on the one hand, and Divorce *a vinculo*, on the other hand. The latter is the only mode of separation recognized in these Statutes as lawful; and in this State, and all the New England States excepting Massachusetts, it is employed in all cases without distinction. Thus, while 184 bills of Divorce have been granted in Vermont for the last five years for the cause of Adultery, 409 bills, giving exactly the same freedom as to marriage, have been granted for various other causes: as for wilful Desertion 238, intolerable severity (exercised in some cases by the wife) 117, refusal to support 11, and for causes not mentioned 43. The Law of Vermont allows the parties to all these 409 bills, which are granted for some other cause than adultery, to marry again, as if there were no existing divinely-appointed relations between them.

the Church had any lay discipline, it would be a very proper occasion for its exercise, if parties committed Adultery; and the censure might, not improperly, be made more severe, if the object of the Adultery appeared to be to procure a Divorce with a view to a second Marriage. But it does not seem clear that the Church has a right to pronounce such second Marriage void."

The case stands then in this wise. On the one hand there is Marriage, — which is a contract of Divine institution, an estate of God's establishment, more ancient than any form of civil government, and the only legitimate foundation of Families; which was vindicated and restored to its original rule by the Law of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; which, according to the inspired Apostle, represents on earth the holy, inviolable, eternal union of Christ and his Church; and which the Church, together with various civil governments, has never ceased to regard as the most holy, binding, searching, indissoluble contract and union into which one human being can enter with another. But on the other hand, this estate of Marriage is treated by the Laws of Vermont and other New England States as if it were never in any wise under the control of Christ's Law; as if its sanctity were a myth; as if it were the sole creation and ordinance of the state, and to be dealt with and rent asunder as a simple affair of proletarian convenience and policy; as if its solemn contract was hardly so coercive as that which one might make with his wood-sawyer; as if all its vows, spoken and implied, were binding only so long as the caprice and humor of the parties agreed, and then, to be put away with a slight formality, and a new contract with another entered into, as one would cast off old garments, present them to a needy friend, and reclothe himself in new apparel.

Upon this ground, therefore, we declare the Law prevailing in New England as to Divorces, and the practice under the Law, to be treacherous to Family Union, contrary to Christian Morals, a snare to the thoughtless and ignorant, an opportunity to the depraved, an offense and sin against the Divine Law, and, in short, a method of legalized polygamy.

We cannot attempt to dwell upon all the painful thoughts to which this view of the subject gives rise. This immorality threatens a beautiful and favored portion of our common country with a cloud of moral evil, scandal, domestic strife, and debauchery. The Law of God cannot be broken even by the Law of States without consequences of evil resulting which repentance only, and reformation, can avert. Families become unsettled. The relation of husband and wife assumes the form of a bare partnership in business. Children lose their just inheritance of Baptism, of Home ties, of Family name, and Family honor. The highest, tenderest duties of Parents to Children, the reverence of Children to Parents, the chaste inter-

course of children, all are sacrificed to Mammon, Lust or Wrath. All true sentiment and right feeling are victimized, and held aloft for the scorner's criticism. The Penetralia of the household are thrown open for the public inspection of the jesting crowd. There are no retirement, no beauty, no harmony, no holiness, no shrine, no domestic Lares upon the hearth, or household Penates upon the shelf. That, which should be as a rich well-watered pasture, is turned into an arid desert, where a few miserable lambs can scarcely find sustenance. The Law of God is ignored, and in the strife, the Lord himself is banished from the Family circle.

What better than this can you expect, when you remember that the State of Vermont, *e. g.*, for five years past, can boast *one* Divorce *a vinculo* for every *nineteen* marriages, that the number of Divorces has annually increased, that, whereas, in the first of five years, the sum of Divorces to the sum of marriages was as 1 to 22, in the fifth year it was as 1 to 19,—and that of every 150 men, or 150 women whom you meet, there is grave reason to fear, that of either number, one is a divorcee. The Registration Reports may record that the number of illegitimate children in this State averages less than in England, but their numbers would be fearfully increased, should we apply the same Laws here as there in respect to Matrimony and Divorce. Legalized Divorce is not known in England as it is here. There is but one cause acknowledged there which can dissolve the Marriage tie. Our Philanthropists, and our Demagogues may inveigh against Mormonism, or they may hold up to execration that repulsive feature of the old Southern Slavery which held as nothing the matrimonial bonds between the slaves, but here, in this free State, the very same thing is done by freemen, and is legalized by the Law of the State, and we suppose there are men to be found who glory in it, and view it as a sign of progress.

With one or two remarks on this point we pass on. One of our Clergy who was for several years Chaplain to a New England State Prison came to suspect that men might easily be victims of a conspiracy to thrust them into the State Prison for three years or more, that their wives might marry a preferred suitor. The dissolving of home ties amongst the people is sometimes most bewildering. We lately heard of an instance of Divorce, in which one of two daughters, after the father and mother separated, went to live with her mother's mother. There she took her grandmother's surname. Her mother afterwards married, and this daughter then

went to live with her, and took the name of her mother's second husband, by which name only she now desires to be known, but of course she is known by all the three names. In the mean time, her sister went to live with their father, who also had married again, and she is known by her father's name. How can children under such circumstances retain any reverence for Home or Domestic ties, or learn to value them except upon merely mercenary grounds? Is it strange that many young persons now coolly enter into this sort of conditional engagement, to be married after a season, if, in the mean time, they do not see another they prefer. In the State of Vermont, which was settled and nurtured, as was supposed, by men who were guided by Christian principle, such a case as *this* was presented and acted upon in one of the last winter Courts. A wife deserted her husband and went to live with another man. At the same time this second man drove away his wife by studied ill-usage, so that she was forced to depart, upon which he received the other woman. They lived together in the same house for five years, after which the woman who deserted her husband entered a libel against that husband in the Supreme Court of the County, and sued for a bill of Divorce. The man who drove away his wife by ill-usage also entered a libel against her, and sued for a Divorce. The Divorces were both decreed; immediately after which, the two offending parties who had lived together unmarried for five years, were *married*. Whether the injured and deserted husband has satisfied himself with another wife, and the abused wife has found comfort in another husband, we are not informed, but there is nothing to prevent their doing so if they choose. Further, we have been informed of cases where, by the medium of Divorce and Marriage, brothers or neighbors have quietly exchanged wives. And finally, there is no reason in the condition of things why a fact mentioned to us as occurring in one of the New England States, might not, and does not, occur in them all; namely, a son by the first wife marrying the divorced second wife of his own father.

The fact is, that although Public sentiment now revolts at the *simultaneous* Polygamy of the Mormons, yet, in New England the course of things appears to be tending towards that which Moralists and Jurists call *successive* Polygamy. Can we regard such things with patience? *Ought* they to be allowed to poison our Domestic and Social Life? Is not the Law and the practice under

it, viewed by the light of the Christian Law, *immoral and corrupt*?

III. We pass on to the third point, The *causes* of this extraordinary frequency of Divorce. These are not difficult to describe. First, and before all, the cause, and provocative to many Divorces, is the very *facility* with which they are obtained. It is so easy on account of weariness, incompatibility of temper, longings for forbidden pleasures, unsatisfied vanity, covetousness, capricious likes and dislikes, to obtain a legal divorce, that it is obtained. That license which would hardly be thought of, if absolutely prohibited, is readily seized, when it is thrust into the hand, pressed upon the mind, proclaimed to the ear, and assured to possession by compliance only with a slight formality. Human nature cannot resist this temptation. The facility with which Divorces are granted, and the so-called *freedom* which it offers to marry again, present a most attractive bait to young, thoughtless, shallow, vain, or designing persons. There is really nothing to hinder a frequent change of husbands or wives, as the case may be. Those who enter into the married estate are always conscious that they need not bear the yoke longer than they wish to. It can be thrown off by a slight artifice, either by mutual agreement, or at the will of one of them. The Apostolic rules of mutual reliance and dependence, of headship, authority, and order, are scouted as antiquated, and a readiness to resort to Divorce, in case this partnership does not work smoothly, or some other partner is preferred, is continually cherished by the simple facility with which the thing may be done.¹

¹ Here is a specimen of the mode in which the unhealthy desires of the people are pandered to by advertisements. We omit the names and references.

"Absolute Divorces legally obtained in New York, and States where desertion, etc., sufficient cause. No publicity or charge till divorce obtained. Consultations free."

"Absolute Divorces legally obtained in any State, without publicity; drunkenness, desertion, cruelty, sufficient cause; consultations free; no fees charged in advance."

"Absolute Divorces legally obtained from New York and other States, without any publicity; no fee or charge whatever in advance; advice free."

"The easy divorce business is brought every day nearer and nearer perfection in the West. In Cincinnati, the other day, a man got a divorce without his wife's knowledge, upon a single statement in his petition that she represented herself to be thirty-two years of age at the time of her marriage, when she was in reality over forty, and that she was 'a common scold.' No papers were ever served upon her, and the necessary legal notice was published in a *Price Current*, or other paper of that class which no woman ever sees. Her character too, was faultless, and she had a child fourteen months old, and the sole apparent motive of the husband was a desire to marry another woman. In this case the attorney, in person, supplied whatever proof was needed to make out the case, and appears to belong to a class of 'divorce lawyers' who absolutely live by perjury and fraud."

From an article in *The Nation*.

Now then if you add to this facility the tremendous impulse which is given to the imagination by the depraved humor, self-will, and inordinate and sinful desires of mankind : If with this you attach, also, the general low view and gross ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, of the Ten Commandments, and of the Christian's duty to God and to man : If you add also the morbid extravagant views of Social and Domestic life which are fostered in the minds of the young, especially of young women, by the fashions, and by the fashionable novels, periodicals, and often wretched stuff which is circulated for literature throughout the country, tainting the souls of its readers, and giving a false view in every respect of the grand relations and duties of life : Put all these together, and it is no wonder that Divorces are becoming very frequent. And then to all that has been said, add, finally, *the power of self propagation* which this thing has, amongst a people whose public opinion has already become demoralized upon the subject, and you reach the very hot-bed of the evil.

Each Divorce sows the seed for others. It is the town talk. The newspapers give the often disgusting particulars, with an unholy relish. The men give the details of it in the tavern, over the counter, and at the noonday rest. The women gossip over it, month after month, at their calls, tea-drinkings, or sociables. The children hear it discussed freely by their elders at the daily meals, with comments and details often that they should not hear. They all, men, women, and children see that it is a Legal act, frequently occurring, recognized by the Statute Law, and accepted by the people. They see the actors in it, and their children, living in the same reputation as heretofore, and they hear them extenuating and justifying their course. They see the Supreme Court of the County, which they have been trained to regard as the very impersonation of Justice and Dignity, sanctioning this dissolution of the Marriage tie. They see Justices of the Peace, perhaps, sometimes, Ministers of the Gospel, uniting these Divorced persons again with others in Holy Matrimony. And what is the result ? What *can* it be, other than the general corruption of the Public Conscience, and a contemptuous disregard for the appeals of the few remaining fastidious, reverent, and religious citizens ?

Put all these things then together. The fatal facility of Divorce, — Ignorance of God's Law, — the natural inclination of mankind to sin, — morbid and warped views of life and its duties,

— vicious Literature, and a demoralized corrupted public sentiment, continually *heated and composted* by the granting of Divorces, — these explain, well enough, the growing frequency of Divorce.

IV. Now, finally, what is the Remedy for this state of things ?

We must acknowledge that its almost irresistible progress fills our mind with wonder and alarm. For it appears to be almost beyond human reach, whether in these or in most of the other States of the Union, and only to be controlled by the wise Providence, perhaps the Judgments of Almighty God. But this state of things, and the future prospects of the country, are such as demand remonstrance from every pious man, every faithful Citizen, every true Patriot. We all are bound to discharge our responsibility in this matter according to our knowledge and ability, that our conscience may be clear and our work done.

1. One part of the Remedy must be for the Clergy and Laity, both, to educate the Public mind and conscience as to the solemnity, religiousness and indissolubility of Marriage, and to endeavor to reform it, by encouraging more frequent use of the Church building in the solemnization of Holy Matrimony, also by instruction, writing, reading, advice, remonstrance, or by addresses, lectures, discussions, and prayers, according to the mode, opportunities and position of the advocate. This, of course, must have some weight upon the current of Public opinion, and tend to change it, at least amongst those with whom we have opportunities of influence.

2. Another remedial means, which we may hope is generally practiced by our Clergy, must be, to ascertain the facts when parties apply for marriage, and to decline to join in Holy Matrimony either of two divorced parties, both being alive, except it be the innocent party to a Divorce, granted only upon the ground of Adultery. This carries us on also to an act of discipline in case the parties are Communicants or propose to be ; *i. e.* so long as both parties live, to warn from the Holy Communion that person, who, being divorced for other cause than adultery, shall marry again during the lifetime of the other. And, so long at least as both these parties so divorced are living, to warn off, also, that person who knowingly shall marry either of them.¹

¹ The obligation of this rule seems to be perfectly plain in all cases where the act condemned is done knowingly, and in defiance of the Pastor's previous counsel and protest. Otherwise, as the Church Law now stands, we give weight to the Counsels of the Bishop of

We are aware that a question is here raised, that cannot, and ought not, to be avoided. Is a Clergyman justified, and will he be upheld by authority, in this refusal to marry, and especially in this proposed act of discipline? We hold that *in foro conscientie* there is no liberty of choice. The Resolution of the General Convention of 1808, though not *technically* a Law, declares the sense of this Church to be, that such Marriage is inconsistent with a Law of God, and forbids the Ministers of this Church to solemnize it. By fair implication, then, those persons who are married in disregard of these terms, are regarded by this Church as living in open transgression of the Law of God, *i. e.* of the Seventh Commandment, and therefore to be dealt with as "open and notorious evil liver."

Yet there are some men, and it may be some Clergymen, who always rule their conscience by the simple letter of Canon, or Civil Law. These will urge that the omission to legislate specifically upon this point leaves them the liberty of choice unchallenged. They will assert that this Resolution has no further force than its bare letter of prohibition, — that Clergymen can do no more than refuse to marry the parties, — that they can be legally married by

Illinois in his recent Convention Address. After speaking of the sacredness of the marriage bond, and the national decline which attends the rupture of its Divine constitution, and the duty of the Clergy, he adds: "There is a question of discipline connected with a second marriage, after the dissolution of the first, by process of law, but on inadequate grounds, which has disturbed some congregations, and, at different periods, been presented to me for resolution. Are parties thus married, permanently disqualified, during the connection, for the Holy Communion? Admitting all that can be said, and justly, of the offense involved in such a marriage, during the life of the other party in the divorce; inasmuch as it is fully valid in all social relations — has been entered into without consciousness or intention of wrong doing — and the state is beyond all legitimate remedy — and an attempt to enforce the renunciation of the tie would be full of collateral injury, and probably a subject for legal or criminal action against the minister abetting it, I have been compelled to determine, that the living in such a state was not a subject for Church censure equivalent to a permanent excommunication; and that therefore, in proper expediency, *feri non debet, sed factum, valet.*"

Thus, if either party were a communicant before the contract, its moral infirmity should not vacate the spiritual privilege; and if, at any time subsequent during that married life, the claims of a godly obedience pressed the soul of either to the Sacramental blessing, it should not be repressed, (if the party was otherwise meet,) from the imputed criminality in the domestic life, for which there was "no place of repentance." This decision may not be admitted by a very logical casuistry, or in a severer age of the Church's discipline; but it would be the judgment I should form, and the advice I have given, in view of the conflicting obligations — the legal and social rights — the interests of innocent offspring, and the higher expediency involved in the case. A decision, however, so far qualified, will not constrain a clergyman, whose conscience dissents, and who prefers to face the evils, and disregard the expediency, in vindication of what he considers inflexible right, and the condemnation of a state which he brands as adultery."

another, and must then be received by the Clergyman into full communion, — that no discipline can be applied because it is not ordered, — that even a Clergyman may himself procure a Divorce for any cause, and may then be joined in Marriage to a person divorced on any ground, without being amenable to Law or in danger of losing his Clerical rank.

We regret to say that this position, specious as it is in morals, can certainly be urged in these times, and, it is said, has lately been urged, to the infinite embarrassment of faithful clergymen, and the scandal of conscientious laymen. The Protestant Episcopal Church has rightly declared the truth. But she provides no laws to guide the public conscience, or to resist the tremendous pressure of perverse will, and of depraved heathenish public sentiment, which now at any day may be hurled against some one of her faithful sons for his attempt in the name of Christ to vindicate the Divine Law of Marriage, the sacredness of the Family tie, and the godly discipline of the Holy Communion.

If then the matter so stands that there is the slightest doubt upon this question whether the Church Law is sufficiently explicit to sustain, and protect a Clergyman in this refusal to marry, and to admit to the Holy Communion — let Churchmen see to it, that this omission in the Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church as regards Divorces, (also the prohibited degrees of marriage!) may speedily be remedied by the General Convention, and placed beyond all doubt.

3. Again, the Statute Law of every State, should, so far as practicable, solemnize and dignify the Estate of Marriage, by preventing all hasty, secret, illegal, and irresponsible marriages. In the State of Vermont, as the Law now stands since abolishing the publication of the bans, it regulates only the age, and degree of relationship of the parties, it forbids polygamy, it names the authorized ministers, and provides a form of certificate of marriage when consummated. Besides this, there is absolutely no Law in Vermont on the subject. Men and women, known and unknown, publicly and privately, at any hour of the day or night, without signature, without witnesses, without identification, clandestinely, or otherwise, upon the bare impulse of the moment, or by deliberate plotting, are allowed to follow out any device, or desire which their own prudence, passion, folly, or cunning may dictate. The Law gives no attention, or respect to the subject which tends to

dignify, and vindicate the true honor of marriage. It affords the officiating minister no protection against deceit or fraud. It does nothing to identify the parties for the sake of the peace, and good order of the community. It gives the friends of the innocent and unsuspecting, no opportunity to detect and expose profligate designs. It does nothing to secure the family circle from possible invasion. It simply ignores as far as possible the whole subject.

Can any thoughtful person question, that this course seems far better fitted to secure the numerical increase of citizens, than the virtue of our families and communities? It treats Marriage so lightly, that it is not at all surprising if the parties to a hasty and ill assorted union, after their plans are accomplished, easily slide into the current of Divorce. — “What a departure from the manners of the Pilgrims!” exclaims M. Carlier, “what strange Law! If it concerns the sale of the smallest corner of land there must be a deed signed, sealed in the presence of witnesses, and recorded in a Register. . . . But for this most important act of life, the simplest tokens are sufficient to prove the existence of an engagement between the parties. As if Marriage did not involve consequences of fortune more important than a sale or a will.” Elsewhere the same writer wisely observes: “It is a great defect in the Law to deprive Marriage of a certain solemnity which renders its importance better understood, — or to remove from it the guaranty of publicity which keeps alive the respect of mankind, and from which only too many people seek to escape. It is true (he adds) some people hold that the publicity of Marriage is of no interest, that the union of the individuals is *their* exclusive affair alone, and concerns no one else. This reasoning arises from the predominant idea in America, that the individual is superior to the Community, and that the latter should not exercise any restraints except in rare cases, and from reasons of most serious moment. But it is forgotten, that Marriage is the foundation of the Family, and creates new relations between persons who have been strangers to each other; and hence come rights and duties of every nature, Domestic, Civil, Political — and we cannot too much protect an institution, the most ancient and respectable of all, where morality is tempered by social condition.”

In these sentiments, we doubt not, our readers most heartily concur. Should not then the Statute Law of every State establish “precautions and protective formalities,” by which the parties to

a marriage shall be distinctly identified as Citizens in their respective communities; by which their intention of marriage shall be duly signed in the presence of competent residents, and registered by the proper officer; by which a definite interval of time may be allowed after the Registration, witnesses required to be present at the marriage, and a certificate or license furnished for the assurance of the officiating Minister or Justice, — perhaps to be countersigned by him, and returned to the Office of the Town Clerk?

These simple requirements will procure greater respect for the union which is thus solemnized. They will put no bar to the marriage of any honest Citizen, whatever be his rank or station; they will protect the community to some extent against the misfortune of ill-judged, hasty, clandestine, and perhaps criminal, unions; and by thus elevating the views of the people as to marriage, they will contribute, it is hoped, and believed, to lessen the number of Divorces.

4. And finally, efforts should be made, all good men united, and the public sentiment aroused where practicable, to procure such change in the Law as shall prohibit the dissolution of the Marriage bond except only in case of the adultery of one of the parties; increasing also, if need be, the pains and penalties incurred by adultery; and in special cases of hardship authorizing *separation*, if necessary be, *a mensa et toro*; leaving the way open to future reconciliation of the parties, but absolutely refusing permission to marry again while both the parties live, and treating all such marriages as criminal.

There may be objections urged against this distinction between Divorce *a vinculo* and separation *a mensa*, but the state of things, we imagine, cannot be more alarming than it now is under our present system. We cannot suffer greatly by maintaining openly the Christian Law of Marriage. In the State of Massachusetts, where this distinction is made, although it is most imperfectly applied,¹ the number of Divorces of both kinds occurring the last five years, whether in proportion to the marriages or to the population, is not one fourth part as numerous as in Connecticut, or one half that in Vermont.

If it is possible to procure these most desirable changes in public

¹ As, for instance, where 1,132 Divorces *a vinculo*, and say 132 Divorces *a mensa*, are granted, only 519 (less than one half) of the Divorces *a vinculo* are for the cause of adultery.

opinion, and in the Law, there is yet hope that the frequency of Divorce, and the drift towards successive Polygamy in our New England States may be stayed; that the Public Mind may become more elevated, that the morals of Social and Domestic Life may become sounder and purer, more wholesome and beneficent, and that a new generation may arise with a higher, and better, and holier future, than that which now seems to dawn on the present.

ART. VI.—THE PRESENT ASPECT OF "THE ROMAN QUESTION."

The Comedy of the Convocation in the English Church, in two Scenes: Edited by ARCHDEACON CHASUBLE, D. D.

Ἵνα τὶ γέλοιον εἰπῶ καὶ περὶ γέλοίου πράγματος.

Give me leave to be merry on a merry subject.—*S. Greg. Naz.*

New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 126 Nassau Street. 1868.

A BOOK with the above title, and imprint, has recently appeared which challenges the attentive, and thoughtful consideration of Anglican Churchmen. It is not an ordinary *brochure*, but a well-considered, and carefully-prepared theological pamphlet. The secular press describes it as "one of the sharpest, wittiest satires seen for a very long time;" while the "Catholic Standard" scruples not to affirm, that it is "as unanswerable, as it is timely, and has dealt a blow to Anglicanism from which that dying system will never recover." Common rumor ascribes its authorship to that "Prince of 'Verts," *Father Newman*; and, if it be not from his pen, it is at least worthy of him, in its intellectual ability, and unscrupulous malignity against the Church of his Baptism. After a careful perusal, it is our humble judgment, that no abler assault than this has been made from the side of Rome on the doctrines and discipline of the English Church. Before this "Comedy," Milner's "End of Controversy" must "pale its ineffectual fires." That weak book proceeded on the principle (so common among Romanists) of lumping together all the errors and abuses of every known Protestant sect, and attributing them *en masse* to an imaginary body, styled "The Protestant Church," to which it is assumed that Anglo-Catholic and Puritan dissenter alike belong. Of course no well-instructed Churchman could be imposed on by

such clap-trap. Weak woman (like "Charlotte Elizabeth" Tonna) after reading it, might confess to bewilderment as to the right way; but the sophistries of the smooth-tongued Bishop of Castabala could mislead no well-instructed, and well-balanced mind. Not so with our author. His eagle eye has left unnoticed no spot, nor blemish capable of detection in any part of the Anglican Communion, while, with an ingenuity, which seems well-nigh superhuman, he has contrived not to let drop a single word, which could be construed in our favor on any point. As a specimen of special pleading it is simply admirable. He means to exterminate us root and branch. He assails "High," "Low," and "Broad"—each in detail, and to each school of Anglican thought he designs to give "No quarter." The scene opens in "The Jerusalem Chamber," with the question proposed for discussion by a certain *Dr. Easy* (a character evidently intended to personate a well-known easy-going Dean, whose local habitation is not distant from Westminster Abbey).—"Would it be considered heresy in the Church of England to deny the existence of a God?" And here let us note his first fallacy. The proposition is immediately stated, and represented as uncontradicted, that our "nineteenth Article, in affirming that ALL churches, even the Apostolic, have erred in matters of faith, obviously implies that the Church of England may err also in the same way." The nineteenth Article affirms no such thing of *all* churches. Error is attributed to four Patriarchates, including Rome; but there is no charge brought against the Church of *Constantinople*, a rather important part of the Catholic Church. So the argument, whatever it might have been worth as stated, falls at once, because it is based upon a falsehood. Of course every difficulty, which besets the Mother Church of England, owing to her unfortunate (but we may hope *temporary*) connection with the State, is carefully brought to light. Queen Victoria, and the Judicial Committee of her Privy Council are represented as of equal authority in all matters of Faith with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the two Houses of Convocation.

Much is made of the statement in the Twenty-first Article (omitted in our Prayer Book) that "General Councils sometimes have erred." But that this assertion was predicated of the Romish (*so-called*) General Councils, and not of the undisputed Councils, is obvious. The Statute (1 Eliz. i. 36) expressly provides that—"Heresy shall only be adjudged by the authority of the Canonical

Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or any of them, or any other General Council wherein the same was declared Heresy, by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scriptures." And the Lambeth Conference solemnly reaffirmed "the Faith as taught in the *Holy Scriptures*, held by the *Primitive Church*, summed up in the *Credo*s, and affirmed by the *undisputed General Councils*." Possibly this may suffice to answer the anxious question, which our Comedian puts into the mouth of his *Dean Critical*,—"Could any of his reverend friends undertake to inform him what *was* the authority of the Church of England?"

We have little concern with our author's trenchant assaults on the schools of pseudo-evangelicalism, and rationalism, save to laugh at the fine points he makes. What immediately concerns us is his attack on our doctrine of the Constitution and Nature of the Holy Catholic Church, as held by the orthodox among us—"the branch-theory," as our author contemptuously terms it. Of course we dismiss at once any such untenable theories as that the Anglican is the *sole* survivor of the ancient Catholic Church, or that Protestantism is *par excellence* Catholicity. "The branch-theory" is, that the Catholic Church of Christ was for many centuries one undivided, visible, Holy Communion. But the grasping ambition of the Roman Patriarchs, and their unwarranted tampering with the Nicene Faith by the addition of *FILIOQUE* to the Creed, led to a separation between East and West, which still continues with mutual anathemas. The Catholic Church did not perish, but became divided like the Jewish Church after the death of Solomon; the Greek Church corresponding to the tribes under Rehoboam, and the more numerous Latin Churches to the rest of the nation, Israel. Some centuries later, when the ancient Church of England reformed Romish abuses, and reasserted her true independence, which had fallen into abeyance, Pope Pius V. pretended to excommunicate her, and thereby created a new schism in the West. The Catholic Church therefore is at present divided into three communions—the Greek, the Latin, and the Anglican—each of which claims to rest *infallibly* on Holy Scripture, as defined by the Œcumenical Creeds and Councils; but neither of which can truly claim infallibility for *minor* theological opinions. Of course we, as Anglo-Catholics, believe in the correctness of *all* the religious articles laid down in the Book of Common Prayer; but we would be perfectly willing to submit them for ultimate judgment to a Gen-

eral Council, in which all three branches of the Catholic Church should be fairly represented. To such a future Council our divines and doctors have constantly appealed.

The ingenious author of this "Comedy" attempts to cast ridicule on "the branch-theory" by such language as this:—

"Suppose the Archdeacon, resolving to try his theory, set out on a foreign tour. Did he leave Dover an Anglican, and disembark at Calais a Roman Catholic? If so, at what particular spot did he drop the Anglican Articles, and take up the Roman Missal? Was it marked by a buoy? or was the transformation a gradual process, like the changes of temperature? On leaving Dover he carried with him only two sacraments, which had grown into seven by the time he landed at Calais. Supposing the distance to be twenty-five miles, did he take up a new sacrament,—he was going to say at every fifth mile-stone, but the sea knew not such measures of distance. Were there fixed points at which he *began* to believe that Transubstantiation was a holy mystery, and not a blasphemous fable; that Confirmation and Extreme Unction were divine sacraments, and, not, as he had believed while breakfasting at Dover, a mere 'corrupt following of the Apostles?' Did he, in spite of the injunction with which they were all familiar, 'not to speak to the man at the wheel,' anxiously interrogate that individual as to the precise longitude in which it behooved him to cast away some Anglican delusion, and to take up some [R.] Catholic Truth? At what point of the voyage did the Pope's supremacy begin to dawn upon him? etc. etc."—pp. 64, 65.

Now this is all very funny, but unfortunately not very true. It is a manifest *Petitio Principii*. It assumes that Anglo-Catholics hold the same expansion of dogma that the Roman Catholics do. Rome has elevated minor dogmas, many of which we consider *erroneous*, to the dignity of Articles of Faith. Pope Pius IV. in his zeal for Roman orthodoxy, succeeded in chiseling out a mammoth Creed, its stupendous proportions almost rivaling the nine hundred and ninety-nine articles of the "Profession of Faith" of some backwoods Calvinistic "Church."

But *we* have not elevated the Thirty-eight Articles to the rank of a Creed. Wherever the Catholic Churchman goes, he carries with him his firm and unshaken Faith in the Nicene Creed, the Apostolical Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, and the Real Presence. And this is *all* that is essential; on minor points we can safely allow latitude of opinion. S. Augustine has well said, "*In necessariis, unitas; in dubiis, libertas; in omnibus, caritas.*" Thus,

if inter-communion were restored between us and the Russian Church, we could carry with us our Articles to Moscow, and the Muscovite his sacred icons to New York, without prejudice to one another's Faith, and without "counting the mile-stones" to determine their orthodoxy!

Speaking of the Articles, we cannot omit noticing the hit at Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon." Much as we respect the vast erudition, fervent piety, and holy zeal for Unity, which characterize that truly eminent man, we cannot but regard as chimerical his scheme for the reconciliation of the English Articles with the Tridentine Decrees. Better *drop both*, than attempt to harmonize incompatibles. The scheme commends itself more to the heart than to the judgment.

"DEAN CRITICAL did not see why, if every man might choose his own sense, Dr. Pusey might not choose his own interpreter, though he could have wished he had made a better choice. But he was surprised that Dr. Pusey did not detect the inconsistency of making the Roman Church the interpreter of Articles, which were directed against herself. . . . It was really too much to make the Roman Church at once the interpreter of charges brought against her, and the judge of the parties who brought them." — p. 26.

This is all, in effect, very true, though the Articles are somewhat older than the Decrees of Trent. Still the "Eirenicon" has many merits, which suffice to redeem it from this blemish of inconsistency.

The ingenious author of the "Comedy" devotes his second scene to a discussion of that bugbear of all Roman controversialists, — the validity of Anglican Orders. No mention, of course, is made of the fact that Pope Pius IV. the author of the long-winded Creed which goes by his name, offered repeatedly to Queen Elizabeth to accept the Anglican Church and its Clergy, without reordination, if England would but own his Supremacy. Such a *suppressio veri* is not uncommon in this work. The old stale cavils are all burnished up anew, except the "Nag's Head Fable," which we trust is now dead and forever buried. (1.) The length of time before the records of Parker's consecration were produced. (2.) The form of consecration: — "Take the HOLY GHOST, and remember that thou stir up the grace of GOD which is in thee, by imposition of hands; for GOD hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of soberness." (3.) The missing record of

Barlow's consecration. (4.) The lack of mission from the Roman Pontiff. These objections have been answered so often, that it is pitiful to see them renewed. (1.) The record of Archbishop Parker's consecration was produced as soon as its validity was in question by the "Nag's Head Fable." And in addition to this, every Anglican Bishop can trace his Orders, through Archbishop Laud, to the famous Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spoleto, who was consecrated by the Roman Pontiff. (2.) The second objection, if urged with any shadow of truth, would invalidate *all* Holy Orders in the world; since the present Roman and English form was not used by the Ante-Nicene Church (*Apost. Const.* bk. 8, c. 4, 5); nor is it now used by the Oriental Churches. The laying on of hands with prayer by valid consecrators is the essential of Ordination. (3.) As to the third, Perceval has well shown, "that while Parker's Episcopal descent can be traced by the Records, through *three* channels, independently of Barlow, namely, Coverdale, Scory, and Hodskin, all linking him to Archbishop Warham, and Cardinal Fisher; Cardinal Pole's through Thirlby, can be traced through *only one* channel, and that one which he had *in common* with Parker, namely, Hodskin; that Bonner and Heath *cannot be traced at all*; and that concerning Gardiner, he is in the same case with Barlow, no record of his consecration having been made." (4.) As to the necessity of a mission from Rome to confer valid Orders, we scout the idea. If there were anything in it, it would invalidate the Orders of the Orthodox Greek Church, the validity of which Rome freely admits. So that here the Romish controversialists are plainly inconsistent with themselves. In fact the Roman Court has never judicially pronounced Anglican Orders invalid; though the Roman Bishops too commonly practice the sacrilege of reordination on such English Priests as abandon their own altars for those of Rome. Our author, however, warns us that there is wrath in store for us. "But there was to be a new Council next year, and, from information which had reached him, he had not a shadow of doubt that it would not only decide *that* point, but a good many others which his High-Church friends were extremely anxious to keep open. There was evidently sorrow and trouble in store for them, and their position would soon be more untenable than ever." Eheu!

In his zeal against Anglican Orders, our witty writer occasionally descends to balderdash. For example, he claims that our

Clergy have, "as a class, a dreadfully unsupernatural (!) look." Indeed he goes so far as to say, that "in their faces there is no reflection of the Sacramental Presence" — whatever that may chance to mean. Now, when it comes to appearance, we are grieved to say that we have met with Hibernian Priests of the Holy Roman Faith, the reflection from whose faces was anything but "Sacramental" — indeed rather *spirituous* than spiritual. But we would not, like our author, charge this on them "as a class."

When our author raises the question of the "uncertainty of Baptism," he trifles with what pierces himself. Carelessness in the *essentials* of Holy Baptism may have been the exception, but never the rule in the English Church. But how was it in the Dark Ages, and even occasionally in the earlier centuries? Has our friend ever read about the sportive boy-baptism, of S. Anthanasius? Does he remember the famous Latin sacrament, administered, "In Nomine Patriæ, et Filiæ, et Spirituæ Sanctæ?" Let him beware lest in seeking to demolish *our* tabernacle, he may unwittingly pull down *his own house*! If the *intention* of the Priest were supposed necessary to the validity of the Sacrament, who can tell how many thousand times intention may have been lacking? And, if he presumes that God would not thus abandon to sacrilege, "the Holy Roman Church," we surely can, and will presume as much for the Holy Anglican; which has been preserved to newness of life amid so many, and such wonderful dangers and difficulties.

The only real difficulty attending the position of our Mother Church of England (but not our own American), is the lack of the enforcement of discipline, as the direct result of her bondage to the State. The Roman Church, placed in the same position, would be compelled either to submit to the same evils, or else to rebel against, and defy the State. The latter alternative may ere long be the lot of our English brethren. The Establishment may perish, but the CHURCH will survive the shock. The heretic Colenso has been deposed, and excommunicated by the voice of the Church; but he still holds the temporalities of his widowed See, and flaunts his "Queen's Patent" in the faces of the persecuted Christians of Natal. Our Romish neighbors will bear in mind that a somewhat similar event occurred in the history of Arius. Such anomalies must speedily come to end. It will not do for the Bishop, even of so *rich* a See as London, to avow himself "in communion with Colenso." The venerable halls of Westminster Abbey must be

purged from every taint of Heresy. Else, (to borrow the language of the London "Church Review"), the cry will soon be : "Let us now accomplish our Exodus. Never, indeed, had we so good an opportunity. Let us march out together, shoulder to shoulder, with drums beating and colors flying. Only let the Disestablishment be complete, and the Church may cry out in exultation, 'The snare is broken, and we are delivered !'" These are strong words, but they are uttered by faithful and influential *English* Churchmen.

If our Romish brethren will, however, insist that Dr. Colenso is the representative of the English Faith ; it may not, perhaps, be impertinent to suggest that that saintly man, Pope Alexander Borghia, was the representative of Roman Morals. If we seek an interpretation of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. we will doubtless find it in the holy life and teaching of Talleyrand, the eminent Bishop of Autun. If we need other testimony, those distinguished Romish saints, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rénan, will supply the deficiency. Lessons in humanity and mercy can be learned from those pious laymen, Robespierre, Danton and Marat. Freedom from the sin of schism will be learned by studying the lives of those most religious monks, Luther and Knox, and that *Candidate* for Roman Orders, John Calvin. We pen these lines to show that (though not graduated at Maynooth or Salamanca) we fully understand the Roman style of controversy.

We cannot forbear, however, congratulating the witty author of "The Comedy of Convocation," on the skill with which he has demolished what he terms, "Bible-Christianity," or the theory that the only Rule of Faith is the Bible *interpreted by each man's private fancies*. Here we willingly say with the Saint of Nazianzum : — *Ἰνα τὸ γέλοιον εἰπῶ καὶ περὶ γελοῖον πραγμάτων.*

It only remains for us to consider the objection raised, That the English Church denies the Catholic Faith by comprising within her Communion, men, who differ so widely in their views of the efficacy of the Sacraments as Dr. Pusey and Dr. McNeille. From the stand-point of Ultramontane Romanism this would indeed be true. If belief in the Articles of Pius IV. is essential to salvation, the only way to save our souls would be "to go over." But we reject with scorn such tampering with the Catholic Faith. Catholic Churchmen of all parties will rejoice to plant themselves on the well-known platform of the Christian Unity Society — "*The Ni-*

cene Creed and *The Three Apostolic Orders* — as *essentials*. We may believe *more* — we cannot believe *less* with safety. Hence Mr. Bennett (the extremest of the Ritualists), is right, when he counsels forbearance toward those who differ from us in non-essentials, and that we "remain in their Communion." When we bring our children to the font, we stop not to discuss theology with the officiating minister. All we ask of him is to give —

"The drops of the bright New-birth," —

in the form appointed by the Church, and leave the rest to God.

"*Accedit Verbum Elemento — fit Sacramentum.*" Only let us have no Colensoite heresies ; no violations of law and order (like the scandals of New Brunswick and Westerly) and we can continue to dwell together in unity and godly love, without any advice from our Romish neighbors.

As another writer has beautifully remarked in a recent number of this Review : —

"Nor should the existence of these extremes excite distrust as to the mission of the Church. Nay, these opposite parties may have their strifes overruled by Infinite Wisdom for her final triumph, and prove Providential links, on the one hand, uniting us with the Oriental and with the Western Church, and on the other, with the innumerable denominations ; and so far from causes of alarm, are proofs of Catholicity. Let the Reformed Church, at once resting on the true FAITH, and the true ORDER, as the foundation laid by the Saviour and by the Apostles, keep ever burning on her altars the fires of love, and in the latter days of earth's glory, she shall arise, with her Primitive Constitution, and her Millennial Purity, to shine in the brightness of her Lord, and extend her sway of peace over all the world."

Fervently may we all pray in the words of that Collect, ascending daily to Heaven from the lips of thousands, whose hearts yearn for the Reunion of Christendom : —

"O LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who saidst unto Thine Apostles, 'My Peace I leave with you, My Peace I give unto you ;' regard not our sins, but the Faith of Thy Church, and grant unto Her that Peace and Unity which are agreeable to Thy will, Who livest and reignest God for ever. Amen."

ART. VII.—THE AMERICAN CHURCH, AND THE RESTORATION OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

IF there is one yearning above all others dominant in our Church, and indeed throughout the Anglican Communion, at the present time, it is the yearning for the restoration of CHRISTIAN UNITY. Revealing itself by unhealthy as well as by healthy manifestations; now overflowing towards those from whom our fathers were separated by the ecclesiastical convulsions of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation; and now towards those who have since separated themselves from us: now laboring to accomplish its holy mission by drawing others back to that Primitive Catholicity which unites evangelical Truth with apostolic Order, and which we believe to be substantially our own possession; and now rushing forward impulsively to meet others where *they* stand, even though it be at the sacrifice of that Truth or of that Order;—rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, calmly or passionately, from principle or from policy, that yearning is steadily becoming, if indeed it has not already become, a great overmastering power in the Church.

In our Mother Church of England it is struggling with the stately bondage of the establishment which refuses to the Catholic spirit pent up within her, the power alike to preserve the faith undefiled or to adapt her practical policy to the necessities of her new and solemn destiny. The Colonial Church is being tried as by fire, to fit her for the great future in store for her—while to the American Church (we say it with all humility, with a profound sense of our own short-comings, but with an assured conviction,) is intrusted the singular responsibility of taking, on behalf of the whole Communion, an *initiative*, for which she seems to be, whether by the temper of her Catholicity, the freedom and elasticity of her Ecclesiastical Institutions, or the adaptability of the American character, peculiarly fitted. Already our own Church has been enlisted, one by one, in each and every branch of the sacred work.

For many years she has had a Mission at Athens calmly, silently, patiently laying foundations, whose value the Church is only now beginning fully to appreciate. Local causes in one of our Western Dioceses gave us, some years since, an interest in questions concerning the validity of Swedish Orders, and, in consequence, in the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the Scandinavian Churches,

which the late visit of the Bishop of Illinois to Sweden has materially increased. Six years ago, the General Convention found itself almost compelled, by practical issues arising on our Pacific coast, to take into consideration the relations between our own, and the Russo-Greek Church. Again, political events have been thought to be preparing the overthrow of the power of Romanism in Mexico, and the Foreign Committee and others, including the late Dr. Hawks, have given much attention to the question of our duty to foster a Reform Movement in that country. Finally, the last General Convention appointed a Committee charged to inquire into the prospect of a Reformation in the Church of Italy. And now, as we write, the proposition comes from a leading English Church periodical that the American and English Churches should unite in a mission to the Nestorians.

Heretofore, we have, as a Church, given no very serious attention to any one of these subjects. The charge of the Greek and Mexican missions, merely on the score of being without the territory of the United States, was put into the hands of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. The Swedish, Russo-Greek, and Italian questions are scarcely intrusted to temporary Committees of the General Convention, with authority to *do* little or nothing more than just to keep the subjects alive, and remind each succeeding Convention of their existence.

Then again, turning nearer home, we are reminded too, that twelve years ago a Committee on Christian Unity was appointed by the House of Bishops, to be the expression of the Church's readiness to consider any practicable suggestion, or to meet any overtures looking towards the recovery of organic unity with our Christian brethren of any of the various Protestant denominations around us. One member alone of this Committee now survives; and its appointment, as far as anything tangible is concerned, has been even more resultless.

And yet, he must be sleeping at his post upon the walls of Zion, who does not realize, that not one step in either of these directions have been taken in vain: and that the answering yearning for Christian Unity is as real, although certainly vague and not as strong and advanced, without, as within our Church; nay, moreover, that the secular events of the age are both preparing the way for the ultimate realization of this hope, and exacting of Christianity the fulfillment of this duty.

Let the close and philosophic observer of contemporaneous History reflect upon the extent to which, not in Italy alone, but throughout the Latin nations, and especially in the Austrian Empire, the conflict between new national interests, and the Papal policy is forcing forward the beginnings of a Latin Reformation. Let him examine the map of the Turkish Empire, and say whether the late virtual revolt of Egypt, the present conflict in Candia, and the warlike preparations of the local governments and the independent tone of the press in Servia and Roumania, bode nothing for the overthrow of Mohammedanism, and the reawakening from the bondage and degradation of Greek Christianity. Let him analyze the elements of European politics, and say, if the Eastern question is likely to be solved without giving to the Russian Church as well as to Russian arms, a part to play in coming History, such as we have not yet conceived. Let him think of the purchase of Alaska, and say, if *our* interest in the Russo-Greek question has not already been made still more practical.

And let us reflect, moreover, that this yearning for Christian Unity which has become so warm among ourselves, is by no means unechoed by those towards whom we are reaching out our arms. Others can bear better testimony to the truth of this assertion in some directions; but we have all marked the steady progress of Churchward tastes on the part of the denominations around us in respect to those very customs in externals which were formerly the stumbling blocks in their way; and we can all see too, for instance, in their "Christian Union Society," the proof of their weariness of internecine Christian strife, and of their growing conviction that there is some more excellent way of combating Satan and sin, than of scattering our forces in the face of our common enemy. On the other hand, we have heard of the very cordial welcome with which our consideration of the subject of reunion has been received at the East; — the appeal of the Nestorians to our English brethren, already alluded to, is full of touching significance; and the confident longing for the time when there shall be "*unum ovile et unus pastor*" is almost as controlling a principle of the religious movement in Italy as the "*libera chiesa in libero stato*."

There is scarce a section of Christendom that is not in a condition of change. The most short-sighted observer cannot but be impressed by the conviction that an epoch has been reached in the History of the Church from which, henceforth, all those who love

our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth, are to draw nearer and nearer together for the last great conflict between truth and falsehood, between Christianity and infidelity.

On the threshold of this era, we see the Anglican Communion revealed to itself and to the world in its essential Unity; and the progress of local modifications is bringing its several district Churches into closer relations and greater practical harmony, — as if to prepare it for the fulfillment of De Maister's prophecy, —

“Si jamais les Chrétiens se rapprochent, comme tout les y invite, il semble que la motion doit partir de l'Église d'Angleterre . . . l'Église Anglicaine qui nous touche d'une main, touche, de l'autre ceux que nous ne pouvons toucher. . . . et peut être considérée comme un de ces intermédiaires chirurgiques, capables de rapprocher des élémens inassociables de leur nature.”

If such is, indeed, the trust reserved in the Providence of God for the Anglican Church, what portion of that Church has He called to enter first upon its fulfillment? At the original diffusion of Christianity, the imperial power of Rome had prepared an arena, Greek culture a language, and the dispersion of the Jews over that empire, and more or less using that language, fitting instruments for the preaching of the Gospel. Now, for the recovery of the Unity of His people, international relations have made of the civilized world one Empire; and, in our own generation, there is again found a people, possessed it would almost seem with a mania for traveling, spreading themselves over every part of Christendom, and, partaking as they do of a cosmopolitan descent, capable above all races of understanding and adapting themselves to others, easily becoming identified in feeling with the interests of any people among whom they sojourn, or of any class with which they mingle, becoming Russians at the North or Italians at the South with equal readiness. One hundred thousand Americans, among whom the children of our Church are in a majority, over all others together, and for whose religious care our Church alone can — if she will — successfully provide — one hundred thousand American Churchmen (as, speaking of them in the aggregate one might almost say,) are then to-day scattered abroad, by the power of many and varied motives, outnumbering in every part of Christendom all other foreigners together. These are in the mysterious providence of God the agency He has prepared, and sent forth for this work.

We solemnly ask the Church, when God has so plainly pointed out the way which He has set before us, shall we delay to act upon the bidding? Shall the Church of the American Dispersion remain any longer unorganized, nay unrecognized, pleading silently, by her opportunities and her needs for an Episcopate and for the power to fulfill her mission, as our colonial fathers of the English Church — all in vain? Shall that work, the sublimity of which is only unrecognized by us because we have not faith to gaze upward to where its grandeur is lost in the clouds, be any longer put aside with mere resolutions, and Committees of Inquiry? The modern history of our Church, both in England and in the United States, is full of great opportunities thrown away. Is there to be no end to this!

If there is to be — a number of separate Committees, sufficient indeed to investigate and to prepare the mind of the Church to act understandingly, — but so far as *action* is concerned, powerless to do much more than awaken suspicions, each on the part of those whose interest lies chiefly in the opposite direction, — will, of course, no longer suffice. The Church should at once, it seems to us, recognize the importance of all, and the mutual relations and interdependence of these several movements; and, above all, the overwhelming importance of the one great common principle which inspires them all, and distinguishes them from the Church's missionary work proper.

Only on the ground of their comparative unimportance has there been any propriety in leaving the Greek and Mexican missions so long to a Committee whose proper charge is that of missions to the *heathens*. So far as the *geographical* argument is concerned, there would be exactly the same appropriateness in charging our Domestic Committee with the negotiations with our Christian brethren of other denominations *within* our national boundary; as of charging the Foreign Committee with our relations with other Churches *without*. Neither would be justified, unless on the distinct supposition that we refuse to consider the subject of reunion with the former, save by the simple process of individual absorption, and that we place Greek and Mexican *Christians* on the footing of *heathen*. No section of the Church would accept *both* of these suppositions; and we doubt if any calm and moderate section would accept either. In fact, nothing but evil can result from the attempt to unite in the same hands two branches of the Church's

external work so entirely dissimilar : or from the independent prosecution of those which ought to be alike governed by the same general policy.

If such views as these are at all well-founded, the time has come when the Church must take the whole subject of her future and possible relations with other Churches and communions of Christians into more serious consideration than has ever yet been given it: and instead of leaving each little branch of this subject to be developed in so many diverse ways ; she must — as it seems to us — constitute some agency which would be able, and which could be trusted, to represent the Church in dealing with them all on broad, Catholic and common principles.

Two considerations greatly help us to a solution of this need. In the first place, the Church, must, of necessity, employ, as her immediate agents, in each branch of such a work, those individuals whose studies have especially qualified them for understanding the principles ; and whose interest has especially fitted them for entering zealously, laboriously, and patiently upon the detailed toil, which each must involve. In the second place, these several individual agents should not be left so disconnected that, either from excessive concentration of vision in one direction, or from relative ignorance of all other branches of this work except their own, they might impede or even endanger the success of each others labors — a Russo-Greek Committee, for instance, creating stumbling-blocks in the way of Protestant Reunion, or a Scandinavian Committee unconsciously giving offense to half-matured Latin Reformers. In some way, which will provide for both these necessities, the Church should address herself to the solemn duty of going forward to this work not *independently* of her sister Churches of the Anglican Communion, but certainly in *advance* of them ; and should be prepared to answer the Master's summons, as it is by Divine Providence revealed to her in the events of current History.

We earnestly trust, therefore, that at the approaching General Convention this subject will receive serious attention. We should henceforth recognize the broad distinction which exists between our missionary work proper, and what we may, perhaps, for want of a better expression, be excused, for terming the diplomatic responsibilities of the Church. Let us no longer even seem to class our brethren in the Christian faith, whatever we may think their

errors or shortcomings, whether abroad or at home — on the one side, with the heathen who know not, or, on the other, with the worldly and irreligious, who have, thus far, refused to hear the Word. We pray continually on every occasion of Public Worship, that “all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life.” We most respectfully ask our Right Reverend Fathers, and our brethren, both Clerical and Lay of the coming Convention, gravely to consider, if it be not now full time that the Church should give some formal, practical evidence that, for Her part, She is ready, as the Holy Spirit may prepare the hearts of His faithful servants, to be “laborers together with God,” in accomplishing the fulfillment of Her prayer.

Separating, then, at once, and for the future, between the incongruous operations which have, so far, been permitted to be united in the hands of the Board of Missions, — and appropriating the work of the now independent Swedish, Russo-Greek and Italian Committees, — the Church ought, as it seems to us, — without further delay to constitute and refer the whole subject of our relations present and future with other Christian Churches and communions to a *Catholic Commission* which should so represent the whole Church that she could properly entrust it with a power not wholly incommensurate with the dignity of its purpose.

Such a Commission should, of course, be composed of Bishops, Presbyters and Laymen, — it should embrace the profoundest wisdom, the soundest learning, the deepest piety of the Church; it should number among its members all those who are especially identified with, or especially important to, the prosecution of any one department of the work of the Commission. It should fairly represent the different schools of Theology, and the calm and sober advocates of different tendencies, and, also, so far as practicable, the different sections of the land, though its membership should not be so widely scattered that it would be difficult, for, at least, a considerable majority, to meet for deliberation as often as the gravity of any occasion might require.

To such a Commission, *as a whole*, — and to the Commission alone, should be entrusted the determination of the great principles which should govern it in each and every branch of its operations: while, for *executive* purposes, it should subdivide itself into, or

appoint from its number, Committees of proper size for the immediate charge of, each such separate branch. In this way, if the Commission was, in the first instance, constituted with proper care, due vigor and efficiency in the prosecution of each department of its work, would be combined with due harmony in the operations of all, as well as with due caution in the adoption of the principles governing them.

Such a *Catholic Commission*, composed, say of thirty members, — ten of each order; — or thereabouts, would be none too small to be entrusted with so weighty a responsibility, nor yet too large for efficient coöperation; and if subdivided into five or six Committees of five or six members each, such Committees would be of very good working size. Such a division, for *present* purposes, might be somewhat as follows; though we are far from assuming that it would be the most scientific: —

1. Committee on depressed Greek and Oriental Churches.
2. Committee on the Russo-Greek Church.
3. Committee on the Latin Churches.
4. Committee on the Scandinavian Churches.
5. Committee on the Spanish-American Churches.
6. Committee on Home Protestant Reunion.

Such a division is obviously suggested merely by the present condition of our relations with the subject; and, even if regarded as appropriate for a beginning, it would doubtless, sooner or later, require no little modification. The work of Committees at present practically distinct, might become united; while new fields of parallel labor will, no doubt, in time demand special attention. It would be also a question worthy of serious consideration at the outset, to determine upon some channel of formal conference with our Mother and Sister Churches of the Anglican Communion, through which we could secure harmony between their policy and our own in this whole movement, and, if possible, in each and every branch of it.

So far as the Church of England — or, to speak more accurately, so far as English Churchmen have felt themselves free to approach the subject of her relations with other Churches and Communions, they have acted wisely in not confusing it with the Missionary operations of the Church. They have interested themselves in the question of Eastern Reunion — in the hope of Italian Reformation, and in the Scandinavian Churches. More lately, the hope

of recovering the Wesleyan Separatists has been earnestly discussed: and the appeal from the Nestorians has been most warmly received. Much of this field has been cultivated by the Anglo-Continental Society; some of these subjects are yet in the hands of investigating Committees of Convocation; but no single branch of this work has been committed to the Propagation Society.

Under such a scheme as we have thus ventured to suggest, a *Bishop Delegate*, or other Bishop exercising jurisdiction over American Clergy and Chapels in Europe — (as proposed in the last number of this Review) — might, in view of one phase of his usefulness, hold the same relations to the Catholic Commission, that the Missionary Bishops now hold to the Domestic and Foreign Committees of the Board. And any other Bishop, rendering special services, such as the proposed mission of inquiry and investigation into the state of the Church in Mexico — would naturally act, for the time being, in the name of the same agency.

Such a Catholic Commission would, at least, have the advantage of manifesting in the eyes of all Christendom, the importance which we attribute to the consideration of Christian Unity, even though it may be yet but a hope. It would rescue all partial and experimental movements in that direction, from the danger of unconsciously widening one breach by efforts to heal another; and would entrust the subject in its singleness and completeness to a body expressly constituted by the Church as its fiduciary representative for that purpose.

It would be a solemn step, to which the Church would hereafter gratefully look back, as She does now to the missionary epoch of 1835: and if the Lambeth Conference marks the turning of the tide of Ecclesiastical History, the practical restoration of CHRISTIAN UNITY will date, perhaps, from the year in which the American Church rose to the full measure of the grandeur of God's providential summons, and committed all her external relations together to the CATHOLIC COMMISSION of the American Church.

ART. VIII.—WILL THE CITY OF ROME BE BURNED
WITH FIRE?

Lectures on the Apocalypse. Delivered before the University of Cambridge. Being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1848, by CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D. D., Canon of Westminster. From the Second London Edition. Herman Hooker, Philadelphia, 1852.

WITHOUT entering into a full examination of the above work, there is one argument, derived mostly from it, which will appear best when stated by itself. According to the theory of the ultramontane teachers, the Church, founded by our blessed Lord, was to go on increasing from the Apostles' times without any great error or hindrance. It was to be one uniform compact Body, with a visible Head, always easily seen and distinguished by the world. But unfortunately for them, this is not the teaching of holy men. Our adorable Master warned His own disciples against false teachers, especially in view of His second coming. St. John wrote of Antichrist, and said there were many Antichrists. St. Paul said, that after his day there would grievous wolves enter in and not spare the flock. There must come a great "falling away" or apostasy (2 Thess. ii. 3), and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped, so that he as God, *sitteth in the temple* of God, showing himself that he is God. This apparently means some apostate power *in the church*, "in the temple of God." It had not risen in St. Paul's day, for there was something that "let" or hindered its rise — "though the mystery did already" "work." But when that hindrance should be taken out of the way, then, that "wicked" or lawless one "should be revealed, whom the Lord would consume with the Spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His coming." (2 Thess. ii. 8, 9.) "Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." This alone would be quite an argument against the theory of the ultramontanist, especially in view of what some of the early Fathers said on this subject, and of their pointing out *the place* where this Lawless One was to be revealed, and what hindered his coming. But this is not all. A whole Book of Prophecy was

written apparently on this subject. The Apocalypse was evidently intended to depict the fortunes of the Church to the end of the world. And instead of its having a plain, peaceable progress, such as the Romanist supposes, the Church was to pass through stormy times. From the 12th to the 19th chapters, there seems to be one difficulty of the most formidable and fearful character. Under various forms and emblems, this evil is described, until it appears to culminate in the 17th chapter. By reading it, as we usually do, we sometimes fail to see the clearness of it. But if we begin at the last verse of that chapter — which St. John evidently intended as an explanation of the mystery — we shall be able to see more clearly his meaning.

1. "The woman which thou sawest is that great City, which reigneth over the kings of the earth." Rev. xvii. 18. Figurative language is here dropped. This great evil is not to be found in *any* nation, kingdom or people. It is not a Church. It is a CITY. Neither is it one of the obscure places of the earth, which might be overlooked. It is a *great* City. And that wherein it may be distinguished from all other places is this — it claims to *reign over the Kings of the earth.*" In St. John's day there was but *one* City which could claim this preëminence. ROME had conquered, and was then governing, all the known nations. But in our own day the distinction is scarcely less clear. England is a great country, and has extensive colonies, but London does not claim to reign over Kings. Rather the country governs the city, and the Queen too. St. Petersburg comes nearer to governing an immense territory. But she does not rule Kings. She is rather ruled over by an Emperor. At the present moment Rome is the only great City which professes to rule over Kings. This distinction is as clear now as it was in the days of St. John.

2. But let us go back to the 9th verse, "Here is the mind which has wisdom," this sentence is therefore to be carefully observed, "The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth." Rev. xvii. 9. Common Cities are built on *one* mountain — Jerusalem has *three*. But the boast of Rome was for many ages that she was built on *seven*. The names of the seven hills of Rome were well known, — Palatine, Quirinal, Aquiline, Cœlian, Viminal, Esquiline, and Janiculum. In St. John's day Rome was usually known as the *seven-hilled City*. Canon Wordsworth (page 253) quotes ten Roman poets, viz., Virgil, Horace,

Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Silius, Italicus, Statius, Martial, Claudian, and Prudentius as calling Rome the SEVEN-HILLED CITY. Could he point out what City he meant more clearly? Add this to the other declaration, of its being that great City which reigneth over Kings, and here is an argument like a threefold cord, not easily broken.

3. But let us go on to the 10th verse: "There are seven Kings: five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come." Rev. xvii. 10. Five Kings, or Kingdoms (forms of government) are passed — (fallen). Can this be said of Paris, Vienna, or Madrid? But this was well known of Rome. Her Kings had passed away — her Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and Triumvirs. Five were fallen. One then existed, to wit, *Emperors*. One was yet to come, that is the *Papacy*. Is not this a clear intimation, especially when added to the two before given?

4. Now go to the 12th verse. "The ten horns which thou sawest are ten Kings, which have received no Kingdom as yet, but receive power as Kings one hour with the Beast." Rev. xvii. 12. These ten Kings or Kingdoms, as they were called, were not in existence in St. John's day — "Had received no Kingdom as yet" — but were to arise out of the Kingdom of the Beast — were horns on his head, and were to exist at "one hour" with the Beast; doubtless at one time with the Beast. They were to have "one mind, and give their strength and power unto the Beast" (v. 13). This is an uncommon distinction, that there should be ten Kings or Kingdoms united in supporting *one*. This cannot be said of England or France or Russia. There are no ten united in supporting any monarch in Europe. Neither can the instance be often found in history of ten Kings thoroughly united, of "one mind," in supporting one power for any great length of time. Such a thing is quite unprecedented. But here are France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Austria, Italy, and some German Princes thoroughly united with Rome in *one Religion*. They have *one mind* on the most important and greatest of subjects. Morally and spiritually they are all the time upholding Rome. It is true, also, that "they hate" her, "and quarrel about her, and will one day make her desolate and burn her with fire." (Rev. xvii. 15.) Seduced women often hate their seducers. But still, in religion, in interest, in policy, and in many ways, spiritual, moral, and political, those ten nations are bound together as no other ten nations often are.

These bonds are not temporary, as some nations unite for one war or a single effort. Here are bonds of union existing during ages. They have been growing up into each other, and growing together for centuries. As no other nations have, these have *one mind* in giving their power and strength unto the Beast. For ten or twelve hundred years there have been several independent nations in Europe, more or less united in this one thing. How could St. John have foreseen this unless he had his eyes fixed on the Papacy?

5. Verse 15 has another designation: "The waters which thou sawest, where the woman sitteth, are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues." (Rev. xvii. 15.) When Rome was taken by the Republicans in 1848, and the Pope fled, the excited citizens rushed to the Jesuit College to destroy it. But, strange to say, they found there *the American flag*, the flag of liberty, and the building was saved. Mr. Cass at that time represented the United States in Rome. He was entreated by the Jesuit fathers to protect some American youth who were there studying. In gratitude for this act, they sent him a manuscript written in several languages by the students. It was a prayer for his welfare, written by the young men of different nations gathered there. It was a great curiosity, so many languages all on one manuscript. The whole number was said to be more *than one hundred*. Is there any other school that can do the same? And what does it show but that the emissaries of the Papacy have found their way into an uncommonly large number of nations, and that the Pope is now domineering over (as no other ruler does) "multitudes and peoples and nations and tongues?"

Here, then, are *five different ways* in which the inspired writer endeavored to point out that great hostile power which was to be the oppressor of the people of God. If there had been only one or two, there would have been more reason for doubt; although there are several of these which can scarcely be applied to any other city. But, taking the whole five together, how can it be possible for them all to be united so well in any other way? Such a thing cannot be conceived. The chances are multiplied against it. To point out one city, by five such clear and startling designations, could hardly be less than the work of inspiration. If there were no more evidence, it would seem to be an act of more than usual unconcern to go on against it. But there are more than these.

6. Verse 3 (17th chap. Rev.) describes the woman as arrayed

in *scarlet* color. Is not this the color of the cardinal's dress and of the Roman Court — purple and scarlet?

7. The woman is full of *names of blasphemy*. This is explained in chap. xviii. verse 7: "How much she hath glorified herself." It is doubtless common for large cities to magnify their own merits. But it is not common for any city to reach the height which the ultramontane teachers have reached in extolling Rome. To call it the *Eternal City* is usual. Is not such a title blasphemous — giving it an attribute of the Deity, and virtually denying the second coming of Christ? To call Rome the mother and mistress of all churches is scarcely less wicked. So like verse 5, chap. xvii: No other city claims such titles. Where can a place be found in Christendom which *glorifies itself* like Rome, or to which these expressions in Revelation can be better applied?

8. This view coincides with the Prophecies of Daniel. The wicked power which that Prophet foretold was to grow out of the fourth Monarchy, which all concede to be the Roman Empire.

9. This is an interpretation more or less understood from the first, beginning with Iræneus and continuing down to the present day. The testimony of that father is more important, perhaps, than any other. He lived so near St. John's time, that if he said it meant Rome, he could scarcely be mistaken.

10. This interpretation is so clear that eminent Romanist divines have not failed to see and acknowledge it. Canon Wadsworth (p. 269) quotes Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bossuet as doing so. The "Church Journal" of October 30, 1861, quotes Manning's "Lecture on the Present Crisis of the Holy See as Tested by Prophecy." What a confession for a Romish Bishop to make! "The writers of the Church tell us that in the latter days Rome shall become apostate," etc. Lepius says, "in the time of Antichrist, Rome shall be destroyed," as we see from the 13th chapter of the Apocalypse; and again, "The woman which thou sawest is that great City which reigneth over the Kings of the earth, in which is signified Rome in her impiety, such as it was in the days of St. John, and shall be again at the end of the world." Bellarmine says, "Rome shall be destroyed and burnt," as we learn from the 16th verse of the 17th chapter of the Apocalypse; on which the Jesuit Ehermann comments as follows: "We all confess, with Bellarmine, that the Roman people, a little before the end of the world, will return to paganism, and drive out the Roman Pontiff."

When St. John points out one place so clear as to draw out such confessions from the Romanists themselves, do we need anything further to strengthen the argument? Is there any humble, watchful Christian who would like to go on in the face of such testimonies?

This is not the whole argument, by any means; but these ideas are put forth as having occurred to one in retirement, and as being a satisfactory solution of some difficulties which surround the subject. All cannot be clear until the end comes; but we can doubtless see enough to guide our steps intelligently. And if we walk humbly, watchfully, and prayerfully, we shall be able by God's grace to save ourselves from this great and impending danger.

ART. IX. — ORGANIZATION, No. II.

IN the April number of this "Review" we expounded the principle of ORGANIZATION. We evinced its value in the State, and in the Church. We proved the immense talent in this direction that the native American, this new-born nation, placed by God's Providence in these latter days in this new world, possesses, — this great race, throned upon the Central Continent, between two oceans, the ocean of Europe, the ocean, reaching from pole to pole, of the ancient world of Asia. This nation, so placed, we showed to have unlimited powers for organization.

And then we showed how the English nation had kept the Church here unorganized — how England had left it without Bishops or Bishoprics, without Sees or Cathedrals, without Church Courts or Church Law, a few scattered Presbyters and Churches over a continent, absolutely compelled by her politics to exist as Congregationalists. And at the same time, that all sects by the English Law were given full freedom to organize themselves, the English Church, in the Colonies, was compelled by the English Government to remain in a disjointed, and unorganized state.

And then, at once, when this country became independent, our Church existence began. The Episcopacy produced life and unity. Our congregations, scattered and disunited, as they had been under English rule, leaped together — they became the members of one living body. And it is not too much to say that the course upon

which we were set by Seabury, White, and Hobart, has since then been our steady course — our polity, as one Church, since that era, has been uniform. We were then no longer congregations, scattered and broken; we became, with the Episcopacy, one Church, the Church of a nation, to extend “from sea to sea,” from the “flood unto the world’s end.”

The Church is the Kingdom of God. This implies Church government, Church Law, and the power, and means of Church legislation. And accordingly, we find, that the first work of the American Church, and the American Episcopacy, was to restore the power of legislation, which the Brunswick Kings in England had stolen from the English Established Church. They did more than this, they restored the *Laity* to their place in the Councils of the Church. They organized a Great National Council under the clumsy name of General Convention, and councils also of the laity and clergy in the several States, corresponding to the Provincial Councils in the Roman Empire. It is too much to say, that the Church, since then, by her legislative action, by her law enacted by herself, by her powers of self-government, has been coming nearer and nearer to the primitive model. She has been girding herself up to her peculiar circumstances in this new world. We do not err when we say, that every one now can see that our Church Law secures us the largest Church liberty — that we are making progress in Church principle, and polity, as well as in influence, and numbers. And forced, as we were once, to exist as scattered congregations, our Bishops and our Laity are, all of them, assured that Congregationalism is the worst Ecclesiastical tyranny, the oppression of village groups of voters without law and without restraint — and that the rule of the Church, under an organized law, self-governing, freed from the State, capable of holding on in its course amid the storms of the moment, is the best government, the fullest of freedom for all persons and for all purposes.

Having been two or three hundred years under Congregationalism which was forced upon us by England, we stepped at once upon the Status of a Church. We received the Episcopacy, the tradition of the Catholic Faith in the Prayer Book, and above all, perfect freedom from the Supremacy of the King, and the Supremacy of the Pope. What did we then require? We answer — ORGANIZATION; that the Bishop instead of being placed as an occasional ornamental functionary, simply retained for the use of confirming

and ordaining, should have his proper position as the centre of the Church's growth, the great agent of her progress, the most efficient of her missionaries — that this, his position, should be secured to him by his See in the City, his own peculiar Church, the Cathedral, his residence in the heart of his work — and again that the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of any State should meet in a State Council, analogous to the old Provincial Council, as the whole church of the nation does in its Great National Council. These elements of church organization we expanded as necessary to the progress and growth of the Church in this land, in the Article we have alluded to. We recommended their consideration to the General Convention. We demanded their distinct and full recognition and enactment. And we suggested the necessity of removing all impediments to them from our legislation.

We are a law-abiding people, and also a law-abiding Church — no Athenian or negro mob, talking of law, and self-satisfied law-breakers in fact, upon no weightier motives than sheer self-will, personal vanity, and the fumes of popular applause. It will be, therefore, necessary to examine the canonical difficulties that are in our path, with a view to their discussion and repeal. This legislation to which we refer is but of late origin, passed and enacted in 1835–38, and receiving its final form in 1856 — enacted after Hobart, and Seabury, and White had passed away. A modern afterthought, therefore, receiving no honor from their great names, but to be discussed upon its own merits. What the legislators of 1838 and 1856 have enacted, the legislators of 1868 may discuss, and review, and repeal.

The obstacles to which we allude are contained in the Fifth Article of the Constitution. We will show that Article to be wholly obstructive. We will prove it is so arranged, that it is almost impossible to divide a Diocese, and get a new Bishopric. We will open it up, and make plain to our readers that the restrictions it places are so many and various, and so shrewdly put in the way of the increase of the Church, that it might be entitled, “An Article to impede the progress of the Episcopal Church in the United States.”

Judge Otis, of Chicago, was the first to call attention to this Article and its effects, in the last General Convention, in a short speech, which has been extensively copied in our Church papers. We thank the Judge for his remarks, and we think that we cannot

do better than print that Article first, and then his remarks upon its tendency and results. For as long as that Article remains, so long the Church is crippled. So long you have in the Valley of the Mississippi, great States of fifty thousand square miles adding hundreds of thousands annually to their population, while the Church in these States is at a stand-still, or getting one or two clergy more per annum, fifty or one hundred communicants more. We tell the Church that a Bishop, a See, a Cathedral in every city in this great valley is the only method of growth. The Bishop is our best Missionary. The cities are the natural centres of missionary action and Church growth, and of the propagation of the Gospel. We have the officers, and the office ready to place in the cities, and this wretched Fifth Article, this obstructive enactment, stands in the way.

But of course, it will be said, that we are writing theoretically against the Church legislation that has stood so long. We give therefore, at this point of the discussion, the opinion of the present Assistant Bishop of Indiana, for six years our only and most efficient Missionary Bishop, a man born in the West, of the widest knowledge of the West, and of the ablest business talents. Here it is from his address to his Convention in 1867 :—

“ There are many points in the Diocese not yet occupied, at which I am confident the Church could be at once established, if the proper men, and necessary means were at hand. For these I must wait and pray. Meantime, I find my time so entirely taken up by the work actually begun ; so much of it lost in mere travelling and waiting upon trains, that it is impossible for me to do as fully as I wish, what I conceive to be strictly a Bishop's work. His commission is to go to the world, and preach the Gospel. Not merely to preach in organized Parishes, and consecrated churches. *He is to be the chief, the leader in all aggressive missionary work.* But before he can be this, our whole idea of the Episcopate, and all our arrangement of Dioceses must undergo a radical change. My views upon this subject have been so long known to the Church, that perhaps it is not needful to repeat them here. As Missionary Bishop of the North West, from the first year of my consecration, I urged the multiplication of Bishops as the need of the Church in the far West — because they can do the work of Missions as no one else can do it. In this smaller field — smaller in one sense, but vastly larger in another, and more important — I see the same need. And I am well persuaded, as the result of my own experience, and observation in Indiana, that, were it *three Dioceses, instead of one, each with an active Bishop at its head — a Bishop*

*filled with missionary spirit, every one of the three would, in a few years, be as large in the number of its Clergy, its Churches, and its communicants as the whole is to-day. This, for us, is impossible now. Our general Canon law on the subject contains not one really progressive element. It is wholly and entirely obstructive. I trust another General Convention will not adjourn, until it has removed every restriction upon the erection of new Dioceses, except those absolutely needed as checks upon haste and indiscretion, namely, the consent of the Bishop and Convention most interested, and of the General Convention. As every new Parish becomes a centre of new influence, and new enterprises, and new strength for the Church, in the City and the Diocese, so, I conceive, does every new Diocese for the Church within the State and the country at large. In this faith I desire to place myself on record, not only as the friend of small Dioceses, which I have long been known to be, but also as earnestly desirous of such an extension of our Episcopate as will give to my Order its proper, its normal position, as the Divinely appointed Missionary Order of the Church — the “sent” by Christ to be the leaders in the work of the world’s conversion.”*¹

Indiana cannot get another Bishop to-day under that Article ; and yet it is a large Western State, of thirty-three thousand eight hundred square miles, with a population of more than a million and a half. Great cities are there to receive their Bishop, the Church in the State desires it, and the Bishop is willing, *and it cannot be done.*

We now print Article V. of the Constitution.

“A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, or any Territory thereof, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted on according to this Constitution : and a new Diocese, to be formed from one or more existing Dioceses, may be admitted under the following restrictions : —

“No new Diocese shall be formed, or erected within the limits of any other Diocese, nor shall any Diocese be formed by the junction of two or more Dioceses, or parts of Dioceses, unless with the consent of the Bishop, and Convention of each of the Dioceses concerned, as well as of the General Convention.

“No such new Diocese shall be formed which shall contain less than fifteen self-supporting Parishes, or less than fifteen Presbyters who have been, for at least one year, canonically resident within the bounds of such new Diocese, regularly settled in a Parish or Congregation, and qualified to vote for a Bishop. Nor shall such new Diocese be formed, if thereby any existing Diocese shall be so reduced as to contain less than thirty

¹ *Journal of the Diocese of Indiana for 1867*, pp. 60–66.

self-supporting Parishes, or less than twenty Presbyters who have been residing therein, and settled and qualified, as above mentioned : Provided that no city shall form more than one Diocese.

"In case one Diocese shall be divided into two Dioceses, the Diocesan of the Diocese divided may elect the one to which he will be attached, and shall thereupon become the Diocesan thereof. And the Assistant Bishop, if there be one, may elect the one to which he will be attached ; and if it be not the one elected by the Bishop, he shall be the Diocesan thereof.

"Whenever the division of a Diocese into two Dioceses shall be ratified by the General Convention, each of the two Dioceses shall be subject to the Constitution and Canons of the Diocese so divided, except as local circumstances may prevent, until the same may be altered in either Diocese by the Convention thereof. And whenever a Diocese shall be formed out of two or more existing Dioceses, the new Diocese shall be subject to the Constitution and Canons of that one of the said existing Dioceses to which the greater number of clergymen shall have belonged prior to the erection of such new Diocese, until the same may be altered by the Convention of the new Diocese."¹

We give now the remarks of Judge Otis upon this Article.

"The restrictions imposed by Article V. of our Constitution are eight in number.

"It so happens that I have been made a member of the Committee on the new Dioceses at this session, and the papers in reference to the Diocese formed in the Western part of the State of Pennsylvania came before that Committee. In examining those papers, we were astounded at the steps necessary to be taken to organize a new Diocese. Many of us were astonished to see how thoroughly the Church was *fenced in apparently against all possible growth*. In 1838, the first division of any Diocese in the United States, occurred in the case of the Diocese of New York, and it *seems to have frightened somebody*, for this Article V., as we read in a foot-note, was then proposed and subsequently adopted. Some one seems to have feared that there would be again another division, and Article V. was placed in the Constitution, so as apparently to make it as difficult as possible to again divide a Diocese.

"Now, sir, what are the steps that a new Diocese has to go through in order to be entitled to come into this Church? *First*, It must have the consent of the Bishop. *Second*, The consent of the Diocesan Convention. Very good, so far. *Third*, It must have the consent of the House of Bishops. *Fourth*, The consent of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. *Fifth*, It must have fifteen self-supporting Parishes. *Sixth*, It

¹ *Digest of the Canons*, pp. 7 and 8.

must have fifteen Presbyters, who have all resided one year within the new Diocese, and been, during that time, regularly settled in a Parish, and must all be qualified to vote for a Bishop. If one of them has lived in his Parish less than one year, the case does not come within the rule. *Seventh*, It must leave thirty self-supporting Parishes in the old Diocese. *Eighth*, It must leave twenty Presbyters in the old Diocese, all of whom must have resided therein, and been regularly settled in their Parishes, and all entitled to vote for a Bishop.

"I submit that this is *too much of a gauntlet for any new Diocese to run*. It is unnecessary to throw so many restrictions around the Church, that we expect to expand and grow with this new country. I submit that it is proper for the Committee on Canons to consider whether they may not with propriety, leave it to the Bishop and Diocesan Convention, and perhaps, also, include the House of Bishops, and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, and strike out all the other restrictions; leave something for discretion; lay down no iron rule. *I believe the Church will grow if you will only let it grow.*"¹

Now look at this Article. Are not all these objections to it true? Is it not manifestly its tendency and effect to impede the increase of the Episcopate; to prevent, as much as may be, the organization of new Dioceses throughout the United States? We think that evidently such has been the effect. From 1835–38, when that Article was enacted, until Pittsburgh was instituted in November, 1865, no Diocese was divided. In 1840, two years after this was passed, the population of these States was as stated in the first column, their population in 1860, as in the second.

	1840.	1860.
New York	2,428,921	3,880,735
Pennsylvania	1,724,033	2,906,115
Virginia	1,239,797	1,596,318
Ohio	1,519,467	2,339,511
Massachusetts	737,699	1,231,066

We give these as a sample. Just look at it! New York, in twenty years, has an increase of nearly a million and a half of population, yet our Fifth Article absolutely prevented any more Bishoprics in New York, during that time! Pennsylvania increased in population one million two hundred thousand — there could be no new Diocese in it! Ohio gets in those twenty years an accumulation of eight hundred thousand inhabitants more, and Massachusetts of five hundred thousand — and *our own legislation* actually so impedes us that there is no increase of the Episco-

¹ *Report of General Convention of 1865*, p. 247.

pate in either State! We put these figures straight before our readers, and we ask, what are we to call this legislation which, during the period of our greatest national growth, when this nation grew in twenty years from seventeen millions to thirty-one millions, actually prevented any Dioceses being divided, any new Episcopate being appointed in huge States having a growth, as we have seen, of hundreds of thousands and millions? We say with Bishop Talbot, this *has been and is* an obstructive legislation, a legislation injurious and ruinous to our own growth and increase.

The Primitive Church method of the See-Bishopric worked easily and readily. It excited no evil feeling. It took no means or money, no power or influence, from the old Diocese. But this Article makes the increase of the Episcopate a matter of strife, unpleasantness, and bad feeling. It puts the man who first makes the attempt at division in an attitude of personal hostility to the Bishop—for it implies taking away half his jurisdiction, which is merely territorial, the division of the Episcopal fund, and therefore the loss of half his income. No wonder that in most cases it should seem an act of personal hostility. It implies a new Bishop—hence if any prominent clergyman act in this direction, “he is looking for a mitre”—party accusations can be and are freely bandied against him; he is made personally to feel that he is simply ambitious, and a rebel. If any obscure man move “he is a restless mischief-maker,” to be proscribed and put down. Eight several restrictions! The Bishop in three several capacities! The Bishop, *personally*, in the Diocese *with an absolute veto*. The Bishop in his Diocesan Convention. The Bishop as member of the House of Bishops—which we must remember sits always with closed doors. The Diocesan Convention then in which either the Laity or the Clergy can defeat the movement. Then, the fifteen self-supporting Parishes with all the legal impediments which caviling partisans know so well how to raise as to definition, qualification, and numbers. The fifteen Presbyters resident one year, and what that means, we have seen. The assertions in Convention that a division is desirable, or not desirable, that the people want it, or do not want it, which give such beautiful opportunities for inquiries statistical and otherwise, that shall cause a delay of years, for appointing committees to examine, who next year are “not ready to report at this Convention,” etc. There never was a greater opportunity given for speech-making imbued with personal

imputations, for miserable personality and intrigue, for pulling of wires in manifold directions, and upon all sorts of persons, for appeals to the baser passions of avarice, jealousy, and personal dislike ; in other words, of thorough mischief-making among our Clergy, than this Article gives in any Diocese. And as General Convention meets but once in three years ; as the matter requires in the Diocese itself to be opened and discussed, in every way, and then to be brought before its Convention, generally more than once, more often three or four times : all this personal irritation and unpleasantness, this opportunity for intrigue and manœuvring, this endless discussion, and debating, and writing in newspapers, must be spread over a good length of time, and so we secure the ugliest state of feeling in that Diocese for years. We do not say that this is always so ; for we know that we have as noble and generous-minded a Clergy as exists in the world, as sincere, and honest, and earnest a laity. But any one who looks at the Article itself must see that it invites mischief. It is so complicated as to embroil classes and persons. It is tedious in its remedy, and gives many a chance over a range of years for suspicion and jealousy, personality and irritation. And from the evidence of our Clergy and Laity who have known the inside of these movements, during the attempts at division under this Article, for the last thirty years, we are afraid that the mischief it gives room for, has in too many cases been produced, and wounds have been inflicted thoughtlessly, even by the best of men, that will take years to heal.

The institution of the Episcopate, a Church office, a new centre of growth and progress, and of missionary work, is not, and should not be made a personal matter. It ought to be utterly separated from all personal feelings, preferences, and jealousies, in every way. It ought to be made absolutely and entirely easy, so that there will be no more difficulty in establishing a new Bishopric in a city that has none, than a new Parish. * Then let the election of the person to fill it be as jealously guarded, made as rigorous and as careful as you please. The absurdity of a legislation that actually impedes the establishment of Bishoprics over a nation of thirty millions, and puts all the impediments possible in its way, is astounding. Let us have the old rule of one Bishop in every city, and upon that principle legislation can be easily adopted which will give the Church within the State in Council, and the Great National Council, the controlling powers. Let us take, in other

words, the organization of the Church in all its elements, and we shall have our Episcopate over the whole land, established and endowed with less unpleasantness, less personal irritation, than in any one of these three divisions of Dioceses that have taken place since 1835.

Let us pass any laws to prevent bad Bishops, but for the sake of the Church, make the institution of new Bishoprics easy. The city is the centre. The old canonical rule is, only one Bishop to one City, great or small. This is the natural limitation. This is the thing; and not vague discussions as to *large Dioceses* or *small Dioceses*. In the very nature of the case, the limitation of one Bishop to one City, secures us against a mob of Bishops.

It is safe to leave to the Church, in the State, the matter of limits, and, to the General Convention, the consent, or acknowledgment.

We think objection to a Bishop may be made a personal thing. "I do not give my consent to the consecration of Dr. L——." A wise and prudent man, as one voter out of many, may have reasons to induce him not to give consent to a *person* being consecrated, which are perfectly valid to himself, and which he has a right to keep to himself. But why the Bishop of a city of five hundred thousand people, at one end of a State, should have a right to prevent the erection of a Bishopric in another city of say, one hundred and twenty thousand people, three hundred miles away, because it is within the same State, we cannot see. As one out of many, not to give consent to the election of a person for private reasons, we cannot but see may be just, when an absolute personal veto upon the institution of Bishoprics, the irresponsible power that cannot be overruled, of utterly preventing the establishment of new centres of Church growth and progress, may be utterly unreasonable, and utterly inconsistent with our principles.

Look at the operation of that article in regard to our Western States, and it is perfectly manifest. A second Bishop cannot be in a State until there are forty-five self-supporting Parishes, although the State may be as large as England, and there may be three great Cities and millions of inhabitants. If the Bishop, the Clergy, and all the Church people want it, under this Article the thing cannot be done. Tennessee is larger than New York — a long narrow State — has three cities in Middle, East, and West Tennessee, Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville. Under this Article

they can have no Bishops. But the Roman Catholic Church can. So with Kentucky. So it is with many great States in the West.

But worse than this. Under our present arrangement a Bishop may reside in the country, and thus, whether he intends it or not, leave the great city to the Roman Catholic Bishop, or to absolute Congregationalism among Episcopal Churches. Bishop Meade, we understand, lived at Milwood, Clarke County, Virginia, all his life, and Richmond was left clear for Bishop Whelan, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and his Diocese of Richmond. And so, under this Fifth Article, by merely acting in this way, a Bishop can prevent, if he will, any element of the system of the Church, as to our great cities, from coming into existence; can absolutely force the Clergy of his central city to be Congregationalists in position and practice!

We can tell the Church, that over the Western States are whole ranges of counties, often six or eight together, abounding in population and wealth, having as able, and refined, and well educated a people as are in the world, in which a Church Clergyman has never been seen, a Church Service never been heard — and never will be, if this outrageous and obstructive legislation be maintained to strangle the Church throughout the Great West.

It would have been otherwise, had we been at the very first, upon the Church system of organization. As it is, we have been, by our own action, a cluster of Congregationalist Societies, with the Bishop as an ornamental adjunct — a Bishop without a See, or Cathedral, a See-house, or a Church: — our Bishops, outside of their visitations, having actually no Church to preach the Gospel in, except by the courtesy of some vestry, or Parish Minister! A Bishop, who, except he becomes the Rector of a Parish, has no canonical right to preach in his own Diocese, but by invitation of vestries or parish ministers, is rather a curious product of Church legislation in this nineteenth century.¹

Had we had the organization of the Church, her system in operation, it would have been otherwise. Instead of a seven years' quarrel among brethren, upon every division of a Diocese, we

¹ "No minister belonging to this Church shall officiate either by preaching, reading prayers, or otherwise, in the parish or within the parochial cure of another clergyman, unless he have received express permission for that purpose from the minister of the parish or cure, or in his absence, from the Church-wardens and vestrymen, as trustees of the congregation, or a majority of them.*

* "In this Church there shall always be three Orders in the Ministry, namely: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." †

* Title I., Canon XII., § 6, p. 1.

† Title I., Canon I.

should have had the Church propagated quietly, easily, and normally over the whole country. Especially, do we say this in regard to the West. We affirm that because of the want of the system of the Church, the West has simply absorbed, and the Church has lost, thousands and tens of thousands of communicants. Instead of the system planted upon the spot, rooted in the soil, growing with our growth, we have, perforce, this barren Congregationalism, with the ornamental Episcopacy. And so our place has been taken by Methodism, which, although it has no real Episcopacy, is highly organized, and works from centres according to a system. And now that Methodism is failing, Romanism, acting upon the system on which we ought to have acted, is taking possession of the land. We have been six and twenty years in the West, and we know that this is the case, that here lies the flaw, and the fault — in our want of the organization, and the system of the Church.

But we give a testimony to this effect that cannot be rebutted. In November, 1865, after much trouble and strife, and many efforts, the first division that had been effected for nearly thirty years took place, and the See of Pittsburgh was instituted. The eloquent and able, as well as amiable and moderate Bishop of Pennsylvania, on that occasion, declared that it *ought to have been done fifty years before!* — that the Church had lost by *its not having been done*, churches, communicants, population, influence! — that *sixty years* before the attempt had been made and defeated! But we proceed to give the passage we allude to.

“It is among this people, having to some extent the controlling influences of Religion, but demanding still more, that we are to erect this Diocese, and organize in a new bond of ecclesiastical government the energies and powers of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

“The aim is to concentrate and knit together here, the elements of strength and influence which have hitherto gravitated to the eastern end of the State. To establish here an organism, that, confining its work to a smaller circle, shall do that work thoroughly and effectively — that shall give a home interest, and call out home affections for the work to be done at your doors, by your own selected agents — that shall have its missionary centre, its Diocesan centre, its Episcopal centre, not across the mountains, but in the heart of the Iron City, that grapples to itself with iron bands all parts of the new Diocese. This is the work which you desire to do, and *had it been done fifty years ago, you would have seen*

to-day a different state of things from that which now meets the eye of Churchmen in Pennsylvania.

"Sixty-four years ago a meeting was held in Washington, Pa., by the few Episcopal Clergymen in the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, to consult in relation to Church affairs. At that meeting it was resolved that Dr. Doddridge should open a correspondence with Bishop White, for the purpose of obtaining permission through him from the General Convention to form themselves into a Diocese in this Western Country. Eighteen months passed away, and the Doctor heard nothing of the fate of his urgent appeal, and then that the project had been laid aside, by the death of Bishop Madison of Virginia. 'I then,' writes Dr. D., 'lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our beloved Church in this part of America. Everything connected with it fell into a state of languor. The Vestries were not reëlected, and our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent them, when I indulged no hope of a succession in the ministry;' and he mournfully adds, 'I entertained no hope that even my own remains after death, would be committed to the dust with the funeral service of my own Church.' 'How often,' he proceeds to write, 'have I reflected with feelings of deepest regret and sorrow, that, if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been located in Siberia or India, and equally dependent on a Supreme Ecclesiastical authority at home, had been so neglected, a request so reasonable would have met a prompt, and cheerful compliance.' Dr. D. states, 'that large portions of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Kentucky, and Ohio, have been settled by originally Church people, emigrants from Maryland, Carolina, or Virginia.' He says, 'that they had had Methodist Bishops, and Roman Catholic Bishops, but that they had never seen one of our Church,' nor did they until 1819, when Bishop Chase was consecrated for Ohio. In a letter which Dr. D. wrote to Bishop Hobart, in 1816, he says: 'Had we imitated at an early period the examples of other Christian communities — employed the same means for collecting our people into societies, and building Churches, and with the same zeal, we should by this time have had four or five Bishops in this country (*i. e.* west of the Alleghanies), surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of Clergy, instead of having our very names connected with a fallen Church. Instead of offering a rich, and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary, we should have had the first and highest station among the Christian Societies of the West.'

"Such was the appeal which near fifty years ago rang out from these regions to the Atlantic. In the General Convention which met in New Haven, in 1811, a resolution was passed requesting the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Virginia to devise means for supplying the congregations of

this Church west of the Alleghany Mountains, with the ministrations and worship of the same, and for organizing the Church in the Western States.

"The next year, 1812, Bishop White brought the subject to the notice of the Pennsylvania Convention, and having stated that 'the decease of Bishop Madison rendered all further proceeding impracticable at present,' he makes this significant remark: 'I submit to this Convention the inquiry, how far it may be expedient to declare their consent, in the event of there being consecrated a Bishop for one of the Western States, that the Churches in this State, lying beyond the Alleghany Mountains, may have the benefit of his superintendence.' The Convention then sitting in Christ Church, in Philadelphia, passed the following resolution: 'That if a Bishop should be consecrated for any State westward, and it should be thought expedient that the Churches of this State westward of the Alleghany Mountains, should be under the superintendence of the Bishop so contemplated, this Convention consents to the same, on such terms as may be approved of by the Bishop, and the Council of Advice of this Church.'

"Thus the action which you take to-day, was foreshadowed by the views of the Bishop, and the action of the Pennsylvania Convention, fifty-three years ago. Had such action been consummated — had the cry of the Church, through the appeals of Dr. Doddridge and others, been responded to by a generous sympathy and liberality, we should not now be founding a new Diocese, but should have around us a hundred congregations, thousands of communicants, with the long-established, well-regulated and full-working machinery of a noble Diocese. How much we have lost by delay — while we have debated, others have pushed forward — while we have hesitated, others have possessed the land — and while we dallied about titles and consecrations, hundreds of the Church's children famished, and went hungering and thirsting to other folds, leaving our Church emaciated, feeble, and ready to die. At a late day we seek to redress this *great wrong*. It is late, but not too late. All is not lost — much remains — foundations exist, and the Spirit that moved in the valley of Ezekiel's vision is present, we trust, here, breathing life and vigor, and motion and unity, into our long dormant Church, and quickening her into newness of being that shall make her, henceforth, go forth fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."¹

We think that we have no nobler proof than this extract, that the Church's system is the Church's best policy. And even now, when we have lost fifty years' work and growth, we think that the adoption of it at once, will place us in the front of the work we have to do.

¹ Bp. Stevens' *Sermon*, pp. 19-25.

In fact, all that is necessary to convince any man how ruinously obstructive our present system is, is to look at the number of clergy and communicants twenty-five years ago, and their present number, and to think that these States have increased in population, four or five hundred thousand each during that time.

	1838.	1865.		1838.	1865.
Ohio,	58 Clergy,	95	Indiana,	9 Clergy,	32
Kentucky,	20 “	29	Missouri,	4 “	21
Tennessee,	18 “	22	Mississippi,	6 “	33
Alabama,	10 “	34	Michigan,	17 “	65

This is the growth of a quarter of a century, and communicants and baptisms just as bad! How long, at this rate, will it take the Church to convert the West? If Kentucky gains nine clergy, and twenty-three hundred communicants in twenty-five years, and the State increases during that same period in population seven to eight hundred thousand—and the whole wide West shows just the same results—what are we to say of the present system, under which the zeal and energy, and eloquence and learning of our Bishops, the missionary fervor of our Clergy, and the love and attachment of our people to the Church, are so shattered and fettered as to produce these results. We blame neither Bishops, Clergy, or people, but simply the *system* we are under, that makes us congregationalists, encumbered in all our Church efforts by an alien system.

Let us have the See, the Cathedral, the Provincial system, both recognized and in operation, and we shall go on and increase in the West. Or else be consistent! Fling overboard the whole present system of legislative enactment, and let us be *congregationalists in fact*, with an *adjunct episcopacy*, calling Bishops to confirm and ordain, when we please, and whom we please, and how we please, without Canons, or Constitution, or Dioceses, or Conventions, or Standing Committees, and no doubt we shall increase under that no-system. We hardly think that the Church is ready for that! And yet it would be better than the present cumbrous and obstructive legislation. The Fifth Article is simply obstructive, everywhere, and especially in the West, repressive of all growth, except that which cannot be repressed. Let us have either the complete system of the Church, or the most perfect and absolute unfettered liberty, and we shall grow and increase. The present legislation simply impedes progress, lowers our vitality, and prevents our ad-

vance and increase. We are strangled in the West by that Fifth Article.

Judge Otis says, "that the first division of any Diocese that took place, *seems to have frightened somebody*." There is no doubt it did. And "Article Fifth," as he says, "was placed in the Constitution so as to make it apparently as difficult as possible to divide a Diocese." We have examined that legislation, and we have no doubt that it was intended, if possible, to prevent the division of any Diocese except New York, *to secure there being one Bishop*, and *no more*, in any State. Under that Article, as it came from the hands of the joint committee of both houses in 1835, had it passed, the Diocese of New York might have been divided at that time, *but no other in the country*. It was actually legislation to enable that Diocese to divide, and to prevent all others from division.

And especially, it was an act to prevent any New England State from getting more than one Bishop — for under it every new Diocese *must have* ten thousand square miles in one body (!) and *must leave* ten thousand square miles to the old Diocese (!) so that no Diocese of less than twenty thousand square miles could be divided, and so Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont, New Hampshire, all the New England States except Maine, were put under the Ban. They might each of them have one Bishop, but no more, for none of them but Maine have twenty thousand square miles of territory !

Again, the new Diocese must have fifty Presbyters within its bounds regularly settled in a Parish, and qualified to vote for a Bishop, — and as many must be left to the old Diocese. Had it passed in that shape, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Western New York would have been the only Dioceses that *at this day* could be divided.

As it was too glaring, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies inserted eight thousand square miles instead of ten thousand, and thirty presbyters instead of fifty, — a very small gain indeed. For in the form in which it finally passed both houses,¹ the Bishop *was given an absolute veto* upon division, instead of a *two-thirds veto*, as it was in the original draft that came from the Committee of both houses. And so the increase of the Episcopate in any State was utterly prevented. No Diocese under this legislation was divided for nearly thirty years, just the time in which the Church should

¹ Journal of 1838, p. 23; House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, p. 93; House of Bishops.

have placed her Bishops, her Sees, and her Cathedrals in every city, East and West — the time in which the country increased from seventeen to thirty-one millions of people.

In 1856 the Article assumed its present shape ; for the absurd eight thousand square miles' qualification was then dropped — and New England was thus freed from proscription. The thirty Presbyters also, were reduced to fifteen in one case, and twenty in the other. But still there must be fifteen self-supporting Parishes in the new Diocese, and thirty left in the old one. The Article thus assumed its present form.

But all the mischief that was done by that legislation is not brought yet fully before the reader. The Fifth Article before this time read simply —

“ A Protestant Episcopal Church in any one of the United States not now represented, may hereafter, at any time, be admitted on according to this Constitution.”

And the Fourth Article read : —

“ The Bishop, or *Bishops in every State* shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed *by the Convention of the State*, and every Bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his proper Diocese or district, unless requested to ordain, or confirm, or perform any other act of his Episcopal office by any Church destitute of a Bishop.”

On the face of these articles several Bishops are contemplated as possible in a State — nay, the thing is manifest and proven by the word “ district.” And it seems that the *State Convention* was to prescribe the rules for the choice of the Bishop or Bishops in that State. The Convention of 1835 and 1838 struck out the word “ State ” or “ States,” everywhere, except where it followed the word “ United.” This took place in fifteen different places in the Constitution. It struck out also the word “ district ” in the Fourth Article. Let any man look over these changes thoughtfully, and he will see that a revolution was silently effected. The State may then have had only one Diocese and one Bishop, but it was contemplated in the Constitution before the alterations, *as possibly having several*, and the State was the unit of the General Convention, answering precisely in theory at least, to the old Province. The *Diocese was made the unit* by striking out the word “ State,” everywhere, and substituting the word “ Diocese.” And then, as we have seen, the number of the Bishoprics was limited by conditions

so numerous, and variously and shrewdly imposed as absolutely to prevent all increase of the Episcopate by division for thirty years together. All the members of that joint committee are dead. They were all respectable and good men, and well-meaning. But upon our review of their legislation in regard to that Article, and its results upon the Church, we must candidly say, there never has been any more ruinously obstructive legislation in the Church. They had in their heads manifestly a theory of *one Bishop in every State, and no more*, and under color of enabling Dioceses to divide, they altered the Constitution in accordance with their theory. They put all the legal impediments possible in the way of the increase of the Episcopate — and then, to finish the whole, they gave the Bishop of the Diocese to be divided an absolute veto upon division.

Only one remark more would we make on that Article. The animus of it, as we have seen, is the fixed determination that the number of Bishops shall not be increased. This is shown very strongly in the fourth section. When a new Diocese is erected, one would say, that it should naturally elect its first Bishop. That upon all Church ideas would be but fair.

But suppose there happen to be two Bishops in the Diocese before division, the Bishop and an Assistant. Of course they should be considered as *one Bishop only*, and as belonging to the old Diocese, since an assistant is elected *canonically* “*when the Bishop is unable by reason of old age and other permanent cause of infirmity to discharge his Episcopal duties.*” That we think should settle the question in favor of the new Diocese in such case electing a Bishop.

But no! they are so determined that the number of Bishops shall not be increased that the “infirmity” is made to disappear, the Bishop “incapable of discharging his Episcopal duties” “may elect one of the two Dioceses to which he will be attached, and shall forthwith become the Diocesan thereof” — “and the Assistant Bishop may elect,” etc. — “and shall forthwith become the Diocesan thereof.” A very strange mixture we think of principles, that makes a Bishop who is “*incapable of discharging Episcopal duties*” capable of *leaving his own Diocese and electing himself* to a new one! and his Assistant *elected* because of his Principal’s incapacity to do the duties of the old Diocese, and ultimately to succeed him, has *the power of making himself a Diocesan, of electing*

himself to the new Diocese," in case the Senior Bishop do not! And then again, after all this, when his Senior dies, he must leave that new Diocese and succeed the Senior Bishop in the old one! "*who in all cases shall succeed the Bishop on his death or resignation.*" The provision is imperative.

We hope this whole jumble of mischievous legislation will be repealed — that our Episcopate will be taken hereafter to be a real order, Apostolic, Missionary, Executive, governing, in every way central, and absolutely necessary to the Church, her progress and growth, *in every city*, East and West. And that in every city the Bishop shall have his Church, however small it may be, not a Parish, but a Bishop's Church or Cathedral, held by himself, or by the Diocese in trust for him, and his successors, in which the Bishop shall be the authority. And then we hope that within the region answering to the old Province, which is the State, there shall be the Synodical union or Federative Council of all the Churches in that region, answering to the old Provincial Council, such as might have taken place canonically in every State until the legislation of 1835-38 prevented it. Give us the Church System in all its perfection of organization, and we shall grow and increase beyond all measure, East and West — and sweep away this legislation, which, for the last thirty years, has been a legislation in favor of the growth of the Methodists in the West, and against our own increase — and now, if it be permitted to remain, will be, for the next fifty years, a legislation absolutely and distinctly in favor of the Roman Catholic Church.

We have now one matter more to consider. It has been said: As the Bishopric is contemplated henceforth as a See-Bishopric, in a city, will not the work of the Bishop be more or less confined to the city, and hence less time be given to other parts of the State? We answer, It is in the city — but in the city as the centre of a work that flows out from it, and that more fully than before. The See is the centre of the Diocese as the heart is the centre of the body.

And again, instead of one Bishop in a State, say of fifty thousand square miles, among a population of four and a half millions, a single Bishop rushing from place to place, over all our railroads, you have in the great cities of that State, six to ten Bishops, at work with all the machinery of the See, and the work spread and diffused and equalized in force and power over the whole State

by the Provincial or State Council. The Bishop of New York will undoubtedly give far more work to the city of New York, and far less to the country villages that are scattered over the State. But we think, upon the whole, that the Episcopal work will not be less. The Bishops of New York, Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Utica, Syracuse, etc., operating from their several centres, will leave no deficit from the present amount of work done. Any one who looks upon it fairly must see that in every State the result will be an increase actually of the amount of the Episcopal work now done within that State.

The See-Bishopric, the Cathedral system, the State Council — this is the Church organization. And any man who will look at it, can see how it will save time and resources, and thence multiply power and efficiency. Take the Bishop at present in any great State, East or West, — have you not, on the one hand, a man overloaded with labors that are formal, traveling from one great city to another at railroad speed, writing a mass of letters that a classical Secretary, a deacon at five hundred dollars a year, could write as well, member and president of two dozen Committees, called upon by visitors half the day, that mean well, and cannot be refused, but are nine out of ten of them merely wasting his time. And then, in the West, the Bishop traveling on horseback and in wagons, over vast spaces, on lonely roads, nine months out of twelve.

We wonder men do not see that the want of centres to work from is a mere waste of the most valuable time. Under the present system, the Bishop has too much to do — the layman has nothing absolutely to do, but to pay for his pew and sit therein upon Sundays. And the time of our Bishops is wasted — their powers and energies overwrought and overtaxed in vain attempts to do, single-handed, the work that ought to come from all classes together — *would* come easily and abundantly, almost without their feeling it, if they were organized in and under the proper system.

To show by a little incident how things at present go. The writer went with his Bishop, an old man of seventy-six, but very hale and energetic, eighty miles, two winters ago, to attend the ordination of a young man twenty-five years of age. This was three days' expenditure of time, which neither of us grudged. And then next day, with the thermometer 10 degrees below zero, the Bishop started in an open sleigh for the ordination of another

young man, ninety miles further West, the writer returning home. The Bishop's expenditure of time, besides the fatigue and exposure, was five days in all, in the depth of winter, and the time expended by the two young Deacons, say ten minutes' walk to their Churches! Had the Church system been in existence the process would have been reversed. These young men would have traveled on to the Cathedral city. They would have been ordained both of them together. The expenditure of the Bishop's valuable time would have been saved, and the risk of an aged and most venerable and precious life. The present unorganized state of Church work, if you look at it in every aspect, is simply wasting the most valuable time, and risking the most precious lives, putting the heaviest burdens, in the most unmanageable way, upon our Bishops, oppressing them with labors that do not tell, and making the whole machine full of jars.

In fact, take into consideration time, means, the personal influence, and authority of our Bishops, unity of action and good feeling, the adoption of the Church system of organization would save and increase them all. It would bring them all forth into energetic action to a degree we do not in any way at present experience. And it would perfect in position, and in powers all the elements of Church influence. Under it the Bishop in his work will be more efficient, more prominent as a citizen, and influential as a man, more beloved and respected, followed in every city by a love and loyalty on the part of the Clergy and Laity which is the due of those who are Right Reverend Fathers in God, Apostles of Christ, Angels of the Churches, but which, under the present unorganized and jarring, and discordant system, we know very little about. The Presbyters will be freed from all the evils of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, under which they labor; and the Laity, in every respect, will become more interested, more clear in duty and doctrine, more directly and immediately at work for the Gospel.

In truth, it is enough to make any one weep to look over any of our great cities, and to see, on the one hand, multitudes of Christian women with abundance of means, and their whole time their own, with warm and fervent hearts, naturally, towards poverty and distress, forced, by absolute ennui and tedium to kill time in all kinds of frivolity and fashion — and on the other, to see the hundreds of thousands of a wretched population worn down with inor-

dinate labor; godless, because this wretched pew system, and the competition of this sect-shattered Christianity shuts out from our churches the poor who are laboring for a bare subsistence, themselves by their poverty, their diseases, their despair, crying for the organized work of Christian men and women. Here are the men and women to do it on the spot, with the time and all the means. And the Church has only to organize itself in the primitive way, to call forth all these forces to this work, as in the days of old. No wonder that men and women are despairing of Christianity when they hear of what it did in those days, and see how little it actually does now. Five thousand women in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, says the "New York Express," spend, each of them, five thousand dollars a year in dress! And we say thousands of women in these two cities waste their lives in ennui and hopeless frivolity, because of a Christianity that preaches faith without works, that gives them nothing to do for the Gospel but to sit on Sunday in a pew and listen to preaching. Give us in addition to our Episcopate, our Prayer Book, and our freedom from the State, the Church organization, the Cathedral and the Bishop in the city, and within twenty years ten thousand Christian women, and five thousand Christian men shall do the work this day in New York that was done in Rome, and Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. And means will be found in abundance to uphold and maintain their work.

At the same time we must candidly admit one fact and establish one proviso. We have for eighty or ninety years been content with the elements of the Church, without her organization, the Episcopate without a See, without a Cathedral, without the advantages in the dignity of its natural position, — with the Presbyterate subject to all the difficulties of actual Congregationalism, — with the Laity upon the ground of the pew system, faith without works, and nothing to do. Now a system takes time to root itself, to adapt itself to the circumstances and persons of the nation and the day, to get into working order, and to get rid of all jars in the machinery, and obstacles in the way. We do not expect that the See, the Cathedral, the Provincial System, in a moment, in a month, or a year, will work easily and quietly without jar and without difficulty, as if it had been established eighty-three years ago, as if we had begun with it. But, we do expect, that the Church will place herself upon it, and that the most organizing people in the world,

Bishops, Clergy, and Laity will set it a-going, and bring out all its untold resources toward God and man, in a shorter time than could be done in any other nation in the world. In fact we believe that in the Upper House and in the Lower, there is knowledge enough, experience enough of this new world we have to deal with, to make the whole System the System of the Church by a huge majority, in the General Convention of this year.

We have a few remarks more before we close this Article. The principle of the See is rigid and unyielding, a complete principle, exact and definite. A Bishop is placed in every city, small and great. Rome, Alexandria, and Carthage, and Constantinople, huge cities, million-peopled, and then again the smallest cities of the ancient world through all countries, each of them had its Bishop. And the rule is invariable, that there is only one Bishop in one city. Great Rome, with three to six millions of people, as it is variously estimated, has one Bishop and no more, and little Rhegium with five thousand, has also one Bishop. The principle of the See-Bishopric is manifest, precise and exact — it is just as applicable now as in the days of old, to our cities as to those of the ancient world. But the matter of the Province is more difficult. There is a certain variety in the application of the principle, a certain latitude permitted which is to be seen in the ancient distribution of Sees into Provinces over the Roman world, and must be permitted among us. Any one can at once enounce the See-principle, it requires no wisdom to apply it. Here are the cities — here is the principle — only let us have the freedom from obstructive legislation — and at once the Church crystallizes in and around the proper centres.

But this other system requires the organizing power, requires the wisdom and the thought of men who have peculiar governing, and administrative gifts, who have had ecclesiastical experience — and above all, it requires time and patience for its ultimate adjustment.

And here we protest against the making of systems upon paper. We have in the Church, and out of the Church, in this nation, men who can draw out in their closets systems and constitutions for any society or Church, any object of benevolence, or of missionary or philanthropic effort, and can do it in such a way that perfection is given at once — upon paper. We hope that the General Convention will not give the Church into the hands of any system-makers, upon

this matter of the Provincial System, that it will remember that everything must have a root and grow — and abstain from too great exactness of rule and preciseness of law, while it recognizes fully the principle. We hope that it will leave a great deal to the experience and the wisdom of the Bishops, and the Clergy, and Laity everywhere, and not expect to finish in three weeks of 1868, or in three years, that work of wise and patient adjustment which we ought to have been steadily going upon, to have been fitting and framing in this great nation for the last eighty-three years. The increase of the Episcopate, which we expect is at once going to take place, will bring out to us with a clearness which we do not at present possess, the various adaptations and modifications requisite to make the Provincial System the most beneficial to us. And the consciousness of the Church, the practical thought of Bishops, Laity, and Clergy, will be absolutely the best guide.

The first remark we make in connection with this subject, is historical. Since the German Empire was destroyed, the word Empire has lost altogether its original sense. The Roman Empire was an aggregate of Countries, States, or Nationalities, in which the Sovereignty was in Rome. The German Empire, in like manner, has regard to the sovereign States of Germany. They were States, self-governing, with internal powers; but externally, as regards the other nations of Europe, they were represented by the German Empire. Austria since then has invented the Austrian Empire, Napoleon the French Empire. And now we have the Empire of Brazil, and the Empire of Russia. These are not empires in the Roman sense of the word. The Roman idea and definition of the empire is wholly lost, and an empire is nothing but a large kingdom. If Scotland were a kingdom still, Ireland a kingdom, Wales and Orkney, Shetland and Man, kingdoms, all under England, then England would be an empire. Such was the Roman Empire — the *Provinces* were actual *States*, *Nationalities*, *Countries*, which were integral parts of the Empire — not provinces in any way in the modern sense.

The ancient *Provinces* of the Roman Empire, therefore, corresponded in a very great degree to our *States*, regarded in the Democratic point of view. Their union took place, of course, by conquest, it was under one man, the Emperor, — but putting those two things on one side, the American *State* in respect to the United States, is very nearly in the same relation that the old Roman

Provincia was to the Empire. It is not in any way the modern European *province*, which is simply an aggregate of counties, for administrative convenience—it is a *State*, with State rights and the power of local self-government. The old Roman sense of the word *Provincia* is altogether gone out of use—the new European sense of a mere executive subdivision of a country has exclusive possession of language, and the common thought. We propose, that, as the Church took the term in those days from the Empire in which she was, and that term has lost altogether its meaning, we take our term from the New World in which we are. The word *State* has the same relation to this New World of the United States, as the word *Province* had to the old Roman World.

Let us therefore have three Councils for the Church—the Great National Council of the whole Church triennially—the State-Council for the Provincial council—the Diocesan Synod for the Diocese—the same names as of old.

And here we will say that it is time we get back to the term Council. Convention is a political title. It has brought in among us politicians and demagogues, with all their arts. It is a title too for all meetings of all sorts of people. When the General Convention of the Church was in session in Philadelphia, in 1865, there were sitting at the same time, in that city, a Dentist Convention, a Baptist Convention, a Spiritualist Convention, and the Episcopal Convention, the Convention of the Church. It is time that we were back to the ecclesiastical title, Council. It is time that we rid ourselves of the miscellaneous associations and tendencies of this word “Convention,” and of the proclivities which it originates, East and West, North and South.

But to return. We propose that we use the word “State” instead of the word “Province,” for the reasons above specified. And here, if we look to the old arrangement, we shall find the latitude we allude to. There is no doubt to our mind that in this matter of the regions we call countries, there is something divine and supernatural. The extent of a country does not always depend upon territory, upon natural boundaries of rivers and mountains, or upon any one thing which the power of man’s intellect can come to by philosophic abstraction. A country is an unity corresponding to the unity of a people. And how this comes to exist we can guess at, not precisely determine, according to human rules. Accordingly in the Old Testament the establishment of nations and countries

is especially assigned to God — “When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the Sons of God.”¹

Taking, therefore, such a world as the Roman Empire was, and considering that the country or State was the *Provincia*, or the Unit of the Empire, still, there were times, nevertheless, when single cities were autocephalous, or independent. Now, taking it for granted that the State as with us corresponding to the Roman *Provincia*, will be made the unit, there must be a good deal of liberty allowed. For instance, all New England is manifestly one again, with a great unity of population, sentiment, and interests. It would seem, therefore, very natural that New England should be one Church Province. Yet Connecticut, in many respects, is more like New York. And Maine seems developing a character of people far more like the West than New England. Again, the Church in Rhode Island, or Delaware, or New Jersey, may not desire to be slung on to the adjacent huge States, but to stand alone, and it may be better for them to do so. Again, there are New York and Pennsylvania regions as utterly different in character of people and territory as may be; to put them together as a Province, although they are coterminous, would be absurd and useless.

We do not speak of such arrangements as would join together in one Province California, Minnesota, and Texas, — States that are each two thousand miles distant from one another — about the same sort of a Province as would be made by Guinea, Greenland, and the Feejee Islands — or legislate out of existence, the General Convention and the Presiding Bishop, by giving their powers to Provincial Synods and Primates. We say generally that there are a multitude of arrangements and adaptations that are to be made by the good sense of the Clergy and Laity, in any case with regard to the Provincial System. There are difficulties, on the one side and the other, which only time will arrange and set in order. Had the Church begun with the proper system, the Sees and Dioceses would, in the last eighty years, have arranged themselves in the process of Church advance easily and quietly in the best way. Now we must leave time, and give opportunity for the Church to do so.

Furthermore, we must also remember that the Provincial Sys-

¹ Deut. xxxii. 8. This is the Septuagint reading. The Masorite is “Sons of Israel.”

tem in a wrong shape is just as capable of impeding as of aiding progress. England has two Provinces, York and Canterbury, — and therefore the convocation of neither of them represents the National Church. How great a loss this is to the Church in unity of action, influence, and force, every English Churchman knows. All over Europe the same flaw in the system, and the same injury will be everywhere discerned.

We come therefore to these conclusions, —

First. The State should be the Unit.

Secondly. In every State where there are three Bishops and Sees *there must be* a State Council, a representative Convention of the Clergy and Laity of that State; arrayed in its essential principles of elective assemblage and action by the Church in that State. Of course in subordination to the constitution and canons of the Church nationally, and the powers of the great National Council, or General Convention.

Thirdly. Any State should have the power of remaining autocephalous with its single Bishop, and its Convention, or else of uniting with the adjacent ones in order to make up a Provincial arrangement. All over the West this privilege would be widely taken advantage of. We know of several Dioceses of which the Bishops would at once combine in this way.

Fourthly. Any State should have the power, *by its own act*, of withdrawing at once from any such arrangement, and of standing either as autocephalous, or with its own Provincial arrangement. But no Sees within a State should be permitted to stand isolated. When a State has more Sees than two, the State council and legislation should come into existence constitutionally at once.

Fifthly. We think that no attempt should be made to introduce new officers and new titles. Primates, Metropolitans, Archbishops, Patriarchs, and all that paraphernalia of titles, will simply impede the chance of getting at the reality, and the working fact of the Provincial system. For its enactment must come from the General Convention. And in the Lower House especially, which owing to the secrecy of the Upper House, is the House that leads public opinion, there is not only Christian knowledge and conviction, and Church principle, but also a very large amount of honest and steady prejudice. To put these European titles and officers into any plan, therefore, is simply to raise excitement, to delay legislation, and to fling the whole overboard. We want a real and

great principle of the Church acknowledged, at once, and set a-going, to grow according to the necessities of the Church. To attain this result, that is enough. We do not want the peculiar form it has arrived at in Europe, in the course of fourteen hundred years of Church-and-State, made a model and a necessity for us, so that our American prejudices and convictions shall stand in the way, and make us reject the thing.

We have now, to the best of our powers and knowledge, expounded the value of ORGANIZATION, and its importance and necessity to the Church. We have also shown the elements, and the system of organization which the Church adopted from the earliest times, and its harmony and adaptedness to the state of society, both in the Roman world, and now, to that great empire, and to our great empire of the United States. We spread the whole system now before the eyes of our readers in one conspectus. In it they will see all its elements and their natural relations and bearings.

I. — THE SEE-BISHOPRIC.

First. All Bishoprics (after the death or resignation of the present incumbent) to be named after the chief city in the Diocese. This is to be the Bishop's See, his place of residence, and the centre of all his work.

Secondly. In all future divisions, the See-principle to be observed. Each Bishopric being named after the central city of the region in which the Bishopric is placed.

Third. The system to be ultimately completed by the adoption of the principle, "that every city in the land is to have a Bishop, and only one Bishop, whatever its population may be."

II. — THE CATHEDRAL SYSTEM.

First. In the city of the Bishop's residence, his See, a large Church, the BISHOP'S CHURCH, or CATHEDRAL, is to be held for the Bishop's uses, by the Diocese, if incorporated, or by Trustees for that purpose. This Church is *not to be a Parish Church*, but employed by the Bishop for the various purposes and uses which his position as Bishop render necessary — united services for instance for the whole city on extraordinary occasions, missionary meetings, conventions, convocations, meetings for sacred and choral music. Most likely it will be a Free Church, the centre

of missionary work in the city among the poor, with a staff of Clergy under the Bishop — the centre also of Educational and Hospital work. Most conveniently the Bishop's residence or See House should be close by, and various other buildings for all this central work.

Secondly. This Church is at present to be left wholly in the control of the Bishop. Not that organization is not necessary, but that only the experience of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity of the city, in a course of years, can ascertain what organization ultimately will be the best. And that the *Parochial Organization* is *not* the organization wanting or desirable for the Bishop's Church. The Bishop, under the completed Church System, should stand in the relation of Bishop exclusively to the Clergy and the Laity of his See. The Cathedral, therefore, should not be in the city as one Parish Church out of many, on the level with them, and in competition with them — but as the one peculiar Church, the CATHEDRAL. For its union with, and representation in, the Convention, peculiar provisions should be made.

III. — THE SYSTEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL FEDERATION OR CONCILIAR UNION.

First. When there are two or more Dioceses within a State, they must unite in a State Council, analogous to the Provincial Council, under the old Provincial System in the Roman Empire.

Second. The Sees in any adjacent States (not more than four in number at the most,) *may* unite in forming one State Council. But when the Church in any one of these States acquires three Dioceses, it *must* then be separated, and stand by itself with its own State Council.

Third. But the Church within any State having only one Diocese, *may*, if its Bishop and Convention so determine, remain apart, autocephalous, or independent, and shall not be compelled to unite itself to the State Council of any adjacent State.

IV. — CHURCH COUNCILS.

First. There shall be three Ecclesiastical Councils in the Church, — the Great National Council, the State Council, and the Diocesan Synod.

Second. The Great National Council shall be the same, except in name, with the present General Convention of the Church, —

i. e. — the present General Convention shall remain with its present position and powers, its number of Houses, its members, and times of meeting, in fact its whole organization unaltered and unchanged, save as at present it is modified from time to time by its own action, constitutionally and canonically. The only change shall be that of name. Instead of "General Convention," it shall be called "Great National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

Third. The State Council, the Council of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Church within any given State. This must be organized by the best wisdom of the Church within the State. Its relation to the General Convention would most naturally be that of the present Diocesan Convention, when there is only one within a State. Its position in regard to the Diocesan Synods would be more hard to define. This may be safely left to the clergy and people within the State.

Fourth. The Diocesan Synod, composed of the Bishop of the Diocese, one Clergyman from each Parish with others according to canon, and a representation of the Laity. This in the old Church met twice a year. Increased facility will manifestly be given to its meetings, and very considerable modifications of its form suggested by the position of the See, as ultimately one city surrounded by its peculiar territory. Its final arrangement may be left to the Bishop, his Clergy, and Laity.

The above is not drawn out as a scheme set forth to be followed, legislated upon, or enacted, but simply as a method of bringing distinctly before the eyes and the minds of our readers all the elements and the systems of the organization of the Church according to the primitive model.

For we look upon it, that one effect of our position (in this great land, hidden by God's Providence from the world, until in Europe despotism in both forms, religious and political, had reached its most oppressive and crushing shape, and then finally opened as a New World, the home of a new Japhetic race,) is, that, in it, Christianity is to take the full and perfect form it had when it conquered, and took possession of the world. That it should be "the tree on both sides of the river of the Water of Life in the midst of the heavenly Jerusalem, let down from Heaven to the Earth, bearing twelve manner of fruits; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."¹

¹ Rev. xxii. 1, 2.

We look upon it that the Church in this land, having the Ministry, the Catholic Faith, the Open Bible, is to rise above the narrowness which in Europe has shrunk and shrivelled her powers, and crippled her progress. That, as She feels She is no sect, but the CHURCH, no department of the State, but a co-equal and independent power, no Establishment, acting as a spiritual police, and cheaply serving the monarchy, and landed interests in keeping down anarchic ideas, and preaching obedience to the powers that be—but is the Church of the living God, so has she a great work to do in this new-born, ocean girded, continental nation—and in the whole world.

And this can be done in all its parts only by assuming and taking to Herself, once more, all the elements and the system of her ORGANIZATION—the system of the See-Bishopric, of the Cathedral, and of Ecclesiastical Federation, or Conciliar union in each State.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

NORWOOD, OR VILLAGE LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. 12mo., pp. 549.

Mr. Beecher reminds us of a brilliant lighthouse, on an uncertain foundation, throwing a dazzling blaze of beams through the darkness, and admired by the sailor for the splendor of its illuminations, while he constantly fears it may yield to the storm, and the billow, and sinking in the gloom, leave him alone amid the perils of the midnight. That the author of Norwood has genius, cannot be questioned. Yet, he is the last man in America, reflecting persons would choose for a leader. He has a lively sense of the beautiful. He possesses a quick perception of the ludicrous. His Fancy often blooms with beauty. His Intellect is bold, vigorous, creative. He resembles a vessel, with immense sails, and waving flags, and powerful engine, rushing to sea amid the huzzas of the multitude, yet, in imminent danger from an explosion, or a collision. Superior to his father in wit, and fancy, and fertility, he is greatly inferior to him in that manly logic, which, driving to a point, inspires the respect of the thoughtful, and the confidence, if not the admiration, of the populace. Had Mr. Beecher submitted in childhood and youth to that long course of patient discipline essential to the development of genius, as well as of moderate capacities, he might have stood near the rank of the great Pulpit Orators. As it is, he is simply a most brilliant *talker*, admired by the multitude for his smartness, yet not trusted, and venerated for deep earnestness, or correct judgment—a rocket flinging off sparks, expiring while they dazzle, rather than a steady light shining usefully over the centuries. Nothing can be more amusing than his assertion that he learned the art of preaching from Jonathan

Edwards. Compare the stately, solemn Divine of Northampton, with his rigid Theology, driven from his Parish for his sharp rebukes of wickedness, with the bright, witty occupant of Plymouth Pulpit, worshipped by the multitude, who pay him sums almost fabulous for Sunday entertainments, where laughter and tears succeed each other like light and shadows chasing over a summer field. All the peculiarities Mr. Beecher exhibits as a Preacher, he evinces as a Novelist. Norwood has the usual New England characters. You find a sturdy youth having to make his way through life — a bright girl, rather masculine in her disposition — a precise maiden, remarkable for her shining floors, and orderly bureaus — a shrewd, successful farmer, an eccentric physician, and a respectable minister. Yet no writer has overlaid the common framework with so many flowers of genius, gay in bloom, and rich in fragrance. Everywhere are original thoughts, and admirable descriptions. Norwood is Plymouth Pulpit transformed to a novel. In the early part of the tale you remark a verbosity, a prolixity, a dearth of dialogue. The Author resembles a gay boy conscious of his powers, just let loose from a long confinement, who cannot resist the temptation to forget his errand and chase through the fields every bright butterfly flashing over his path. But as he progresses, and becomes familiar with his new vocation, he acquires more and more directness, concentration, and power, until particular scenes occur, exhibiting more than ordinary dramatic excellence. If Norwood were freed from its excrescences, and reduced to its proper size, it might be shaped into a work of art. Perhaps, however, greater culture would diminish its popularity. Enduring excellence is too often acquired with the sacrifice of present fame. The novelist, and the Preacher who flash over their own age do not usually illuminate the Future, except in the case of that rare Genius which is willing to attain the highest, and most enduring excellence by the most patient, and persistent labor, thus providing its own balm for immortality.

We cannot refrain from adding an expression of wonder that the man possessing so keen a perception of Beauty, should be so deficient in veneration. It is difficult to understand how there should be such ecstasy in the Majestic Cathedral with its dim lights, and grand music, and so little respect for an Ancient Creed, formed by the collected wisdom of the Church, made sacred by Centuries, and expressing for all time the universal Christian Consciousness.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION, WITH CONTINENTAL SKETCHES, PRACTICAL AND HUMOROUS. By HOWARD PAYSON ARNOLD, Author of "European Mosaics." New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868. 12mo., pp. 486.

We cannot but feel grateful that Photography has transferred the world into the drawing-room. We can sit at our tables, amid our children, and in an hour, with the Stereoscope, make the circuit of the globe — now gazing at the stately Coliseum, and now at Mount Blanc lifting its snows into heaven — now surveying the Parthenon, and now standing before Niagara — one moment looking at the solitary palm towering from tropical sands, and the next beholding an iceberg on the polar ocean. Yet, while we value such views pictured on the eye, we feel that the amount of information communicated is not very great. We wish to see the edifice from different points. We desire to enter the gallery, and explore the palace, and thread the streets of the city. We demand the knowledge of a thousand details which can alone satisfy the intellect. And it is very much thus with books belonging to the class embracing

that at the head of this notice. They are photographic sketches — deficient in thorough information — presenting only single views — bright, sparkling, interesting — superficial rather than instructive — pictures for the eye, not store-houses for the mind. We rise from their perusal, pleased, but not satisfied. It is but justice to the author of the volume before us, to say, that it is one of the very best of its class. Some of the descriptions are really brilliant. Wit, and humor brighten the page. The author indeed, devotes more time to a Russian Restaurant, than to the mechanical department of the Great Exposition. He describes minutely and amusingly, a race between Egyptian and Algerian dromedaries, and passes in silence those mighty agencies by which the Scriptures were preached, and circulated in so many tongues, making Paris almost seem a Pentecostal centre for the nations. But what the work lacks in philosophic depth, and breadth, is partially made up in keenness of perception, and vivacity of description. Notwithstanding an ignorant fling at the Lambeth Council, and much sophomoric declamation about human progress, the book must be pronounced racy, and readable. The vigor which leaped the chasms, and dared the glaciers of Mont Blanc in reaching its sublime heights, and commanding prospects, breathes a manly and healthful energy through the volume of Mr. Arnold.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ELDER JACOB KNAPP, with an Introductory Essay, by R. JEFFREY. New York : Sheldon & Company. Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1868. 12mo., pp. 341.

The early Romish missionaries of Europe displayed before the heathen all the pomp and magnificence of their Church. Splendid robes, emblazoned banners, resounding music, imposing processions, at once arrested and awed the rude races of idolaters. Even now, Ritualism is invoking the bright light, the smoking censer, and the gorgeous vestment, with all the accompaniments of song, and organ, and architecture, that she may attract the poor to her churches by sights of beauty, and songs of melody. Refined taste, indeed, often shrinks from certain excesses, questioning their purity, and their usefulness in promoting true piety of heart, and life. Yet, we must remember, that the barbarism of Europe was brought, at least, nominally, into subjection to the Cross, in a great measure, by mere sensuous appliances, and through the influence of doctrines where the truth was most painfully corrupted by error. Human wisdom may ask, Why were methods entirely spiritual not employed ? Why after centuries of bondage, and darkness, and superstition, was it necessary that a Reformation should shake the world with the tempest and the earthquake ? We cannot answer. The marvelous triumphs of an Augustin, and a Boniface, baptizing their thousands, contrast painfully with the sad and tearful and limited successes of a Martyn and a Hoffman, infinitely as we prefer the pure efforts of these devoted messengers of truth.

And as we regard with a species of confused wonder the results of sensuous Romish agencies, so we view, with a very similar feeling, the career of such a person as Mr. Knapp. His egotism is repulsive. His theology is defective. His expressions are often blasphemous. His irreverence is absolutely shocking. He hurls the fires of Divine vengeance, almost as one delighting to kindle the eternal blaze. He sometimes talks as if Omnipotence had endued him with power over Earth, Hell, and Heaven. He transfers to the pulpit all the worst faults of the political harangue, made a thousandfold more revolting by con-

trast with the greater sacredness of its themes. Yet he seems to attract around him rude minds. He introduces truth, under forms indeed mutilated and distorted, where, otherwise, she would find no reception whatever. If many are hardened, and blasted by his excited and harsh methods, a few, at least, seem permanently, and perhaps truly, reformed. Omniscience only can decide how far the evil, or the good prevails. In the mean time we must hope that both Romish and Sectarian agencies, like the wilderness efforts of the Baptist, are preparing the world for the Faith and Order of the CHURCH, and that her Apostolic Purity, freed from these human blemishes, at last, will brighten into Her Millennial Glory. May Heaven bestow upon us those graces, which, at once, inspiring tolerance for both extremes, and zealous boldness for the Truth, may hasten over earth the day of Universal Unity.

A FRENCH COUNTRY FAMILY. By MADAME DE WITT, *née* GUIZOT. Translated by DINAH MULOCH CRAIK. Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. 12mo., pp. 216.

There is something in the French mind exquisitely beautiful. You perceive in its productions a rare union of taste and vivacity. France has transferred to her very porcelains the galleries of the masters, and her graceful vases glow with the genius of ages. Her public gardens exhibit the collected vegetable beauty of the world, so arranged as most to fascinate the eye. The sketches of M. Doré, with consummate delicacy and power, almost reproducing the landscape, and embodying the very thought of the author, seem pictures of the national mind. Everywhere, throughout the recent Exposition were the hereditary tact and taste visible, which have converted Paris into an attraction for the world. You perceive the peculiar gift in the arrangement of a nosegay, or an art-gallery, in the adjustment of a robe, or of a theatre, in the house of the mechanic, and in the palace of the Emperor. We have always, however, regarded it as simply ministering to elaborate sensuality unto a refined, and therefore more dangerous luxuriousness. Paris has been considered a city, ignorant of the domestic joys, and virtues, and abandoned to a gay voluptuousness, while the provinces of France have been believed only less immoral than the capital, because possessing fewer opportunities for fostering the vices. How delightful, therefore, to be presented with a book which reveals in France a genuine home-life, where the affections rule, and there is every indication of Christian faith and purity! The unpretending volume of Madame Guizot could never have been written in a corrupt society, whence were exiled the domestic virtues. It reminds us of a sweet, fragrant rose, not blooming in the artificial gardens of the capital, but in the bright valleys of the provinces. Here are most charmingly exhibited all the wealth of those affections which beautify the home. The story is told with the delicacy, the vivacity, the naïveté which we might expect in a pure, gifted, and cultivated French woman. How different from many of our coarse American tales! We would be pleased to place the book in every Sunday-school, and in every family in the land; and earnestly hope we shall have many such works from the same pen translated into our language.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, preceded by a History of the Religious Wars, in the reign of Charles IX. By HENRY WHITE. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. 8vo., pp. 497.

This volume is everywhere impressed by that spirit of impartial and faithful research, which imparts such excellence to the best Histories written in this age. We are not sure that our own American Authors—Irving, and Prescott, and Bancroft, and Motley—have not been an example to European writers, both in exhaustive examination, and unprejudiced statement. However this may be, Mr. White continually reminds us of our own Historians. He has produced a work which we believe will be permanently valuable. If his style is never characterized by remarkable power, or polished elegance, it is always clear, unpretending and agreeable. The narration is well sustained, and the interest equal to what might be expected from so absorbing a theme. Everywhere is exhibited candor of disposition, moderation of opinion, desire for the truth, and that patient industry which would exhaust its subject. Many new records have been examined, and it is not probable this book will be soon followed by one on the same subject more worthy the public confidence and esteem.

We think Mr. White sustains the theory that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not long premeditated. The brilliant marriage of Henry under the splendid pavilion fronting Notre Dame, attended by ringing bells and roaring cannon, amid all its magnificent pageantry of gold and scarlet, attracting to the capital so many Huguenot nobles, and gentlemen of the best families of France, has been supposed by Protestants to have been contrived with a view to the extinguishment of their faith in a sea of blood. The theory seems plausible, but cannot be established. Charles the IX., a weak young Prince—ardent in his affections, and impetuous in his passions—was continually oscillating between Coligny, and the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici. On the one side, was the magic influence of a manly integrity and Christian benevolence; and on the other, the fascination of a serpent. All the powers of good and evil seemed struggling in the bosom of the youthful monarch. The gallant admiral was assassinated, partly to satiate the vengeance of the Duke of Guise, and partly to break the spell of confidence and admiration often absolutely swaying the king. When the great Huguenot was wounded by the treacherous bullet, his death was essential to the safety of those who plotted his murder, and then, probably, occurred the plan of rousing all the tempestuous passions of Charles, and sweeping away in blood the whole Protestant party. But even the royal tigress was for a moment appalled. At last she ordered the bell of St. Germain to give the fatal signal. Destruction is let loose over Paris, and over France. Men, women, children are stabbed, shot, hewn, tortured, until streets and streams run red with blood. Hell itself seemed in carnival on earth. The slain multitudes will never be accurately numbered until the Judgment. Rome not only approved, but extolled the deed. Priests rejoiced. Bishops were jubilant. Cardinals exulted. The messenger who brought the news to the Vatican received a thousand crowns. Bells rang. Bonfires blazed. The cannon of St. Angelo thundered. The Pope went in pomp to the Church of St. Louis, to chant a *TE DEUM*. A medal commemorated the massacre, and Charles received from Gregory the golden vase, which, however, could not appease the phantoms of horror which glared in life and death around the guilty king.

It is pleasing, however, to find that humanity was not extinguished in every Romish breast. St. Hérem, Governor of Auvergne, wrote to Charles, "Sire, I have received an order, under your Majesty's seal, to put to death all the

Protestants in my Province. I respect your Majesty too much to suppose the letter is other than a forgery; and if the order really proceeds from your Majesty, I have still too much respect for you, to obey it." The Bishop of Lisieux nobly said, "I do not read in the Gospel that the shepherd ought to suffer the blood of his sheep to be shed; on the contrary, I find that he is bound to pour out his own blood, and give his own life for them. Take the order back again, it shall never be executed so long as I live." The Governor of Dieppe, assembling the Huguenots in the Palace of Justice, made this humane and beautiful address, "Citizens, — we read in the Gospel that love to God, and our neighbor is the chief duty of citizens. Children of the same Father, let us live together as brothers. These are my sentiments, and I hope you all share them. They make me feel assured that in this town there does not exist a man who is unworthy to live." Thus soldiers and governors exhibited more humanity than Cardinals and Popes.

A COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D. D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German and edited, with additions, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D., in connection with American Divines of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. VIII. of the New Testament; containing the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1868. 4vo., pp. 558.

After all the controversies of the German Divines since the Reformation in regard to the canonicity and inspiration of the Scripture, it seems marvelous that, from the chaos of Rationalism and Heresy, there should, in this age, marked by Comte's Atheism, and Renan's Infidelity, and Colenso's treachery, and Stanley's insidiousness, emerge, in the very nursery of Skepticism, a work, profound in learning, usually correct in doctrine, and rich in practical suggestion. The Commentary of Dr. Lange and his associates is freighted with the accumulated wisdom of centuries, and will be a most valuable and almost indispensable addition to the library of the Clergyman, and of the private Christian. American Divines have doubtless performed a real service to the world and the Church, in devoting themselves to the translation of such a work, while the publisher deserves high praise for venturing an enterprise so bold and so expensive. We cannot, of course, be expected to endorse all the views of particular persons connected with the volume, and yet have no hesitation in recommending it, as a whole, to those who wish a more accurate and extensive acquaintance with the Holy Oracles.

We must dissent, too, from the opinion everywhere apparent, that each individual Divine has a right to change, on his own responsibility, the canon of the Scripture. There is not, perhaps, a single sacred Book which German Theologians have not questioned. A volume exhibiting their differences would prove most interesting and instructive. What opposing theories! What endless speculations! What absurd suggestions! What monstrous conclusions! What tossing seas of doubt beneath what mists of darkness! How refreshing after these controversies, too often prompted by mere human vanity and ambition, to accept the CHURCH as the Divine Conservator of the Sacred Oracles and the Perpetual Witness to their Truth!

In this very volume Dr. Mohl, the commentator of the Epistle to the Hebrews, pronounces its authorship an open question, while Dr. Kendrick, the Translator, thinks the weight of argument strongly in favor of Apollos. The Church of England, in Her Authorized Version, in the Order for the Visitation for the Sick, and the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony, considers Paul the writer. Our own private judgment not only bows to authority, but also acquiesces in the opinion. We cannot, of course, here argue the question. Those denying the authorship to Paul, rely on the admitted fact, that the style of the Hebrews is much more polished and elaborate than that of his other epistles. Without here urging, that, in addressing the Greeks and Romans, he would avoid all ornament seducing their attention from the substance to the form, while in writing to the less literary Hebrew, he could exhibit his refined and elegant culture, we venture to assert, we have, in our own country, a far more marked and astonishing instance of a similar diversity. Nothing can be more wonderful than the difference in the style of Irving's earlier writings, and that of his *Life of Washington*. In the one case, what a sparkle of wit, what a frequency of humor, what a vivacity of fancy, what a glow of imagination, what a wealth of chaste, yet often brilliant imagery! In the other, what purity, what plainness, what severity, suitable to the solemn struggles giving birth in blood to a mighty nation, and in harmony with the simple majesty of the character of Washington. We do not believe there is anything so decided and remarkable between the most diverse of the Epistles of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. After carefully weighing the arguments on either side, we are glad that we can perceive a solid reason on which the opinion of the Church is based. Bowing before Her Holy Judgments, we can seek with benefit for knowledge amid the vast and varied treasures of German Erudition.

SERMONS PREACHED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. By ROBERT SOUTH, D. D.,
Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ's Church, Oxford. In
five volumes. Vol. II. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867. 8mo.,
pp. 531.

The enterprising publishers of this volume, in sending from their admirable press the works of our old English Divines, are conferring a lasting benefit on the Church. Perhaps one end the British Establishment was designed, by infinite wisdom, to accomplish through its endowments, was, to educate and support Theologians, who should give to future ages a rich and almost unrivaled Christian Literature. Treasures have not been lavished in vain. The work is accomplished. From modest Rectories, from University cloisters, from Episcopal palaces, have gone forth over all the world, volumes, laden with a wealth of learning, piety, and genius, which will forever bless the Universal Church. In our own age, when the streams of knowledge are in danger of becoming shallow in proportion to their diffusiveness, and when the Pulpit too often utters pointless generalities, and sickly sentimentalisms, it is well to have before our minds the sound Anglican models, solid in doctrine, profound in thought, manly in style, and practical in application. Nor are there any works of the English Divines more worthy our attention than those of Dr. South. He is not always gentle. He is not always elegant. He is not always pleasing. But he is always clear, pointed, exhaustive, erudite, vivacious, energetic, and original. His discourses are admirably divided. He is never dry. He keeps your attention awake. If he does not strew your path with flowers,

you are at least supplied with fruits. His rebukes are lightning-flashes. He thunders like a blazing battery, against Puritanism, and Popery. He is absolutely fearless. He burns with a fiery energy peculiar to himself. Even when he offends against taste and propriety, you find yourself inclined to forgive the transgression, and ascribe it to the rough honesty of a manly nature. You scarcely know which most to admire, the vigor of his style, the wealth of his illustrations, the keenness of his wit, the fertility of his imagination, the sincerity of his purpose, the boldness of his courage, the extent of his learning, or the power of his intellect; and while he must never be accepted as a faultless model, he can never be studied without permanent profit.

LIFE, LETTERS, AND POSTHUMOUS WORKS OF FREDERIKA BREMER. Edited by her Sister, CHARLOTTE BREMER. Translated from the Swedish by FREDERICK MILOU. THE POETRY marked by an asterisk translated by EMILY NONNEN. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 12mo., pp. 439.

Often exceedingly affectionate parents little imagine the keen torture they inflict on sensitive children. We have a painful illustration of the truth in the life of Miss Bremer. The stiff, powdered, wealthy old iron-merchant, and his precise, formal, punctilious wife — high in social position, and surrounded by all the comforts of opulence — wished to educate their gifted daughter according to their own cold and worldly standard, and evidently expected for her a brilliant marriage. The child was shy, homely, and in her nervous organization, delicate as a flower. Unconsciously a barrier of ice arose between her and her parents, within whose chilling inclosures her whole nature burned like a flaming furnace. She was not attractive in her person. She hated society. She loved nature. She courted the seclusion of her own apartment, or sought repose amid the silent works of her Creator. During years she was filled with the wildest imaginations, and most burning aspirations. With wealth, with high social standing, surrounded by every comfort, in a circle of numerous relations, having really kind parents, and every external advantage to make life desirable, the child seemed like an imprisoned bird, absolutely dying for light, and air, and liberty. Her relief was her pen. Yet the very exertions of her genius increased the sensitiveness which stimulated its activities. Her existence was miserable. She braved tempests, snows, hunger, cold, that she might forget her sufferings. After years spent in writing, praying, reading her Bible, administering to the destitute and distressed — in dreaming, struggling, speculating — she found rest for her heart in faith, and obedience to her Saviour; and occupation for the intense activities of her nature, in the labors of Authorship — the proceeds of which were devoted to humanity. The fitful, willful, gloomy, wretched child, emerged into the calm, resolute, industrious, gifted, successful noble woman, whose writings have blessed two continents, and whose life will be a heritage for all time. Many of us, who in childhood, by the cheerful fireside, have enjoyed "The Neighbors," the "Diary," "The H. Family," "The President's Daughters," "Brothers and Sisters," or perused the simple touching poems of Miss Bremer, little imagined that the peace, the purity, and gentle power of those fascinating writings, were like the smile of the rainbow, born from the darkness and the storm.

The genius of Frederika Bremer exhibited in her varied and numerous works, her visit to our country, and admiration of our institutions, the consecration of

her beautiful life to works of benevolence, her intense sympathy for her suffering race, have given her a warm and deserved place in the affections of the American people, and this volume, — so touching, so graceful, so interesting, — showing the circumstances of her development, and the inspiration of her career, will make her name and memory even more dear, and cherished. There are specimens of writing in her autobiography and letters, which for delicacy, beauty, and power have not been often surpassed by any female pen. We may add, that it was not in Poetical, but in Prose composition, that the genius of Miss Bremer attained its greatest force and freedom. Her verse has not the sweetness, fire, or elegance which might have been expected from a mind so sensitive, vigorous, and intense. If the loved and gifted Swede was too much inclined to sympathize with those advocating the rights of woman, and was somewhat decided in her political opinions, her eccentricities never seemed to blunt or stain her own sweetly feminine delicacy.

A SMALLER HISTORY OF ENGLAND. From the Earliest Times to the year 1862. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D. Illustrated by engravings on wood. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 357.

The young are generally rather fascinated with brilliant biographies than with continuous, and condensed narrations. The sketches of Abbott delight, because they unfold whatever is striking in a particular life. Attention is more easily arrested by the pictures of the gallery than by the Catalogue in which they are described. Yet the Catalogue, devoid as it may be of form and coloring, and expression, is often indispensable. Now the office of the Historian who undertakes to arrange the events of centuries for the instruction of youth, rather resembles that of the man who makes the Catalogue, than that of the man who paints the pictures. His work, however important, is necessarily often dry, and unsatisfactory. We perceive both the excellence and the usefulness of the volume edited by the learned Dr. Smith. Those who carefully study it, will derive a solid benefit. It will doubtless accomplish the very end it proposes, — in presenting to youth a reliable chronological arrangement of all the principal facts of English History to the present age. Perhaps, it will disseminate more substantial knowledge than a multitude of the pleasing descriptions of particular persons, or periods, and is undoubtedly better fitted for the instructions of the School. Yet, while performing its unostentatious mission of usefulness, it must from necessity see another class of writings more attractive and popular.

LANDMARKS OF HISTORY. Part III. MODERN HISTORY. From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Accession of Napoleon III. By Miss YONGE. Author of "Landmarks of Ancient History," and "Landmarks of Mediæval History." Edited by EDITH L. CHASE. First American edition. New York : Leypoldt & Holt. 1868. 12mo., pp. 465.

This excellent volume labors under the very difficulty we have just noticed. What a multitude of mighty events from the birth of the Reformation to the accession of Louis Napoleon! Here we have the struggles of Luther, the imperial successes of Charles V., the bloody career of his gloomy son, the tyrannies of the Netherlands, all the most striking periods of Art, Science, Literature, Politics, Religion, in Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Russia — indeed every European State — and at last, the events of the Old World insepa-

rably connecting themselves with the development of the New — all culminating in the rise of our own Republic, the brilliant career of Napoleon, and this blaze of modern discovery and improvement. Omitting the relations of our own country to Europe, nothing is even then possible but the merest sketch of historical facts. Little opportunity is displayed for descriptive power, or the charms of narration. Yet, it is most desirable to have great events grouped in their connections, and as a whole. This useful and laborious work — that rather of a compiler than a historian — has been most faithfully and creditably performed by Miss Yongé. She, and her translatress deserve thanks for their painful and learned industry, and we hope their labors will receive an abundant reward in the patronage of the public.

MARY THE VIRGIN. As Commemorated in the Church of Christ. By the Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York, and Professor of Biblical Learning in the General Theological Seminary. To which is annexed an Essay on "WHO WAS JAMES, THE LORD'S BROTHER?" By the Rev. M. MAHAN, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, Md. New York: Pott & Amery, Publishers, Nos. 5 and 13 Cooper Union. 1868. 12mo., pp. 72.

The subject treated in this little volume, in one respect, resembles the Copernican theory of the Solar System, where the impression of your senses must be corrected by the processes of your Reason. When you read the last verse of the first chapter of St. Matthew, and when you discover that our Lord had brothers, and that he is styled the "*first born*," it seems almost undeniable, that his mother did not retain her virginity. On the other hand, when you compare these with similar phrases in the Hebrew and Greek of the Sacred Oracles, and investigate all other disputed passages, your understanding, better informed and divested of prejudice, and inclining to the preferences of the heart, draws you to the opposite opinion. The Scriptural Arguments seem very nearly poised in equilibrio. Why not then, as in other instances, let the matter be decided by the preponderating authorities of the Church, as expressed in the Fathers, if not in the Creeds? The testimony here seems full and unequivocal. On the same side are the most solid English Divines. Besides, how much more acceptable to Christian sensibility and reverence is the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord! And how weak to withhold from her due regard, lest a proper estimation be construed into a Romish adoration! The Essays of Dr. Seabury, and of Dr. Mahan, present the learning and the argument on the entire subject in a manner so lucid, so modest, so scholarly, and so exhaustive that we recommend this volume as an absolute model of that species of disputation which should dignify the productions of Christian gentlemen.

AMERICAN EDITION OF DR. WILLIAM SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. Revised and Edited by Prof. H. B. HACKETT, D. D., with the Coöperation of EZRA ABBOTT, A. M., A. A. S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Part VIII. and Part IX. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868. 8mo., pp. 223.

These two numbers of this admirable and noble work are certainly equal to any heretofore issued. The typographic execution is all that could be expected from the celebrity of the Riverside Press. We wish specially to notice

the treatment of the Genealogies of our Saviour, and of the Gospels. In relation to the first, the writer asserts that there are no difficulties, if the documents are considered reasonably. He adopts the theory, 1. That both are the genealogies of *Joseph* — that is, of Jesus as the *reputed*, and the *legal* son of Joseph and Mary. II. That the genealogy in Matthew, is that of Joseph, as legal successor to the throne of David, exhibiting the successive heirs of the kingdom, ending with Christ. III. That Mary, the mother of Jesus, was in all probability the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph, so that in *fact*, if not in *form*, both genealogies are hers, as much as her husband's. We commend the ingenious theory to the diligent examination of the learned. The first part at least, was long ago suggested by Grotius.

The subject of the Gospels is discussed in a manner so orthodox and so satisfactory as to dispel any doubts excited by the name of Harvard on the title-page, or a former approving reference to Dean Stanley. We infer that the Archbishop of York is the author of the principal Essay. He sets aside the cumbersome theories of Eichhorn and Marsh involving, the one five, and the other eight, original documents, and most clearly and convincingly shows how naturally, almost inevitably, during the early preaching of the Apostles, would arise a species of oral Gospel, from which, as a common standard, the written records would be largely compiled, thus accounting for similarities in the narrations of different writers, without resorting to an hypothesis elaborate as that of the German Scholar, or the English Bishop. The appended note, we believe, by Prof. Peabody of Harvard, absolutely demolishes the dreamy, mythical, absurd speculations of Strauss.

While the union of many authors, entertaining opinions widely different, produces an apparatus of essays and notes, somewhat formidable and oppressive, with an occasional clash of views, yet perhaps in no other way could the learning of the Christian world be concentrated on such a work; and by a wise assignment of topics, the orthodoxy of the Dictionary is secured, and the rich treasures of various minds harmonized by coöperation in a common enterprise, are obtained for the Church. We can but admire the energies of scholars and of publishers, in carrying successfully forward a project so vast, and so expensive.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325. Edited by the Revs. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D. D., and JAMES DONALDSON, D. D. Vol. V. IRENÆUS. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Scribner & Co. 1868. 8mo., pp. 480.

Irenæus was very probably a native of Smyrna. In his early youth he saw the venerable Polycarp, Bishop of that city, and a disciple of the Apostle John. The period of his birth was in the earlier part of the second century, and during its last quarter, he was Bishop of Lyons. His great work on Heresies was principally designed to exhibit the monstrous speculations of the Gnostics in their efforts to account for the existence of evil, and to reconcile the finite with the infinite. It has come down only in the Latin version, except the greater part of the first Book, preserved in the original Greek, by quotations made by Hippolytus and Epiphanius. But three manuscripts exist. The first printed copy of Irenæus was given to the world in 1526, by Erasmus. A number of reprints followed. The edition of Prof. Feuardent, pub-

lished in 1515, passed through six subsequent editions. In 1702 came that of Grabe, and ten years after, that of Massuet. A German edition was published in 1853, and a Cambridge edition in 1857. The excellence of this latter arises from the fact that additions have been made from the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, and the fragments of a Syriac version, culled from the Nitrian collection of the British Museum.

It is refreshing to a Churchman when he finds such words as these in the writings of this godly and venerable Father: "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the Presbyters who are in the Church — those, who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the Apostles; those who, together with the succession of the Episcopate, have received the certain gift of Truth."

How emphatic the following: "For in the Church, God hath set Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, and all other means through which the Spirit works — where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church — those, therefore, who do not partake of Him, are neither nourished into Life, from their mothers' breasts, nor do enjoy that most limpid Fountain which issues from the Body of Christ."

How clearly can be shown from Irenæus, that the Council of Nice but gave an authoritative sanction to a Creed which had, in substance, and nearly in form, long existed! He says, "The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received, from the *Apostles* and their *Disciples*, this Faith — She believes in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all things that are in them, and in one Christ Jesus, who became incarnate for our Salvation. And in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the Prophets the dispensations of God, and the Advents, and the birth from a Virgin, and the Passion, and the Resurrection from the dead, and the Ascension into Heaven, in the Flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his future manifestation from Heaven in the glory of the Father — that He should execute just Judgment towards all."

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY: Translations from the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325. Edited by the REVS. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D. D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL. D. Vol. VI. HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of Rome. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Scribner & Co. 1868. 8mo., pp. 508.

The discovery of an ancient manuscript in a convent of Mount Athos, a little more than fifteen years since, was quite a memorable event in the Literary and Religious World. Minöides Minas, a learned Greek, was the happy person who secured this rich treasure. The patronage of the French Government under Louis Philippe supported the enterprise, and enjoys the honor of its success. It was reserved for the University of Oxford to make the first publication. The "Refutation of all Heresies" was printed at the Clarendon Press in 1851, Mr. Emmanuel Miller being the editor. He ascribed the work to Origen. Heuman attributed the *Philosophumena* to Didymus, Gale to Aetius, and it, with the rest of the "Refutation," Fessler and Bauer, to Caius, and Abbe Jellabert, to Tertullian. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, a harbor of Rome, is now usually conceded to be the author, and the advocates of his claim are Jacobi, Giesler, Duncker, Schneidewin, Bernays, Bunsen, Wordsworth, and Döllinger. These distinguished scholars may be considered by the weight of their opinions, almost to have settled the question.

The "Refutation," commencing with the Heresies before the composition of St. John's Gospel, and terminating with the death of Callistus, explains in the order of their chronological development, the systems of the Ophites, the Simonists, the Basilideans, the Docetæ, and the Noetians. The nearness to the Apostolic Age makes the work invaluable. Besides, it has been incidentally useful in enabling the learned to restore in the Greek, much of the similar work of Irenæus, previously known only in the Latin. It is farther of inestimable importance, in its frequent testimonies to the Faith, and Order of the One Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

We have now complete in the English Translation, the Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus, the Clementine Recognitions, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Hippolytus. It is most sincerely to be hoped that the enterprising Publishers of these volumes will not terminate their work with the Council of Nicæa, but give, in the Anglican tongue, all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and then the mighty productions of the Mediæval period, among which are many treasures rich with genius, learning, and religion. The authors of few ages have surpassed Bernard in glow of piety, or beauty of expression; Abelard in bold speculation, and varied erudition; or Anselm in profound and vigorous intellection.

A KEY TO THE KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By J. H. BLUNT, M. A., Editor of the Annotated Book of Common Prayer; Author of "Household Theology," etc. Rivington's, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. New York: Pott & Amery. 1868. 12mo., pp. 159.

We agree with the author of this volume, that the Holy Eucharist is the great central act of the worship of the Church, around which the parts of the Prayer Book revolve. This view makes all a harmony. On Earth, as in Heaven, the atoning Lamb is the object of faith, love, and adoration. Nor can it be doubted that the Service of the Church was originally musical. That the part of the "Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church Militant," relating to the Departed, is *commemorative*, and *not supplicatory*, as believed by the Author, we think, is at a glance most obvious. Although Mr. Blunt here, in our opinion errs, we must pronounce the Book, in many respects, suggestive and instructive.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS. From the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D. C. L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; Author of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," in four volumes. Vol. IV. 1600 to 1609, with Portraits. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. 8vo., pp. 632.

Nothing can be more marvelous than the History of the United Netherlands. That a people should wrest their country from the ocean, and defending it against the billow, cover it with the bloom of a garden, is sufficiently wonderful. But that through years of warfare, a few disjointed States, amid sieges and battles, almost without a parallel for endurance, and heroism, should, by sea and land, absolutely conquer their independence in defiance of the tortures of the Inquisition, of the tyrannies of a vast Power whose riches were

fabulous, and whose possessions filled half a world, and of all the temporal and spiritual influence of the Papacy, seems only explicable on the supposition that the fortitude and the valor achieving such results were the inspiration of Heaven, for the accomplishment of its own great plans. Nor is it less remarkable that this age of strife and blood should have given birth not only to the greatness of William the Silent, the brilliant exploits of Prince Maurice, and the statesmanship of Barneveld, but that it should have also stimulated into life cities and universities, and made itself famous by the pencil of Rubens, the inventions of Janssens, the learning of Arminius, and the genius of Grotius.

Mr. Motley's learned and industrious research has explored the records of these wonderful events in the European libraries, and his graphic pen has given them to the world in forms, which, if not characterized by polished elegance, are at least marked by truthfulness and power. He exhibits in this volume the same earnestness, energy, vivacity, erudition, and fidelity which have always made his works attractive, and which will probably render them imperishable. May we venture to ask why so eminent and interesting a writer should so frequently and persistently employ that homely word "job"? How strange too that he should inform us that Snellius *invented* the doctrine of refraction! We had supposed that *machines* were *invented*, that *principles* were *discovered*, and that *doctrines* were *enunciated*. Yet, while Mr. Motley may be sometimes deficient in a certain delicacy of literary taste and discernment, he is never wanting in those greater elements which make the popular and instructive historian.

A MANUAL OF RITES AND RITUAL. Part I. *The Divine Liturgy*. By the Rev. JOHN J. ELMENDORF, D. D. New York: H. B. Durand, 11 Bible House. 1868. 12mo., pp. 220.

No thoughtful Christian can treat this volume with anything but respect. It evinces candor, learning, and piety. However we may dissent from its opinions, we must admire its style and spirit. How much better for the advocates of a rich and high ceremonial to seek their ends by sober argument, and earnest appeal, than even by the appearance of defiance to law and authority, and the prevailing sentiment of the Church! Admit that Baptism is a Sacrament of the Holy Ghost, and the Eucharist of our Lord's Spiritual Presence, and you seem at once to lay the foundation for a symbolic worship. But if this is to prevail in any wide or important sense, it must be forever separated from mere Romish imitation and corruption, and receive the support of the thoughtful and the cultivated in the Church. To obtain the sanction of the General Convention, implies an appeal to reason by solid argument, and not a disregard of its authority by reckless innovation. Every candid person will therefore hail with pleasure a book written by a theologian, and a gentleman, whose position and character command our respect, even where his opinions may not have the sanction of our judgment.

Perhaps, we may incidentally remark, that in our view, the Epistle to the Hebrews, reproducing spiritually all the ideas centering in the Priesthood of the Temple, and transferring them to our ascended Lord pleading his Sacrifice in the Heavens, had as much influence in moulding the early Church into the love of a high ceremonial, as the blazing lamps, and smoking censers, and swelling music, and angelic ministrants of the Revelations. Yet, simple as

may be the suggestion, we have never seen allusion made to this circumstance in any treatise on the subject of Symbolism in the worship of our Crucified but exalted Redeemer.

DAVID, THE KING OF ISRAEL. A Portrait drawn from Bible History, and the Book of Psalms. By FREDERICK WILLIAM KRUMMACHER, D. D., Author of "Elijah the Tishbite," etc. Translated under the express sanction of the Author, by the Rev. M. G. Easton, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1868. 12mo., pp. 518.

Perhaps the most wonderful compositions of the Scriptures are the Psalms. They not only express every possible variety of feeling and experience, but seem adapted to every country and age. Written in the morning of Revelation, they are suited to the period when shadows have dispersed, and the Sun of Life shines in his fullest glory. How wisely has our Liturgy ordained that these divine productions, read in the synagogue, and chanted in the temple, shall be said and sung in the Church! Their best commentary is found in the life of David. They grew out of his adventurous career. They are the outbursts of his heart. They express his sorrows and his joys, his humiliations, and his victories. Representing the man, they describe human nature. Dr. Krummacher, in his clear, interesting, and instructive manner, has performed important service in giving us vivid and beautiful sketches of Israel's Bard and King, in all the phases of his varied life, and in such a way as to make the incidents of his history constantly and truthfully explain the meaning of his writings. This volume will doubtless take rank with others of the same learned and pious author, and have a wide circulation among the families of Christendom.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD. A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science. April, 1868. New York: The Catholic Publication House, No. 126 Nassau Street.

We have an article in our drawer of which we are reminded as we write, in answer to the strictures of the "Catholic World" upon a contributor to the last October number of the "Review." Owing to an absolute superabundance of matter, it must, for the present, be deferred. We cannot, however, resist allusion to an article in the "World," entitled "The Episcopalian Crisis." This use of the noun for the adjective, had always before struck us as a certain mark of a deficient culture. However, the learning and popularity of a Romish Magazine, must serve as correctives of our error. Our surprise at a mistake in Grammar, was, however, by no means so great as at an absolute misstatement of History. How must every man of intelligence regard the following extract? "It has been shown over and over again, by arguments incontestable, that the ordination of Archbishop Parker, if, indeed, it ever took place, was wholly and entirely invalid. There is not satisfactory evidence that any ceremony of consecration was used." Surely the writer cannot intend to revive the exploded falsehood of the Nag's Head Consecration. We hesitate not to affirm, that no fact in history has ever been recorded with more minuteness and exactitude than the consecration of Archbishop Parker. We have in Strype, with all possible detail, an account of his election, his confirmation, and every particular of his consecration. He names not only the day, but the

very hour of the ceremony. He describes his vestments. He enumerates the persons officiating. He records the door through which Parker entered and made his exit. The account in one of the Cambridge Libraries was in all probability the basis of the opinion of Lingard, the learned Romish Priest, who was perhaps as well acquainted with English History as the writer in the "World." He says, "Barlowe, the deprived Bishop of Bath, and Hodgkins, once suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the Catholic pontifical, and Scovey, the deprived Bishop of Chichester, and Coverdale, the deprived Bishop of Exeter, who had both been consecrated according to the reformed ordinal, proceeded to *confirm the election of Parker, and then to consecrate him* after the form adopted towards the close of the reign of Edward VI." We have thus, Romish and Protestant testimony to the fact. Although the officiating Bishops had been deprived by Bloody Mary, yet, their power to consecrate was not the gift of the State, but of the Church, and even by the Romish doctrine is considered absolutely "indelible." Nay, according to some authors, whom the "World" will scarcely question, should a Bishop die, and rise from his grave, his Episcopal right to ordain would remain.

To the remark that "Every honest High Churchman should be a Catholic," we simply say, that much as we desire communion with Rome, we must patiently wait the coming day, when her pious children, illuminated by the Holy Ghost, renounce the claim to Papal supremacy and infallibility, the invocation of Saints, the worship of the Virgin, the dogma of Transubstantiation, the fallacies of the Sacraments, the denial of the cup to the Laity, the refusal of the Scriptures to the people without the written consent of the priest, the doctrines of Purgatory, and all those other errors by which, while retaining Apostolic Order, we believe she has corrupted Primitive Faith.

THE COMEDY OF CONVOCATION IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH, in two Scenes.

Edited by Archdeacon CHASUBLE. New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 136 Nassau Street. 1868.

A friend of the Review has recently written in great alarm concerning this production. We confess we do not share his fears, or concede to it such ability as a writer in this number acknowledges. Everything has its ludicrous aspect. The author of the Comedy even makes his irreverent wit turn on the existence of Almighty God, Creator and Sovereign of the Universe. It is not surprising that he directs it at Rectors, Professors, Doctors, and Bishops. Surely in the past, Friars, Hermits, Nuns, Monks, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Priests, Cardinals, Popes, have sufficiently waked the ridicule of the world, and to-day, the follies of dignitaries, and the inconsistencies of infallible Pontiffs might make Humor smile, and Laughter roar. Argument must be met with argument, but caricature with caricature. The true response to the "Comedy of Convocation" would be the "Absurdity of Transubstantiation," the "Nonsense of Indulgences," the "Drollery of Papal Weaknesses," or the "Farce of Romish Infallibility." We would be sorry, however, to see any Church writer pervert wit by applying it to any of those serious subjects which pertain to duty, to truth, to Eternal Life. The laughter which refreshes body and soul has a sufficiently wide domain without any unholy intrusions, and we rather wonder at the endorsement of such a work as that of Archbishop Chasuble by the Catholic Publication Society. To meet the charge of Protestant misrepresentation, we propose, at some future time, to show, in a series of Ar-

ticles, what Rome teaches in her own acknowledged standards — the writings of her Divines, the decrees of her Councils, and the bulls of her Popes — in regard to the dogmas which we believe corruptions of Scriptural Truth. But we leave the matter here, and refer our readers to the excellent Article of our present number for a more extended notice, and some very able replies to the insidious writer of the Comedy.

THE LEGEND OF ST. GWENDOLINE, with eight Photographs by ADDIS, from drawings by John W. Ehninger. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 661 Broadway. London: Sampson, Low & Co. 1867. Folio, pp. 55.

We opened this most beautiful volume with the feeling of a person who supposes the value is in the casket, but not in the jewel it contains. Our pleased surprise may be imagined when we discovered in the narration of the legend such a charming simplicity, such touches of genius, such beautiful piety, such deep lessons for the inner life, that we could not but think how greatly superior the gift of the writer, to the art of the printer. Yet, perhaps, we err, in making a contrast, where both are attractive, and admirable. Eye, taste, heart, intellect, are all together satisfied, and charmed. Here we have the highest improvements of the Present enshrining in a form of beauty one of the most simple, but instructive and venerable legends of the Past. We hope this elegant volume will brighten many a drawing-room, and cheer many a heart.

THE ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE. A Text Book for Educational Institutions. By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, LL. D., F. R. S., and WILLIAM JAY YOUMANS, M. D. With numerous illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway. 1868. 8mo., pp. 420.

In this age of over-taxed physical and mental energies, stimulated to excess by the demands of civilization, it is most important that men should be recalled to a knowledge of the human system, and the laws of health. From ignorance and abuse of nature what multitudes are paralyzed into imbecility! How many linger in the hospital, or rave in the asylum! What countless numbers hurry themselves into premature graves! We therefore hail with pleasure this work of a learned English Professor, adapted and enlarged by a most competent American Editor, which embodies, in a clear and agreeable style, all that information relating to the structure of the body and the laws of the mind, necessary to preserve man, physically and mentally, in that state of health which not only conduces to comfort and success, but also to practical piety. The work is what we would expect from authors at once so able and erudite.

EPISCOPAL COMMON PRAISE; Consisting of the Chants, in the Morning and Evening Service of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Psalms of David in Metre, with Hymns suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, together with the Additional Hymns, licensed for use in the Congregations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the General Convention of 1865. All set to appropriate music. New York: Published by A. S. Barnes & Co., 111 and 113 William Street, corner of John. 1868. 8vo., pp. 600.

The musical element is certainly more and more to predominate in our

Service. In reading Strype's account of Archbishop Parker's consecration we had, recently, an incidental proof of its original prevalence. He says, "then was the *Litany sung*." Certainly every other part of the service must have been also set to music. In this age, when the old, revived, takes the impress of the new, encouragement will be given to a work, with which have been associated, directly, or indirectly, so many persons of eminence, and intended to make our inimitable service more devotional, and attractive. Perhaps it may not be amiss to remark that *Episcopal Praise* sounds as oddly as would *Episcopal Prayer*. Universal acts of Worship should have no such limiting designation.

HARPER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION. Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28. New York : Harper & Brothers.

This work is upon a scale absolutely gigantic, corresponding to the enterprise of the publishers, the greatness of the struggle, and the vastness of the Republic. The illustrations are wonderful for their number, variety and truthfulness. Some of the engravings are almost startlingly life-like. The completed volumes will form a storehouse of facts, to which future historians will resort, and perhaps the narratives are as little colored or distorted by prejudice, as is possible in a period so near to the epoch they describe. The illustrations of the work will make a picture gallery of the war, and perpetuate many a face and scene which would be otherwise forgotten.

A TREATISE ON METEOROLOGY, with a collection of Meteorological Tables. By **ELLAS LOOMIS, LL. D.**, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, in Yale College, and Author of a Course of Mathematics. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1868. 8vo., pp. 305.

All the works of Prof. Loomis are characterized by clearness, system, learning, and practical adaptation to the wants of the student and the teacher. In the qualities mentioned, the present volume is inferior to none of its predecessors, evincing the same mastery of the subject treated, and the same experience acquired from long practice in the business of instruction. It systematizes a vast number of facts collected by individual observers in different parts of the world, and presents them in a manner at once lucid and interesting. We can scarcely doubt, that, with the other works of Prof. Loomis, it will take its place in many schools and colleges, and prove long useful in disseminating a knowledge of that youthful but most fascinating science — Meteorology.

MANNERS: OR HAPPY HOMES AND GOOD SOCIETY ALL THE YEAR ROUND. By **Mrs. HALE**, Authoress of "Northwood," "Distinguished Women," "The Vigil of Love." Boston : J. E. Tilton & Co. 1868. 12mo., pp. 377.

This volume is from the pen of a cultivated lady of large experience in literature and life; and abounds with many excellent reflections, and practical suggestions, interspersed with occasional verses, often exhibiting sprightliness and grace. It is another laudable attempt, dictated at once by taste and piety, to beautify American Homes with the elegance of refinement, and the loveliness of Religion. We hope the book will have a circulation corresponding to its purity and merit.

EASY FRENCH READING. Being Selections of Historical Tales and Anecdotes, arranged with copious foot-notes, containing translations of the principal words, a progressive development of the form of the verb, designations of the use of prepositions and particles, and the idioms of the language. By Prof. EDWARD T. FISHER. To which is added a Brief French Grammar by C. J. Delille. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. F. W. Christern. 1868. 16mo., pp. 232.

The plan of this small volume will be seen from its long title. We deem it excellent. The notes at the bottom of the page give us at a glance the meaning of each word, and the brief grammar at the end is convenient for reference. We have in the work, another attempt to make French easy of acquirement, and the labor bestowed deserves its reward in the patronage of the public.

HARPER'S PHRASE BOOK, or HAND-BOOK OF TRAVEL TALK, for Travelers and Schools. Being a Guide to Conversation in English, French, German, and Italian, on a new and improved method. Intended to accompany "Harper's Hand-Book for Travellers. By B. U. PEMBROKE FETRIDGE, Author of "Harper's Hand-Book," assisted by Professors of Heidelberg University. With concise and explicit rules for the pronunciation of the different languages. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. Paris: Galignani & Co., 224 Rue Rivoli. London: Sampson Low & Son, & U. S. Adams, 59 Fleet Street. 1868. 16mo., pp. 307.

The plan of this work is simple, practical, and comprehensive. You have first, some rules for pronunciation, followed by brief grammatical instructions; and then, arranged in four columns, the eye readily and instantly sees the more usual words, and phrases of common conversation, expressed in English, French, German, and Italian. The two Hand Books will be of great service to all continental travellers deficient in a knowledge of the four great European languages, and anxious for their acquisition.

THE MIND OF DE SALES. A Book on Religious Life. Translated from the Old Original French. By Mrs. NORTH PEAT. New York: General Protestant Episcopal Sunday-school Union and Church Book Society, No. 762 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 274.

It must be conceded to Rome, that, notwithstanding her errors, the Catholic Truth she holds has often expressed itself in the highest beauty of the Christian life, and in the most practically useful institutions of benevolence. The works and lives of St. Bernard, Kempis, Guyon, Fenelon, are bright in the light of the Gospel. They breathe the spirit of the Master. They are fragrant with the grace of Heaven. In the same catalogue we must place the author of this volume translated by Mrs. Peat. The Bishop of Geneva was evidently a man of God, and our age of superficial piety may learn from him many of the deepest lessons pertaining to the true Life of the Soul. The work we notice, is certainly adapted in every humble heart, to produce something of that humility, love, and wisdom, which were so sweetly blended in the character of its pious and celebrated author.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, chiefly during the years 1863-1865. By H. P. LIDDON, A. M., Student of Christ Church, Prebend of Salisbury, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co., 135 Washington Street. 1868. 12mo., pp. 291.

From the classic retreats of Oxford we might expect refined culture and extensive erudition, rather than vigor and adaptation to the age. It has generally been supposed that a certain dreaminess, arising from literary isolation, and morbid spirituality, pervaded the scholarship and piety of the great University. To a person infected with such opinions, how surprising must appear the sermons of Mr. Liddon! Here, indeed, are all the marks of thorough discipline and extensive learning. Yet how little parade and pretension! How simple, practical, and truthful the exégesis! What terseness, what beauty, what manly vigor in the style! What singular adaptation to the age! How many indications that the Preacher drew his stores, not only from a mind richly furnished, but from a spirit habitually in communion with its Creator, and keeping constantly in view its immortality! What fire, what power, what unction! We have seen no volume of modern sermons, we think, so admirably calculated to impress for good, the Church generally, and especially our younger clergy. It is easy to believe the glowing accounts given of the unusual effects produced by Mr. Liddon's recent discourse on the evening of Good Friday, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

ATLAS OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY. From Actual Surveys by and under the direction of F. W. BEERS, assisted by George E. Warner and others. New York: Beers, Ellis, & Soule, 95 Maiden Lane. 1867.

We have at last just such a work as has long been needed. It is a large quarto containing Maps and Plans of New York City and Brooklyn, and of all the large towns in West Chester, Putnam, and Dutchess Counties, in the State of New York, and of Fairfield County, in Connecticut. The surveys have been most carefully made, and the Colored Maps give not only the Railroads, Rivers, and the Roads, and Streets of the Cities and Towns, but, in the Country, the cities, towns, and villages, also every public building and dwelling-house, with the name of the owner. We believe the publishers design to extend their work so as to include Long Island, Staten Island, and parts of New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We remember when exploring the country on the eastern bank of the North River a little while ago, to have sought in vain for some such work as this. Its uses are almost innumerable, and it will be valuable to merchants, capitalists, insurance offices, and to great numbers of persons living in New York and the surrounding country. The publishers, in venturing upon so costly an enterprise, deserve to be liberally sustained.

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE. A Compendium of Sacred and Church History for School Children. By the author of the "Heir of Redclyffe." Fifth Edition. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue. 1868. 16mo., pp. 184.

WORDS TO THE WINNERS OF SOULS. By HORATIUS BONNAR, D. D., Boston: American Tract Society.

THREE LITTLE SPADES. By the author of "Dollars and Cents," etc. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868.

GRANDPA'S HOUSE. By HELEN C. WEEKS. New York : Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

SOONER OR LATER. By SHIRLEY BROOKS, author of the "Silver Cord," etc., with Illustrations, by G. Du Maurer. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1868.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. January, 1868. American Edition. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. January, 1868. American Edition. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. April, 1868. American Edition. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS. May, 1868. New Haven, Conn.

THE NEW ENGLANDER. April, 1868. New Haven, Conn.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW. April, 1868.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW. April, 1868. New York.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY. April, 1868.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. May, 1868. Boston.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE. January, 1868. Philadelphia.

CASSELL'S MAGAZINE. March, 1868. London, and 596 Broadway, New York.

THE PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE. London : 77 Queen Street. New York : Pott and Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union.

THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. May, 1868. Hurd & Houghton, New York.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS. Ticknor & Fields, Boston.

HERALD OF HEALTH. New York : Miller, Wood, & Co., 13 and 15 Laight Street.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. 27 Bible House, New York.

A COMMEMORATIVE DISCOURSE on the completion of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, L. I. With Illustrative Historical Notes. By the Rev. T. STAFFORD DROWNE, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church. Hurd & Houghton. Riverside Press. 1868.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the contents and the appearance of this pamphlet are in harmony with the beauty of the noble edifice erected by the Parish under the Rectorship of Dr. Littlejohn.

ADDRESS delivered at the first annual meeting of the American Church Union in Trinity Church, April 23, 1868. By the President, WILLIAM F. MORGAN, D. D.

Admirable as is this address in point of style, adaptation, and Catholicity,

the reader can never realize the impression produced by Dr. Morgan's earnest and manly delivery, as he stood, the Defender of the Truth, in that grand old temple, more widely known than any other in the American Church.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York for 1867. Albany: C. Van Benthuyssen & Sons. 1868.

THE MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. A Record of Diocesan Missions in Pennsylvania. April, 1868. Philadelphia.

REGISTER OF RACINE COLLEGE. Milwaukee: Hawks & Hurdick. 1868.

PUBLICATIONS of the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary. 1868.

FOURTH ANNUAL CATALOGUE and **REGISTER OF IMMANUEL HALL**, Lake View, Illinois. Chicago. 1867.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL ALMANAC. 13 Dey Street, New York.

THE MONTHLY PHONOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE. March, 1868.

REGISTRE DE LA CONVOCATION DE L' ENGLISH PROTESTANTE EPISCOPAL REUNIE. Port au Prince. 1867.

ADDRESS OF THE BISHOP OF LOUISIANA. New Orleans. February 14, 1868.

THE SUNDAY LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND UNSCRIPTURAL. By NATHANIEL C. NASH. Boston. 1868.

A NEW PROPERTY OF BROMIDE OF POTASSIUM. ALEXANDER I. STONE, M. D. Boston. 1868.

OUR NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO ACKNOWLEDGE GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By J. H. McILVAINE, Professor of Political Science, Princeton College. 1868.

A SERMON preached in Trinity Church, Rutland, by Rev. J. MILTON PECK, Rector. Claremont. 1868.

PRAYER BOOKS for Mission Work are everywhere in demand, and the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society, through the Rev. Merritt H. Wellman, their special agent, have issued a most earnest appeal for donations to their noble work.

THE GOSPEL IN CHRIST. A sermon preached before the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge, November 5, 1867. By the Rev. SAMUEL COOKE, D. D.

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS. Hurd & Houghton. New York.

FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS REWARD. By a BARRISTER. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

MY HUSBAND'S CRIME. By M. R. HOUSEKEEPER. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

BRAKESPEARE, OR THE FORTUNES OF A FREE LANCE. By the author of "Guy Livingstone," etc. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

POOR HUMANITY. By F. W. ROBINSON, author of "Christie's Faith," etc. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

JEANNIE'S QUIET LIFE. By the author of "St. Olaves," etc. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

CHARLOTTE'S INHERITANCE. By M. E. BRADDON, author of "Birds of Prey," etc. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. By CHARLES DICKENS. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

WAVERLEY. By SIR WALTER SCOTT. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

THE SCHOOL REGISTER. By Rev. JAMES E. KENNY. New York: February, 1868. The object of the agency represented by this paper, is to secure competent teachers for Church Schools, and well deserves attention.

MISSIONARY ADVOCATE. April, 1868. New York.

SECOND SUPPLEMENT TO SMITH, ENGLISH, & Co.'s PRICED CATALOGUE OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS BOOKS. 1868. Philadelphia.

FIRST REPORT OF THE INEBRIATES' HOME, for King's County, New York. February, 1868.

THE BOOK BUYER. March, 1868. New York.

THE NEW ENGLAND INSURANCE GAZETTE. March, 1868. Boston.

THE SHELTERING ARMS. April, 1868. New York.

BIBLE SOCIETY RECORD. April, 1868. New York.

PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH UNION. THE TYNG CASE. New York: Pott & Amery. 1868.

THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER. Alexandria, Va.

THE ORPHEONIST AND PHILHARMONIC JOURNAL. March, 1868. New York.

HARPER'S BAZAR. May, 1868. New York.

THE ROUND TABLE. May, 1868. New York.

THE WEEK. May, 1868. New York.

THE LEAGUE. May, 1868. New York.

THE BEAUTIFUL HOME. Boston. 1868.

THE OCCIDENT. San Francisco. 1868.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Allen, James	Lee,	May 3,	St. Luke's, Lansing, Iowa.
Anderson, A. Peyton,	Kip,	April 29,	Ch. of the Adv. San Fran., Cal.
Buford, E. S.	Wilmer,		Calvary Ch. N. O. La.
Egbert, William T.	Smith,	May 13,	Ascension Ch. Frankfort, Ky.
Gary, Neubold Thomas,	Whipple,	April 16,	St. Paul's, Minn.
Huntington, George P.	Eastburn,	April 16,	Emmanuel Ch. Boston, Mass.
Richardson, Samuel McDonald	Whittingham,	March 6,	Mt. Calvary Ch. Balt., Md.
Scott, Walter,	Talbot,	March 8,	Trinity Ch. St. Wayne, Ind.
Seymour, Sithune Benj.	Kerfoot,	M'ch 15,	Christ's Ch. New Brighton, Pa.
Sylvester, W. W.	Eastburn,	April 16,	Emmanuel Ch. Boston, Mass.
Tillinghast, W. R.	McCookry,	M'ch 23,	St. Paul's, E. Saginaw, Mich.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Aldrich, W. A.	Johns,	March 4,	Chap.Theo.Sem.Alexandria,Va.
" Austin, Thomas R.	Upfold,	April 15,	New Albany, Ind.
" Avery, Noyes Richard	Kerfoot,	March 8,	St. Peter's, Pittsburgh, Pa.
" Benson, E. C.	McIlvaine,	April 16,	Zion Church, Monroeville.
" Butler, Carlos E.	Kerfoot,	April 1,	St. Paul's, Erie, Pa.
" Cowan, Enoch C.	Kip,	April 23,	St. Paul's, Benicia, Cal.
" Currie, W. T.	Lee,	April 19,	Durant, Iowa.
" Davidson, C. B.	Talbot,	April 11,	Grace Ch., Indianapolis, Ind.
" Dunham, Francis S.	Potter,		St. Paul's, Flatbush.
" Fisse, Edelman, G. W.	Whittingham	March 6,	Mt. Calvary, Baltimore, Md.
" Knowles, Joshua	Beckwith,	April 19,	St. Philip's, Atlanta, Ga.
" Langford, W. S.	McIlvaine,	April 16,	Zion Ch., Munroeville, Ohio.
" Lewis, Alonzo N.	Williams,	March 7,	St. John's, North Haven, Conn.
" Scheetz, F. B.	Vail,	M'ch 18,	Hannibal, Missouri.
" Stanley, F. C.	Beckwith	April 19,	St. Philip's, Atlanta, Ga.
" Stoddard, James	Coxe,	March 8,	St. John's, Buffalo, N. Y.
" Talbot, Richard C.	Smith,	April 11,	St. Peter's, Louisville, Ky.
" Wildman, James E.	Williams,	March 7,	St. John's, North Haven, Conn.
" Wilson, E. S.	Coxe,	March 8,	St. John's, Buffalo, N. Y.
" Van Kleeck, Frederick B.	Potter,		St. Paul's, Flatbush.

CONSECRATIONS.

BISHOPS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Beckwith, J. W., D. D.	{ Green, Atkinson, Wilmer of Ala. Wilmer of La. Young,	April 2,	St. John's Church, Savannah.
Rev. Whittle, Francis M.	{ Johns, Lee of Del. Bedell,	April 30,	St. Paul's, Alexandria, Va.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Ascension, Church of	Cummings,	April 18,	Frankfort, Ky.
Calvary,	McIlvaine,	May 5,	Clifton, Ohio.
Calvary,	Atkinson,	May 10,	Tarboro, N. C.
Holy Innocents,	Talbot,	March 3,	Evansville, Indiana.
St. Andrew's,	Gregg,	March 23,	Bryan, Texas.
St. Jude's,	Vail,	March 18,	Monroe City, Missouri.
St. John's,	Whitehouse,	March 21,	Algonquin, Ill.
St. John's, in the Wilderness,	Cummins,	April 18,	Near Frankfort, Ky.
St. Luke's,	Lee,	May 3,	Lansing, Iowa.
St. Mark's,	Whittle,	May 8,	Richmond, Va.
St. Paul's,	Talbot,	April 16,	Jeffersonville, Ind.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CHURCH.

HORACE G. ATWATER, for sixteen years a Methodist minister, has applied to be admitted a candidate for Holy Orders in the Diocese of Minnesota.

EDWARD DILLAWAY CHALONER, a Congregationalist minister, is a candidate for Holy Orders in the Diocese of Massachusetts.

LEVI BOYER, a Lutheran Minister, has applied to be a candidate for Holy Orders in the Diocese of Massachusetts.

OBITUARY.

The Rev. CHARLES BURROUGHS, D. D., of Portsmouth, died in that city March 5, 1868. He was a native of Boston, a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1806, and one of the most active and benevolent Clergymen in New England.

As Rector of St. John's Church, and as a citizen, Dr. Burroughs was highly esteemed and beloved. He was full of charity, courteous to all, given to hospitality, and free from bigotry and exclusiveness, whilst holding steadfastly to his own opinions. He was a fine scholar; fond of historical and antiquarian researches.

The Rev. FRANCIS JAMES LUNDY, D. C. L., died at Newburgh, N. Y., April 7, 1868, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. After service, and sermon, while endeavoring to place the alms on the communion table, he fell, and in about thirty-six hours, expired.

The Rev. Dr. Lundy was educated at Oxford, and for a great part of his life resided at Grimsby, Canada West. A few years since he removed to Newburgh, and has been officiating at St. Paul's Church. He was a High Church Clergyman of advanced ritualistic tendencies, a preacher of more than ordinary ability, had a cultivated taste, and was moreover a graceful writer. Although but a short time in this country, he had gained many friends, who valued him for his acquirements, his courtesy, and his genial warmth of heart.

The Rev. BENJAMIN M. MILLER, late of Church Hill, Mississippi, died March 25, at Mobile, having nearly completed his seventy-third year. His funeral was attended by six clergymen in their surplices, including his venerable Diocesan, Bishop Green of Mississippi.

The Rev. ORMOND H. DUTTON, an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, and assigned for duty at Trinity Chapel, died on Sunday, March 15, at Hyères, in the south of France, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. He

was a sound Churchman, a vigorous writer, an effective preacher, and a faithful Parish Priest. He was at one time connected with the secular press in this city, but from convictions of duty turned to the Ministry, and having been admitted to Holy Orders, consistently devoted the remaining years of his life to the work and service of the Master. In the several parishes in which he has ministered, his memory will be most affectionately and tenderly cherished.

The Rev. WILLIAM G. HUGHES died at Panama, April 16, of yellow fever. He was admitted to the Diaconate, October 22, 1864, and to the Priesthood, June 25, 1866. He had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and was in charge of the English Church at Panama.

The Rev. HENRY M. MASON, D. D., Rector of St. Peter's Parish, Easton, Maryland, died April 25, 1868. The resolutions of the vestry express the great confidence and esteem, inspired by thirty years of faithful and affectionate labor as their spiritual guide. His last recorded words were, "Life's work is done,—welcome Heaven!"

The Rev. A. VARIAN died in May, 1868. The following resolution, as a token of respect for his memory, was passed by the vestry of Grace Church, Cleveland.

Resolved, That it is our desire to express, with sincere thankfulness to the Head of the Church, our appreciation of the very important services which were rendered in the infancy and greatest weakness of the Parish, by the able, diligent, and faithful first Rector of the same, the Rev. Alexander Varian; a devout man, a wise and discreet counselor, an honored priest, and a kind and thoughtful friend.

The Rev. WILLIAM G. HEYER, Rector of the Church of the Messiah, Greenbush, N. Y., died on the first Sunday after Easter, while absent from his Parish.

He pursued his studies with a distinguished Divine of Norfolk, Connecticut. After taking Orders, he preached successively in that State, New York, Illinois, other Western States, and Texas; then returning North, he spent the remaining term of his life on the banks of the Hudson and in Newark, New Jersey, from which latter place his remains received their last earthly tribute, and were borne to their burial.

The Rt. Rev. CICERO STEPHEN HAWKES, D. D., died on Sunday, April 19, at his own residence in St. Louis, Missouri. He was born in Newbern, North Carolina, in 1812. He graduated in the University of that State, in 1830; was ordained to the Diaconate in 1834; and in the following year to the Priesthood. In 1836, he became Rector of Trinity Church, Saugerties, New York; removed to Buffalo, in 1837; and was afterwards elected to the Rectorship of Christ Church, St. Louis. At the age of thirty-two, he was consecrated Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, by the Rt. Rev. Bishops Chase, Kemper, McCoskry, Polk, and De Lancy, having been nominated by the House of Bishops, and elected unanimously by the General Convention, under Canon I., of 1838, in answer to the request of the Diocese of Missouri.

We cannot forbear quoting the touching and eloquent words of the Bishop of Illinois, in regard to the closing years of his departed friend. He remarked in his funeral discourse: "Paralysis, as it exhibits itself, is a sudden thing.

We call it a stroke, but the circumstances that lead to that stroke, are things that gather like the storm at night—they are things that cluster up in the over-taxed brain—they are things that find their certain lodgment in other parts of this poor tabernacle, and while there, they make themselves felt; they utter low moanings—voices of what is coming. They lay upon nature a hand of pressure, until by and by that pressure will bear it to the earth. I think, long before suspected, the burden of life's cares had worn into that brain, and that the pressure he had been carrying began to clog the nervous energies, and to hang fetters about the soul, and to make the understanding desire repose, and the affections even to burst, more and more with fitful impulse; and therefore, when it comes, we are to look at it, not as a sudden thing, but as a testimony of how long that departed Bishop had been struggling, perhaps unconsciously to himself,—against the ruin and pressure in his physical nature, making duty harder, making life more laborious, and impelling him almost to seek quiet and rest, rather than energy and enterprise."

The funeral services of Bishop Hawkes took place on Friday afternoon, April 24, at St. Louis, in Christ's Church, which was suitably arranged for the sad occasion, and filled with a throng, whose tears and silence indicated their deep affection for their departed Bishop. At a quarter past two o'clock, the Bishops of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, entered the chancel, and proceeded down the centre of the aisle, received the coffin at the vestibule. The casket, borne by the pall-bearers, was followed by the Clergy in their surplices. Arrived at the chancel, the coffin was deposited on a pedestal. At the close of his discourse, the Bishop of Illinois read the appropriate prayers and collects, and pronouncing the Benediction, the Body was accompanied to Bellefontaine Cemetery, and deposited, with the usual ceremonies of the Church, in Woodland Hill.

GEORGIA.

The consecration of Dr. Beckwith took place, according to appointment, on Thursday, the 2d of April, in St. John's Church, Savannah.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Atkinson of North Carolina, attended by the Rector of the Church, and the Rev. Dr. Smedes of North Carolina, the Rev. Dr. Harold of Florida, and the Rev. Messrs. Cornish of South Carolina, Rees of Georgia, and Pecke of New York, entered and took his place in the Church. Morning Prayer to the end of the first Lesson was said by Dr. Harold. By one of those beautiful coincidences which frequently occur, the lesson was Josh. iii., in which is recorded God's promise to Joshua, "As I was with Moses, so will I be with thee." The second Lesson was read by the Rev. Mr. Cornish, the Creed by the Rev. Mr. Benedict, and the prayers by the Rev. Dr. Smedes. The *Venite*, *Benedicite*, and *Benedictus*, as well as the Sixth Selection of Psalms, were chanted to single chants from the Trinity Psalter, led by a double choir of about forty voices of men and women, and joined in heartily by the congregation. The first half of each verse of the *Benedicite* was sung alternately by a single female voice on either side of the choir, and the remainder of the verse sung full by both choirs and congregation. The choirs were placed on platforms at the east end of the nave, on either side of the chancel. The closing prayers and benediction were said by Bishop Atkinson.

At 11 o'clock punctually the procession started from the residence of Charles Greene, Esq., opposite the church. The lay delegates from the various parishes of the Diocese went first; these were followed by the vestries of Christ Church and St. John's, members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, can-

didates for Holy Orders, twenty-eight Clergy in surplices, the Bishop-elect, and the Bishops of Mississippi, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida.

The Ante-Communion service was said by the Bishop of Louisiana, assisted in the Epistle (1 Tim. iii. 1) by the Bishop of Alabama. The Gospel was St. John, xx. 19. The Nicene Creed was recited in harmony, to plain music. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Alabama.

The processional was the 84th Psalm, followed by the 132d Psalm, which was sung while the members of the procession were getting to the places assigned them.

The Bishop-elect was presented to the Presiding Bishop, the Bishop of Mississippi, by the Bishops of North Carolina and Louisiana.

The testimonial from the Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, certifying the election of the Rev. Dr. Beckwith as Bishop of the Diocese, was read by the Rev. W. C. Williams, the Secretary of the Convention. The testimonial from the members of the Convention, including every clergyman and every lay-delegate present, was read by the Rev. Mr. Benedict. The testimonial from the Standing Committee, certifying the receipt of the consents of the Standing Committees, was read by the Rev. W. H. Clarke, President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

On the requirement of the Presiding Bishop, the Bishop-elect then made his Promise of Conformity. After which, the congregation being moved to prayer by the Presiding Bishop, the Litany with the Prayer following was sung by the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Florida.

The Presiding Bishop then proceeded to the examination of the Bishop-elect, who answered in loud, full voice, deliberately, and with an utterance which gave proof of his most thorough appreciation of the deep solemnity of his act.

The Bishop-elect having then put on the rest of the Episcopal habit, with the assistance of the Rev. Messrs. Clarke and Elliott, his attending Presbyters, the *Veni, Creator Spiritus* was sung over him, the Bishop of Florida acting as proxy for the Presiding Bishop. The five Bishops present then laid their hands upon him, while the Presiding Bishop said the words of consecration.

The delivery of the Bible and the charge followed. The offertory was then proceeded with, the offerings being for missions in the Diocese of Georgia. While the offerings were being gathered in, the anthem "How beautiful are the feet," etc., with the chorus "Their sound is gone out," was sung by members of the choir, which at this service numbered fifty persons. The prayer for Christ's Church Militant was said by the Bishop of North Carolina.

The exhortation, confession, and comfortable words were said by the Bishop of Georgia, the Presiding Bishop pronouncing the absolution. The *Sursum corda* and *Tersanctus* were sung, and the prayer of humble access was said by the Presiding Bishop, who also acted as celebrant. The 93d Hymn was sung to the old tune, "Mear," and the Sacrament was then administered to the Bishops and Clergy, and afterwards to a large number of the faithful, all the Bishops present, except the preacher, assisting in the distribution. The Lord's Prayer and the thanksgiving were said by the Presiding Bishop, the *Gloria in excelsis* was sung to the old familiar music, and the closing prayer and the blessing of peace given by the Presiding Bishop, closed this most solemn and interesting service, at 3 o'clock precisely.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH UNION.

The first Annual Meeting of the American Church Union was held on Thursday, April 23, in Trinity Church, New York City. The procession entered from the North Sacristy, moved down the north aisle, and returned by the middle aisle. There was a full choir, and many Clergymen in surplices. The Processional was for the "Reunion of Christendom." The decorations of the Church were brilliant, and the service most impressive. The Sermon of the Rev. Dr. W. F. Morgan, was all, in point of style, manner, and delivery, demanded by the occasion. At the offertory, "Barnaby's Endless Alleluia" was sung. The Holy Eucharist was then offered, the Rev. Dr. Dix acting as celebrant, the Dean of Honolulu taking the Post-Communion. After the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Benediction, the *Nunc Dimittis* was sung kneeling, and the 115th Psalm as a Recessional.

At the business meeting in the Sunday-school Room of Trinity Chapel, the following officers were elected for the year:—

FOR PRESIDENT.—The Rev. William F. Morgan, D. D., New York.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Stephen P. Nash, New York, the Rev. John I. Tucker, D. D., Troy, New York, Cambridge Livingston, New York.

FOR SECRETARY.—The Rev. Sylvanus Reed, New York.

FOR RECORDER.—George D. L. Harison, New York.

FOR TREASURER.—Tracy R. Edson, New York.

FOR COUNCIL.—*Clerical*.—The Rev. Benj. I. Haight, D. D., New York, the Rev. Robert S. Howland, D. D., New York, the Rev. James A. Bolles, D. D., Boston, Mass., the Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., New York, the Rev. Isaac H. Tuttle, D. D., New York, the Rev. George F. Seymour, D. D., New York, the Rev. Milo Mahan, D. D., Baltimore, Md., the Rev. Thomas A. Starkey, D. D., Cleveland, O., the Rev. Cornelius E. Swope, D. D., New York, the Rev. J. S. B. Hodges, D. D., Newark, N. J., the Rev. Philander K. Cady, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., the Rev. Ferdinand C. Ewer, D. D., New York.

Lay.—John J. Cisco, New York, Dr. G. C. Shattuck, Boston, Mass., Thomas W. Ogden, New York, Dr. Henry D. Paine, New York, Prof. Thomas Eggleston, Jr., New York, Francis Many, New York, William P. Lee, New York, James Pott, New York, Lyman Klapp, Providence, R. I., Nathaniel P. Hosack, New York, The Hon. D. R. Floyd Jones, Oyster Bay, L. I., Thomas J. Brereton, Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE TYNG TRIAL.

We propose to narrate the various steps in the progress of this case, which, simple in the legal points presented, yet involved the whole question of the ORDER of the Church. The interest was not in its immediate issue, but in its remote consequences. It had been declared that a Law of the Church would be brought into contempt by its repeated violation, until its repeal would be a necessity, and the threatened ruin of our Ecclesiastical System could only be averted by bringing the dangerous movement to a final test before the proper Tribunal. Every candid man must admit, that in all the stages of the trial, from the first notice to the admonition of the Bishop, nothing is perceived, but a spirit of the utmost kindness and forbearance. But we must hasten to the history of the case. The notice to Mr. Tyng was addressed by Dr. Stubbs from Princeton, on the 12th of July, 1867. The offense was committed on the 14th, in the city of New Brunswick, and on the following day a formal complaint was made to the Bishop of New Jersey.

The charge was a violation of Section 6, of Canon 12, of Title 1, of the Digest of the Canons for the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The Specifications were, that on the morning and in the evening of the 14th of July, 1867, the defendant did officiate by preaching, and reading prayers within the Parochial cure of the Rev. Alfred Stubbs, D. D., and the Rev. Edward Boggs, D. D., without their permission, or that of the Wardens and Vestrymen, or Trustees of the Parish. The case having been transferred to the Diocese of New York, Mr. Tyng after a protracted trial was found guilty, by a Court consisting of the Rev. Alfred B. Beach, D. D., the Rev. Isaac H. Tuttle, D. D., the Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman, D. D., the Rev. Samuel Hollingsworth, and the Rev. N. H. Moore, and by a Judgment, bearing date the 24th of February, 1868, was sentenced to receive an ADMONITION, which was pronounced by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter, on the 14th of March, 1868, in the Church of the Transfiguration in the city of New York.

NEW JERSEY.

The following noble utterance of the Bishop of New Jersey will be universally admired by all Churchmen :—

"The sacred *depositum* of the Evangelical Revelation, involving as it does God's glory and man's salvation, was entrusted by the Lord Jesus Christ to no one man, but to a corporate body, with divine authority to perpetuate and protect itself. . . . The chief source of discord and division is the conflict between self-will and the evangelically appointed canon or rule of the divine organism — the Body of Christ. The philosophy of schism is to be found in self-will ; the effort, whether sincere or not, to array one man's will against the united decisions of his equals in all that is personal, and his superiors as a corporation. . . . From the first law, given by God to our first parents in Paradise, down to the last canon enacted by the Christian Church, the apparent triviality of the statute has been an occasion of disobedience and sin. Forgetting that the will of God, which is embodied in law, gives dignity to the least as well as to the loftiest statute, the self-will of man ventures to resist, and unless saved by the mercy of God falls into the sin of lawlessness.

"The sin of anti-Christ is lawlessness, and it is with unaffected apprehension that I look at the tendency toward that ultimate form of evil which seems to be increasing in the world, and even in the Church. I charge you, then, my reverend brethren, to avoid the first approaches of this subtle, but malignant temptation of the devil. If the Canon Law of the Church of Christ has ruled a point, whether it appertain to the Apostolic Ministry, the Worship of the Church, or matters of Diocesan and Parochial interest, I charge you observe the law for Christ's sake, and by your teaching and example animate the laity of the Church to regard the canon as no mere tithing of mint and anise and cumin, but as an evangelical safeguard against the anti-Christian lawlessness of self-will.

"Do not be moved from your evangelical principles by any discussions as to the subject-matter of the Canon Law in any of its particulars. The only point for your consideration is, *what is the Law*, and knowing that, to obey it as the loving disciples of Jesus and the loyal members of His Mystical Body. . . . It is not, therefore, a controversy between man and man, when disobedience to the Canon Law is attempted by any one, but it is a controversy between man and God. The ordinance is God's, the administrator of law

is God's representative; and the disobedience, no matter how ingeniously defended, and earthly discipline avoided or defied, must be accounted for to the real Head of the Church, in that day when He shall come to judge the clergy as well as the laity — when judgment shall begin at the House of God.

"There is a growing tendency to argue the abstract merits of the provisions of the law, instead of a glad and ready submission on the ground of evangelical duty. And I believe that the disregard of oaths is a growing crime and sin which any tokens of disobedience to the Canon Law by the members and ministry of the Church will foster.

"O how the solemn warning of Him who will judge us at the last day foretells the possibility of self-deception in the matter of working wonders which catch the eye, and win the applause of men. Do you not know that even Satan can clothe himself with the robes of an angel of light, and utter the burning words of inspired Scripture? Was not that a magnificent piece of Satanic preaching, which wrestled in argument with the incarnate Son of God himself, saying, 'Cast Thyself down, for it is written He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee.'

"Be not deceived, ministers of Christ. Satan can preach, can persuade, can argue, can work wonders which may almost sweep away the steadfastness of the very elect. But there is one thing that Satan cannot do — 'obey the law of God.' This is the infallible test of the presence and power of the Devil — that he is always, everywhere, and under all circumstances 'the lawless one.' Whosoever knowingly disobeys the law and defends disobedience on grounds of self-will, or assumed evangelical liberty, is contradicting the first principles of evangelical truth, jeopardizing his own soul, introducing discord into the Church of Christ, and marring peace, charity, and good will among all Christian people."

MARYLAND.

THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM. — We publish, without comment, a *part* of the very able Report on this subject, submitted to the recent Convention of the Diocese of Maryland: —

"The Committee on the Provincial System,' so called in the Journal of the Convention of 1867, were appointed under the following Resolution: —

"Whereas, In the original organization of Dioceses in this Church, wise regard was held to the natural and political divisions of the country, so that Dioceses in general were made coterminous with States, and the integrity of the latter was represented in our Councils or Conventions; and

"Whereas, The unity of the Church, its harmony of action, and its dignity in the eyes of the public, were much promoted by this rule: and

"Whereas, The contemplated division of our present Diocese into a number of small Sees may tend to impair that unity and harmony, detracting at the same time from the dignity of the Episcopate, and may prove detrimental to many objects of common interest, or at all events may deprive the Church of that prestige which arises from her appealing to those honorable sentiments which cluster around the name of each State; therefore, with a view to guard against possible losses of this kind,

"Resolved, That a Committee of Six, three clergymen and three laymen, be appointed to consider and mature some plan, consistent with the Constitution and Canons of the General Convention, and with well-known precedents of the Church Catholic in all ages, by which common counsel and action and unity in all matters of common interest may be secured among the Sees into which the present Diocese of Maryland may hereafter be divided, and to report such plan to the next Diocesan Convention.'

"On this your Committee would remark, that the principle which underlies

both the Resolution and the Preamble is that of the *Provincial System*, so called : a system which obtained in its most perfect form in the old Roman Empire, and which still exists, though more or less shorn of its symmetrical proportions, in all parts of Catholic Christendom. We recognize the principle as good in itself: we regard it, moreover, as that which has hitherto regulated the growth of the Church in this country, and which, in the immensely greater growth yet to be expected, should be kept firmly in view as a safeguard against the tendency to excessive centralization on the one hand, and a loose aggregation on the other.

"The old Roman world consisted, as is well known, of about one hundred and twenty *Provinces*, which, like our American States, had each its own boundaries, government, laws, customs, and the like, while all were bound together in a solid framework of unity by the paramount control of the Empire. For all purposes of local government and good order, each such Province or State was sufficient unto itself: each was large enough, and not too large, to sustain an ample machinery of legislative, judicial, and executive functions. Now when Christianity came in upon this state of things, and little by little took possession, it had nothing to destroy, nothing to construct, so far as the metes and bounds of orderly jurisdiction were concerned. It simply flowed into the channels which were already prepared for it: it spread its nets in the pools and currents where the fishes were accustomed to swim. Not even in names was any change made, or needed. A Province of the State became a Church Province; a civil parish, an ecclesiastical parish; a Diocese or Exarchate of the Empire, a Catholic Diocese or Exarchate.

"Of the system thus developed, the *Province* was the smallest *integer*: consisting of at least three Episcopal cures, it was large enough for self-government and for the due perpetuation of the Ministry, yet not so large as to be unwieldy in action. By the close of the first century, it had attained its ideal form in the Province of *Asia Proconsularis*, where, in a territory not larger than the medium size of our States, the Son of Man moved in the midst of seven Candlesticks, or Churches, and was present in the Councils of the seven Angels, or Bishops. Some forty years earlier, we see the same principle working in a less complete stage of development. St. Paul takes up his abode in Ephesus, the metropolis, 'for the space of two years' or more, while his company of fellow-laborers or 'apostles of the Churches' are diligently at work in the other cities of the Province; so that in less than three years 'all they which dwelt in Asia [Proconsularis] heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks.' By a like residence of the same Apostle for three years in Corinth, with his 'company' (or Council) distributed among the cities round about, the Province of Achaia became an integral portion of the Church, competent within its own borders to multiply Bishops and Episcopal cures, and independent in all matters not touching the common Faith and Order.

"The system being thus a growth, not a creation, it was accompanied with no little freedom and diversity in rites, customs, usages, and such-like secondary matters. The Bishop of each Metropolis was, as a general rule, the presiding Bishop of the Province; and the name *President*, or any one of its numerous synonyms, was freely accorded to him, without infringing at all upon the essential parity of the Episcopate. In two of the Provinces of North Africa, however, the Senior Bishop presided, as has been the case in our American system. So also, with regard to the powers of presiding Bishops, there was every

shade of variation, from the almost autocracy of Alexandria, to the moderate and strictly guarded Primacy of the North African Church. In fact, though various privileges and prerogatives were added to the office here or there as occasion served, yet none belonged to it of necessity save those which are inherent in the very idea of a presiding officer.

"Now, in our American Church, the main features of this Provincial System were instinctively recognised, and adopted, as soon as the time had come to have an ecclesiastical organization of our own. By securing at the first step three Bishops at least, namely, the number necessary for the perpetuation of the Episcopate, by organizing them with their respective cures into a Council or Convention with a Presiding Bishop, by making freely such changes in matters of worship or discipline as involved no departure from "the substance of the faith," the American Church constituted herself an ecclesiastical Province, namely, an integral portion of the One Church Catholic, capable of self-perpetuation, self-government, and, so far as local interests are concerned, of entire independence.

"But as believers multiplied, the number of congregations in many sections soon exceeded the just limits of an Episcopal cure, and it was found that the Dioceses first created were by far too large. New England, therefore, which at first hardly afforded material outside of Connecticut for one Episcopal jurisdiction, was after awhile compelled to break up into six. In like manner, New York divided into two. After a long interval, Pennsylvania followed the example of New York; and New York, in both its sections, is preparing to take the lead again by a new and bolder division. With these last movements, it has begun to be generally admitted that the same process must go on at an accelerating rate; and, with the good hand of the Lord upon us, the existence of hundreds of new Dioceses within the space now occupied by less than two score, will be only a question of time and growth.

"But it has occurred to comparatively few, that the immense *Province*, or rather the great Empire, which includes these enormous Dioceses, has grown from a narrow strip of States along the seaboard to the breadth of a vast Continent, and that population as well as territory has increased ten-fold. Even at the first, the thirteen Atlantic States were too large for one province; the Church population was too sparse, however, to warrant any other arrangement. But if the one Province was too large at that time, what must be thought of it in its present proportions? What will it be, if it goes on growing at the same rate for fifty years to come?

"We submit, therefore, the following Resolutions, as embodying the only plan we are able to suggest at present:—

"*Resolved*, That, as soon as may be after the organization of two or more Dioceses within the limits of the present Diocese of Maryland, and after the consecration of Bishops for the same, there shall be a Council of said Dioceses through their proper representatives, to consider and adopt measures for a permanent Synodical or Conventional Union, said Council to consist of the Bishops of the several Dioceses into which the present Diocese shall have been divided, with ten clerical and ten lay deputies from the several Conventions of the same, and to be called at such time and place as the senior Bishop on conference with his brethren shall determine.

"*Resolved*, That this Convention petition the next General Convention for such modifications of the Constitution and Canons, if any such are needed, as shall enable the Dioceses formed, or to be formed, within the limits of any present Diocese, to organize among themselves a Synodical or Conellar Union.

"*Resolved*, That this Convention also petition the next General Convention to take the necessary steps for authorizing the erection of Provincial Courts of Appeal, wherever it may be desired by any Church Province.

"*Resolved*, That a Committee of four clergymen and four laymen be appointed to prepare the above-named petitions."

"All which is respectfully submitted."

VIRGINIA.

At St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, Va. (April 30th), occurred the consecration of the Assistant Bishop of this Diocese. Bishop Johns acted as the Presiding Bishop. Besides him were present, Bishops Bedell and Lee (of Delaware). The Rev. Wm. Kinsolving, and the Rector of the Church, Rev. Mr. Norton, were in the chancel. A large number of the Virginia, District of Columbia, and Maryland clergy were present, and occupied seats at the front, and side of the chancel without. The Faculty of the Theological Seminary and students were also present; the venerable Dr. Sparrow, Drs. Walker and Packard; and the Rev. Charles H. Hall, of Washington.

Morning Prayer was said by Rev. Mr. Kinsolving, the Ante-Communion by Bishop Johns, Bishop Bedell taking the Epistle, and Bishop Lee the Gospel. The sermon was preached by Bishop Bedell, from 1 Tim. iii. 15: "Church of the Living God — Pillar and Ground of the Truth."

The testimonials were read by Rev. Mr. Norton. All the Bishops joined (as of course, but three being present) in the laying on of hands and the longer *Veni* was said by Bishop Johns, who acted instead of Bishop Smith. The Bishop-elect was robed by Rev. Messrs. Fisher and Meredith, who had occupied seats by his side, one upon each hand, immediately in front of the chancel rail, and now entered the chancel. The consecrator in the Holy Communion was the Bishop of Delaware. Bishop Bedell read Post-Communion, and Bishop Lee dismissed with the Benediction.

CALIFORNIA.

On Wednesday, April 29, at the Church of the Advent, San Francisco, Mr. A. PEYTON ANDERSON was ordained to the Diaconate by the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of the Diocese. The following Clergy participated in the Services: the Rev. H. D. Lathrop, Rector of the Parish; Rev. J. S. Bush, Rev. F. D. Eagan, and Rev. J. Lloyd Breck. The candidate was presented to the Bishop by the Rev. Dr. Breck, on behalf of the Clergy of the Associate Mission, who, hindered by duty, could not be present. Dr. B. also preached the Sermon. The text was chosen from Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13th verses. The following Clergymen were also present, namely: Rev. B. Akerly, Rev. D. D. Chapin, Rev. G. A. Easton, Rev. H. G. Perry, Rev. R. Lowry, and Rev. J. N. Hume.

The Rev. E. C. Cowan of the Missionary College, had been previously ordained Priest, in St. Paul's Church, Benicia, but Mr. Anderson is the first of the Candidates for Holy Orders ordained from out of this School of the Prophets. He is, therefore, correctly styled its *first fruits*.

COLORADO.

RT. REV. BISHOP RANDALL has returned to his Diocese and is again engaged in his Episcopal visitations.

Two gentlemen from the East are expected to follow Bishop Randall shortly, as candidates for Holy Orders, who will engage in teaching while pursuing their theological studies. He is also in negotiation with a clergyman from the East, who, he hopes, will assume the duties of Head-Master of the school at

Denver City. The Bishop is in correspondence also with several other clergymen with a view to their following him to the distant scene of his labors. A third candidate for Holy Orders is pursuing his academic studies at a Church Institution in the West, with a view of going to Colorado.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. William Welsh, was adopted at the recent Convention of this Diocese:—

“Resolved, That this Convention consents to the formation of a new Diocese within the limits of the existing Diocese, by a line leaving the following fourteen counties: Philadelphia, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, Bucks, Lehigh, Northampton, Monroe, Carbon, Pike, Wayne, Luzerne, Wyoming, and Susquehanna, in the old Diocese, and the remaining thirty counties in the new Diocese, but that the Bishop shall not be asked to give his consent thereto until he has secured evidence that two thirds of the clergy, and parishes representing two thirds of the communicants reported in 1867, approve of being set off as a new Diocese; and that \$2,500 a year for five years be secured for the support of the new Episcopate.”

KENTUCKY.

HOFFMAN SCHOOL FOR FREEDMEN, FRANKFORT. — The services at the opening of this school were held at the school-house, on Wednesday the 22d, under the auspices of the Church—the ground upon which the government built the house having been given, and the teachers provided by the members of the Church. The building is intended to seat two hundred children. There were more than three hundred colored people present; the door, windows, and yard were full, while a crowd went away, unable to find room.

ALABAMA.

At the Convention of this Diocese, which met May 13th in Christ Church, Mobile, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:—

“WHEREAS, The Church in this land declares (in her 8th Article) her belief in the Nicene Creed; and whereas, the Church allows the Nicene Creed to be said in the Office for the Holy Communion; and whereas, it is alleged that the translation of this Creed now in use is not sufficiently exact, and does not in all cases fully give the sense of the original Greek; therefore,

“Resolved, That the Deputies of this Diocese to the General Convention be and are hereby instructed to bring this subject before said Convention, and to suggest that the Nicene Creed in the original Greek, as set forth by the Church Catholic in her Œcumenical Councils, previous to the division of the East and West, be printed before the Articles in the Prayer Book; and that an exact translation of the Creed so set forth be made, for insertion in the Liturgy and Offices of the Church.”

ILLINOIS.

In accordance with a resolution of the last Journal of Convention, in which the Diocese recognized and adopted the system of Rural Deaneries as set forth by the Bishop in his Address, he, in compliance therewith, has apportioned the Diocese into seven Ruridecanal Districts, and appointed therein Rural Deans.

DOCUMENTARY ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIAL CHURCH.

In executing the resolution of the General Convention, for the preservation of the materials of Church History, a judicious and admirable plan has been adopted, which we most cordially commend to the attention of Churchmen. Let all interested in a subject, appealing at once to the heart and the intellect, address the Editor—the Rev. Wm. Stevens Perry of Litchfield, Connecticut—for further information, or send him their names as subscribers.

THE STANDARD PRAYER BOOK.

The following statements from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Coit are so interesting and important, that they should be preserved as connected with the history of the Church in America:—

“Perhaps there is no one now left but myself, to tell the history of this and some other kindred matters; and therefore, though reluctant to speak about what concerns myself individually, I have concluded to write you a letter.

“A committee was appointed by the General Convention of 1841, to revise the Book of Common Prayer, and report a Standard for the action of the General Convention of 1844. This committee appointed me a sub-committee to revise the Prayer Book, with all possible care, and submit my labors to their revision. I declined the serious task and high responsibility, unless the Rev. Dr. Wainwright (the late Bishop Wainwright) could be associated with me, and take a full share of the work. This he cheerfully consented to do; and the result was some months of as arduous toil as I ever had to encounter. We read together day by day, every word and figure, every capital, point, and italics, ‘from title-page to colophon.’ Dr. Wainwright read aloud, while I looked over various authorities spread out before me; and this for ten hours continuously till the strain upon my eye-balls produced headaches that nearly eventuated in a fever of the brain. No one who has not tried it, can imagine the effort to run the eye over books in different types and languages; and this for hour upon hour, daily.

“When we began, we took rather a narrow view of our functions, and supposed we were to correct or alter nothing in the last Standard but typographical errors and mispunctuations. After awhile, finding that we were referred to *all* the previous Standards, and to a celebrated edition of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, published by Collingwood & Co., at Oxford, in 1840, we took a more liberal view of our commission, and sometimes went so far as to separate titles from rubrics, and to rearrange rubrics, in order to make their objects more distinct. Thus we printed the *title* of the General Confession by itself; and the rubric which follows, by itself with the rubrical prefix.

“We divided the old long rubric which follows the address of the Institutor, in the Institution Office, into three parts. And so on. The reader will distinctly understand that we never altered the *text* of the Prayer Book anywhere, unless to correct a manifest error. We did not hesitate to do it then, even with the English book against us. Thus our old Standard, with the English book, read in the Psalter (lxxvii. 5), “and search out my spirits.” With the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the English Bible, on our side, we read it “and search out my spirit.” It is “spirit” in Walton’s Polyglot.

* Under our first impression, we printed the Gloria Patri in the Daily Service, *without* an Amen; simply because the Standard immediately preceding, had done so. But finding the Gloria Patri *with* an Amen in other parts of the Prayer Book, and also in the case before us, with an Amen in the edition of Collingwood, we determined to conform the Prayer Book to itself, and to the English Standard.

"But our work towards its close was sadly accumulated and hurried. We had a proposed Prayer Book to carry through the press, for the use of an approaching General Convention.* And upon myself fell the superadded task of summing up our labors, and printing a report of countless items which covered nearly forty closely packed octavo pages. Fifteen hundred copies of this report were printed; but almost the entire edition was destroyed by fire, while it lay in the printer's office. I sometimes think I have been asked in vain for it fifteen hundred times!

"We were not satisfied with our own Proposed Book and asked that it might be returned to us, for a fresh revisal. We were nervous about errors; and the lynx-eyed (as you may be assured) found some, and gloated over them sufficiently to punish any vanity which had been engendered by the kind commendations of the General Convention — particularly of the Bishops. Several of these errors, however, we had ourselves detected, and corrected in the stereotype plates. But the Amen in the Daily Service escaped notice; because, perhaps, Dr. Wainwright relied upon me to look after it, while I was relying upon him. At any rate the thing slipped by, and the first edition of the Standard, by the Messrs. Harper, was printed *without* it. I once told this story, or something of it, to a publisher, and he did not hesitate to restore the Amen. He also put a comma *before* the words "by Faith," in the eleventh Article of the XXXIX. I had pointed this out as one of the things omitted. And doubtless, the comma is generally, if not always found in the Latin copies. See Dr. Lamb's invaluable book on the Articles, published at Cambridge, in 1829. It properly distinguishes the *instrument* of justification from the *basis* of justification, and is theologically pertinent, if not necessary.

"Now, whether such things really belong to the present Standard, is no doubt a question for the casuists. Technically speaking, they of course do not. But under the circumstances, a liberal construction might endure, if not endorse them.

"Certainly the Prayer Book ought to be made consistent with itself. This was a point which we ultimately established as a rule. It was on this ground that we would have restored the Amen; for assuredly the Daily Service and the Litany should not be in direct collision about such a matter — to say nothing of the Amen to a Gloria Patri, in such a subordinate service as the Churching of Women. So we would have restored the word *again* after the words *he rose*, in the Apostles' Creed. It was a miserable hypercriticism which struck it out. It is in the Bible; it is in the Nicene Creed; it is in the form of the Apostles' Creed itself, used in The Visitation of the Sick. And so also, we would have restored the word *holy*, in the Nicene Creed, and have read the ninth article of that Creed — And I believe in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic church. In the same Creed we would have followed what we believed to be the exacter reading, and have printed a portion of the eighth article,

* There were only two hundred and fifty copies of this printed — one token, as the printers would say — and the volume is, in consequence, a great literary rarity. It was never on sale.

thus: 'And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord The Giver of Life.' The phrases refer to two *distinct* attributes of the Holy Ghost, viz: his Divinity, and His power over life.

"We would fain have distinguished the Nicene Creed into its twelve articles, as we did the Apostles', by dividing the articles with any point *above* a comma. By the way, it was this simple plan which introduced a comma *after* the words Catholic Church, and which has made so many brains labor to find out the awful secret of its introduction. I have been asked what *doctrine* I intended to *teach* by that formidable comma; and have astounded my interrogators by the unsophisticated answer, 'No doctrine at all.' What! no doctrine at all? Yes; because I was not authorized to do so; I was only authorized to *make* my work liturgically proper; and it was the most proper division I could think of to bring out the old time-honored Twelve Articles, which seem to be alluded to in the Baptismal Services, and in the Catechism. I may add that I was even disposed — for the sake of catechumens — to print the twelve articles of each Creed as the Ten Commandments are — in paragraphs, marked by Roman numerals. How the Commandments would look if put in *solidum* as the Creeds are!

"We would have printed the *Gloria in Excelsis* in distichs; so that it might be to the eye what now it is most unlike to — a genuine hymn.

"We wanted to correct an ungrammatical clause in the Consecration Prayer of the Communion Service. It is in the last sentence but one — at its close. It should be, not — 'that He may dwell in them, and they in Him'; but 'that He may dwell in us, and we in Him.' The prayer is made up out of two or three others; and any one who will examine the parts put together, will easily see how the thing was overlooked. A much greater error was overlooked elsewhere; showing that our American compilers were not sufficiently aware of the necessity which requires that the Prayer Book should always be consistent with itself. I allude to something in the Office for the Private Baptism of Children. Suppose a clergyman to avail himself of the license given in the Rubric, after the Certification. He will then be made to talk thus: 'As the Holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort, on this wise — Dost thou, in the name of this child,' etc. The least which could have been done would have been to bracket the words *on this wise*.

"We wanted to print the Psalter so that the responsive part of *each verse* might appear to the eye and be said or sung by the congregation or a choir; instead of having the minister and people say whole verses at a time — fusing the proponent and responsive parts of each verse together, and shearing the Psalter of half its force and beauty.

"We wanted to print the Ordinal — the part, so called, which contains the Ordination Services — with its appropriate title and preface, on different pages. And we should have put the XXXIX Articles where they belong, and where the Prayer Book of the Church of England places them, at the *end* of the Ordinal, and not at its beginning. The different parts of the Ordinal are now printed with not even a reference to chronology, i. e., in the order of their adoption. And why liturgical order (which should evidently be the rule for their arrangement) has been utterly neglected here, is to me, one of the mysteries of our American Church history."

Circular.

THE NICENE CREED.

AS SET FORTH BY UNDISPUTED GENERAL COUNCILS. A. D. 451.

We believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, Begotten of the Father before all worlds; Light of Light, very God of very God; Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made, Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate of the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary, And was made man; And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, And suffered and was buried, And the third day rose again according to the Scriptures; And ascended into Heaven; And sitteth on the right hand of the Father; And shall come again with glory to judge quick and dead; Whose Kingdom shall have no end; And in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, and the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets; In One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church; *We* acknowledge one Baptism for remission of sins, *we* look for a Resurrection of the dead, And life of the world to come. Amen.

AS SET FORTH BY POPE NICHOLAS I. A. D. 867.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds; *God of God*, Light of Light, very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made; Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. *He* suffered and was buried; And the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures; And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And *he* shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; Whose kingdom shall have no end. And *I* believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life; Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And *I* believe one [Holy] Catholic and Apostolic Church. *I* acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; And *I* look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the Life of the world to come. Amen.

WHICH IS THE TRUE CREED OF THE CHURCH.

COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (Canon VII.).

July 22, A. D. 431.

These things having been read, the holy Synod has determined that no person shall be allowed to bring forward, or to write, or to compose any

COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (D. F.).

A. D. 451.

The Holy and Œcumenical Synod has decreed that it shall not be lawful for any one to bring forward, or to write or compose, or devise, or to teach men

other creed besides that which was settled by the holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicæa, with the Holy Spirit. But those who shall dare to compose any other Creed, if they are Bishops or Clergymen, they shall be deposed from their office; but if they are of the laity, they shall be anathematized.

any other Creed. But those who dare to compose any other creed, if they are Bishops, or of the Clergy they shall be deposed; but if they are laymen, they shall be anathematized.

Then all the most religious Bishops lifted up their voice, and said,

“THIS IS THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS.”

“Thus did the Oriental Church accuse the Occidental for adding *Filioque* to the Creed, contrary to a general Council, which had prohibited all additions, and that without the least pretense of the authority of another Council; and so the schism between the Latin and the Greek Church began and was continued, never to be ended until those words *FILIOQUE* are taken out of the Creed.”
— Bishop Pearson, on the *VIIIth* Article of the Creed.

MEMORIAL.

To the Rt. Rev. the House of Bishops, and the Rev. the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

FATHERS AND BRETHREN:—Whereas, The *VIIIth* Article of Religion doth declare as follows: “The Nicene Creed ought thoroughly to be received and believed;” and, Whereas, it is desirable that an English version of the same, authentic, and without anything deficient or apocryphal, should be set forth for the further information of the Faithful;

We, the undersigned, do hereby pray the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by a Commission selected for the purpose, or otherwise, to prepare and make record of such a version of the said Nicene Creed.

JOHN ANKETELL,

Actuary for the Memorialists.

HAVANA, N. Y., *Whitsuntide*, 1868.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

SIR ROBERT PHILLIMORE'S JUDGMENT.

THE Dean of the Court of Arches, in the case of *Martin vs. Mackonochie*, and *Flamank vs. Simpson*, pronounced against the Ritualists in regard to Elevation, the mixture of water with the wine, and the use of incense. He decided that the question of *excessive kneeling* should be referred to the discretion of the Ordinary, while that relating to *lights* was in favor of the Defendant. Mr. Mackonochie submitted, but the Promoter subsequently appealed, thus referring the matter for final adjudication to the Queen's Privy Council.

The conclusion of Sir Robert Phillimore's opinion breathes a most noble and Catholic spirit. He says:—

“The basis of the religious establishment in this realm was, I am satisfied, intended by the Constitution and the law to be broad and not narrow. With-

in its walks there is room, if they would cease from litigation, for both parties; for that which is represented by the promoter and for that which is represented by the defendant; for those whose devotion is so supported by simple faith and fervent piety that they derive no aid from external ceremony or ornament, and who think that these things degrade and obscure religion; and for those who think with Burke that Religion 'should be performed, as all public solemn acts are performed, in buildings, in music, in decorations, in speech, in the dignity of persons according to the customs of mankind taught by their nature — that is, with modest splendor and unassuming state, with mild majesty and sober pomp;' who sympathize with Milton the Poet rather than with Milton the Puritan, and who say that these accessories of religious rites —

" 'Dissolve them into ecstasies,
And bring all Heaven before their eyes.'

" St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine represented different schools of religious thought; the primitive Church held them both. Bishop Taylor and Archbishop Leighton differed as to ceremonial observances, but they prayed for the good estate of the same Catholic Church; they held the same faith 'in the unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life;' and the English Church contained them both.

" There is surely room for both the promoter and the defendant in this Church of England, and I should indeed regret if, with any justice, it could be said that this judgment had the slightest tendency either to injure the Catholic foundations upon which our Church rests, or to abridge the liberty which the law has so wisely accorded to her ministers and her congregations."

SECOND REPORT OF THE RITUAL COMMISSION.

In connection with the above, it is interesting to read the conclusions presented to Her Majesty by the Royal Commission on Ritual. Two of the signers of the Report appended an explanation, and two gave a qualified assent, while four members refused their names. We can only give the material points, which received the full concurrence of nineteen commissioners, including His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

" Since we made our first Report to your Majesty in relation to the vestments worn by the ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland at the time of their ministration, we have proceeded to consider the other parts of the subject pointed out in your Majesty's Commission as the most pressing.

" The use of lighted candles in celebrating the Holy Communion when they are not needed for the purpose of giving light, and the use of incense in the public services of the Church, are the matters connected with this part of the subject to which our attention has been mainly directed.

" We have taken evidence, and have availed ourselves of the information furnished by the arguments in the recent suits before the Court of Arches of '*Martin v. Mackonochie*,' and '*Flamank v. Simpson*,' both in respect of lights used at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and also in respect of the use of incense as part of the public service of the Church.

" The use of lighted candles at the celebration of the Holy Communion has been introduced into certain churches within the last twenty-five years. It is true that there have been candlesticks, with candles, on the Lord's table during a long period in many cathedrals and collegiate churches and chapels, and also

in the chapels of some colleges, and of some Royal and Episcopal residences, but the instances that have been adduced to prove that candles have been lighted as accessories to the Holy Communion are few and much contested.

"With regard to parish churches, whatever evidence there may be as to candlesticks with candles being on the Lord's table, no sufficient evidence has been adduced before us to prove that at any time during the last three centuries lighted candles have been used in any of these churches as accessories to the celebration of the Holy Communion, until within about the last twenty-five years.

"The use of incense in the public services of the Church during the present century is very recent, and the instances of its introduction very rare; and so far as we have any evidence before us, it is at variance with the Church's usage for 300 years.

"Under these circumstances, and in conformity with the principles which guided us in our first Report, we are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usage in respect of lighted candles and of incense."

THE SEE OF HEREFORD.

The See of Hereford, made vacant by the death of Bishop Hampden, has received a new incumbent, by the appointment of Her Majesty, in the person of Dr. Atlay of Leeds, a Parish Clergyman who has moved in a wide sphere of usefulness. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was a Bell's University scholar, and a senior optime, and of the first class in the classical tripos. He took his degree of B.A. in 1840, and of M.A. in 1843, and he was ordained a deacon in 1842 by the Bishop of Ely and licensed to the curacy of Worsop, Notts; and a priest in the following year at an ordination by the Bishop of Lincoln. He was vicar of Madingely from 1847 to 1852, and has been a fellow and college tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. On the promotion of Dr. Hook to the deanery of Chichester in 1859 he was presented to the vicarage of Leeds, the patronage of the living being in the hands of 25 trustees. He was appointed a canon of Ripon Cathedral in 1861, and is a rural dean of that Diocese. He does not appear to have been an author.

UNIVERSITY TESTS ABOLITION BILL.

A deputation of heads of houses, proctors, fellows, and graduates of the University of Cambridge, waited upon his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, for the purpose of presenting a memorial, deprecating and protesting against Mr. Coleridge's bill for the abolition of the religious tests now required by the universities — a measure which would in effect allow persons who are not members of the Church of England, and even those who do not profess the Christian religion at all, to become professors or teachers in the University, to take part in its government and administration, to be elected to fellowships, professorships, or even headships of colleges, and to be intrusted with moral control and education of students, even though such students were intended for Holy Orders.

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ART. I. — COMTEAN ATHEISM. No. II.

Augustus Comte, and Positivism. — By JOHN STUART MILL. Reprinted from the Westminster Review. London. 1865.

North American Review, Art. IX. April, 1867.

Addresses on the Religion of Humanity. April, 1868. New York :
Mr. HENRY EDGER.

Edinburgh Review, Art. I. April, 1868.

IN a previous Article we endeavored to show that the foundation of Comtism was false. Our effort was to disprove that Nature exhibited phenomena but in sequence. Positivism itself, when it speaks of Law, must assume the testimony of sense, and consciousness. It does more. It denies its own fundamental principle. It passes into the domain of Absolutism. From how small a number of particular facts, for instance, does it assume the truth of gravitation, and apply it to the Universe? It observes the fall of a few material objects with the eye, and studies the motions of a comparatively few worlds with the telescope, and then embraces every atom in existence, in the infinity of its Law, thus, passing at a bound beyond the circle of *phenomena*, in the true acceptance of the word, according to its Greek derivation, and falsifying its own boasted

maxim by as far as the visible is exceeded by the invisible. As the Sophistry of Hume in regard to the miracles of Scripture, logically applied, would undermine all our knowledge beyond our own individual experience, so, the error of Positivism in reference to causation in Nature, would not only overthrow the whole structure of our Modern Science, but even sweep away its own foundations.

Remarking, that the later designation of the New Philosophy as a Universal Religion, challenges battle on the domain of Theology, and having established, as we think, the doctrine of *causation* as a basis of the argument which infers a Creator from His Works, we now wish to show that every analogy, and every probability is against the system of Comte, viewed as a Religion for Humanity. We propose to prove that the Atheism of Positivism is false from its inevitable results to the individual and to society.

Nor is it difficult to find in Nature an illustration of our views. The theory which places the sun in the centre of our system makes absurd, by the very simplicity of its truthfulness, the cumbersome speculations of Ancient Astronomy. It accounts for all facts. It harmonizes all apparent contrarieties. It is the key to all subordinate phenomena. From age to age, whatever may be developed in any department of Science, is accordant with the great truth that the planets, with their satellites, revolve in elliptical orbits, with gravitating forces inversely proportional to the squares of their distances, about the prime centre of light, and life. But strike out the sun from our system! Instantly, world rushing upon world in the darkness, would fill the Universe with confusion.

Now survey man in his spiritual relations! He is a rational being aspiring to Immortality, and first in the visible Creation. Blot from his soul all conception of God! Let him believe in wild chance, or mere sequence, or unconscious law, as a substitute for the Deity! Do you sink his nature? Do you disturb his relations? Do you defeat the evident ends of his existence? You, therefore, not unreasonably infer, that, if the Being of a Supreme Creator is necessary to the development, and happiness of the soul, the system which would obliterate Him from Nature, cannot certainly be the true Religion of Humanity.

But, in expanding this argument, before I proceed to exhibit more particularly the falsity of Positivism from its results, let me first remark, it cannot be urged by the disciples of M. Comte

that his Philosophy is not necessarily Atheism. True, he neither affirms nor denies in regard to the existence of a Deity. He simply says he knows nothing of the subject. He sees only phenomena in sequence, and does not look beyond. But in admitting no causation, he of course concedes no First Cause. Besides, an absolute, and inevitable ignorance of God, so far as its effects are traceable upon the mind, and the life, is the same as a denial of his existence. For the purposes of this argument Positivism is Atheism, and is therefore exposed to all the force of those proofs demonstrating a Divinity.

With these remarks let us proceed to test the system of M. Comte by its effects upon M. Comte himself. We will suppose that the Parisian Philosopher, as a type of humanity, has passed through the various phases of development he describes. He begins with Fetishism. We behold him prostrate before the sun, a mountain, a gorilla, or an elephant. He adores all the material objects of the Universe which promote his comfort, awaken his fears, or excite his hopes. His soul is darkened, sensualized, and fettered by the physical. Now, however, in the progressive but normal tendencies of his nature, he emerges into Polytheism. He peoples Earth and Heaven with personal Deities. He may bow in worship to an Egyptian, or a Babylonish image in gigantic marble. He may adore the monstrous creations of Oriental Asia. He may kneel in the Agora amid the beautiful forms of Grecian genius, or in the Roman capitol before the majesty of Jupiter. But, finally, a yet higher stage is attained. The divinities which flew over the Earth, and flashed over the Heavens, have vanished, and our Philosopher substitutes in their place certain cold, passionless, invisible entities, not springing from the Imagination, but the Reason, which are the metaphysical virtues supposed to control and perpetuate Nature. At last, however, M. Comte attains in his necessary development the monotheistic period. He believes in a single God. He stands in the rank with Moses, with Paul, with Bacon, with Newton, with Washington, and multitudes of other moral and intellectual heroes who have left on mankind the noblest impress. He perceives pervading the mighty mechanism of the Universe from centre to circumference—through atoms, and fibres, and organs—through forms, and changes, and revolutions—through plants, and mountains, and worlds—from the insect lowest in the visible scale to man appearing highest—*One Perfect*

Mind—the fountain of all being—the centre to creation of beauty and of glory—existing from Eternity to Eternity, and guiding all things forever with an undeviating Wisdom, Holiness, and Love, while the Intelligences formed and sustained by His power, united in fraternal fellowship, execute His will, celebrate His praise, and bow before His Throne, and with the Past, the Present, and the Future, connect the ordinations of this unerring, this immaculate, this pervading Spirit, as their Sovereign Creator. One would suppose that such a condition of belief was suited to all the wants and demands of the human mind. Here M. Comte must, however, part company with those illustrious men who have dwarfed their faculties by lingering in such a superstition. These monotheistic giants are but comparative infants. The French Philosopher, led by the hand of Science, reaches the last, and highest attainable development. He is a Positivist. He knows no God. He believes no Immortality. He acknowledges nothing but Phenomena in the Universe. He sees only Nature in sequence. Now, having blotted from his soul all faith in his God, and his Immortality, is the condition attained such as to give plausibility to his System? Or we may carry our supposition even farther than the wildest Imagination can conceive possible. We will fancy that the prophecies of M. Comte are fulfilled; that he has persuaded mankind to Positivism, and that Paris is the centre of the New Philosophy and the capital of the entire world. All former nationalities are absorbed. All former schemes are annihilated. All former religions are abolished. The nations of the earth, divided into small communities, having Paris as their metropolis, are ruled by Three Bankers, and Three Philosophers, while Faith in the Deity, and the Hereafter have given place to one universal doubt. And this, remember, is the millenium of the race promised by the new Religion for Humanity. We have a right to pause and inquire what will be the effect upon society of this its final and most attractive development.

First, we may passingly suggest, that no possible system could be less likely to thus prove universal than that of M. Comte. A few Philosophers might be interested in the assertion that we know nothing of Nature but phenomena. But preach the System to mankind! How little can the toiling, undisciplined, unreflecting millions sympathize with such an abstraction. It appeals neither to their hopes, or their fears. It stirs no passion. It awakens no

affection. It stimulates no energy. It gives no place to the æsthetic. There is no heart in such a speculation. The appeal is simply to hard, dry, cultivated intellect. M. Comte's Philosophy may be discussed by a few French savans; but to style it a Religion of Humanity, and suppose that it will dethrone the Religion of Nature, or overthrow the Religion of the Bible, which address themselves to every part of man's being, is a greater demand upon credulity than to believe those glowing prophecies of the Scripture, depicting in the most brilliant colors, and images of Poetry, the universal triumph of the Messiah.

But we object further to Positivism, leading to the practical denial of a God, that, instead of elevating, it must inevitably *degrade* humanity. Devotion exalts the true worshiper in the temple of Creation. Brought into contact with the Infinite, there is imparted to his being a stimulus at once the most healthful, and intense. You have presented to him all that satisfies his nature. You elevate him to what certainly seems the loftiest dignity of the truest manhood. You lift him into what appears the normal condition of his faculties. Now blot God from his soul! As the image fades, the nature sinks. Contraction distorts, benumbs, paralyzes the noblest powers, and aspirations of the man. He experiences the darkness of midnight, the coldness of winter, and the desolation of exile. Nay! hurried forward by an unsatisfied and resistless impulse to worship, you find him, perhaps, prostrate before the Universe, enthroning a lifeless law for a living Lawgiver; substituting the Creation for the Creator; adoring the temple instead of its Deity. It is thus, in this age of Science, we have seen the polished Philosopher rush from the extreme of Skepticism to the extravagance of Pantheism, making a portion of his God insect, and mountain, serpent, and sun — all that disgusts on earth as well as all that brightens in the Heavens. Thus, Positivism itself, as we shall see in the example of its illustrious author, has traversed its circle back to idolatry, and, instead of being *elevated* by its study of phenomena, and their sequences, has been virtually *debased* into paganism. This nineteenth century has witnessed the learned German, the cultured Frenchman, and the stupid Hottentot kneeling suppliants at a common altar.

But by a strange, and necessary, yet apparently, contradictory tendency, Positivism, — this misnamed Religion of Humanity, — will *inflate* as well as *debase*. It leads to vanity. He who views

God in His works, is at once humiliated, and elevated. When his form assumes its lowest posture in adoration, his spirit reaches its sublimest altitude. On the contrary, the Atheism of Positivism, while despoiling human dignity, excites human pride. Its votary traces progression from the unorganized atom through successive gradations of being, until he reaches man. Analogy might carry him through superior, although invisible orders of existence, upward, even to an original, and perfect cause. But he will perceive only phenomena. He recognizes only sequences. He believes only what his senses testify. Perceiving no higher he supposes *himself* highest. Thus this Philosopher, whose harvest may be blasted by a frost, or a worm — who may be whirled like a plaything in the circles of the tempest — who may be scathed by a stroke of lightning, or killed by the prick of a pin — who may be lifted contemptuously by the billows to the clouds, and then dashed down to be drowned in the abysses of the ocean — who groans with a toothache, swells with a dropsy, burns with a fever, chatters with a cold, or wastes with a consumption — who shall be converted into dust, or consumed by the worm — this Positivist, displacing Jehovah from the Universe, makes *himself* the first being in Nature, and consequently the object of his own adoration. Thus M. Comte, instead of God, presents *humanity* for our Worship. To the vanity of the Frenchman he adds the pride of the Atheist.

What is far worse, the propagation of Positivism would be the *demoralization* of humanity. Even the State absolutely requires a recognized supreme authority. Where this is obliterated confusion and dismay succeed. Yet, however essential, it is confessedly imperfect. Acknowledged criminals escape through the cunning which evades, the wealth which corrupts, or the power which overawes Justice. Besides, the State only prosecutes the external act. Multitudes of sins are beyond its scope, never coming to the surface, existing only in intention, unseen by mortal vision, yet full of all the malignity of open transgression — secretly blasting the entire moral being, and corrupting society in all its departments. Let the Propagandists of Positivism abolish responsibility to a personal God! Let them obscure from public gaze the Eye which scrutinizes each thought, each feeling, each motive, darting its flames through the labyrinths of the Spirit! Let them persuade the world that the Omnipotence is paralyzed, which can drag

from darkness every concealed culprit, and place him in the blaze of a General Judgment! With their bland discourses, and assuming phrases, and charitable pretences, let them blot God from the human apprehension! They remove the central principle of moral gravitation. They annihilate Law. They destroy accountability. They extinguish conscience. They give reign at last to caprice, appetite, passion. They demoralize the race. They loose a world from its anchorage, and deluge it with fatal floods.

Finally, Positivism — in name Philosophy, in fact Atheism, — so mild, so insidious, so humane — borrowing for its disguise the beautiful charities of the Gospel — attempting an Evangelism of Science, and promising a Millenium of Truth, — Positivism — could it become the Religion of Humanity — would tend to an inevitable recklessness of life, to desolation, to despair. That system which dethrones God rejects Immortality. It wearies with the confusions and sufferings of earth. It seeks the extinguishment of conscience. It not only would avoid the eye of a Judge, but fly from the pangs of its own being, and thus lives hovering on the verge of suicide, ever ready to cut the worthless cord binding to this wretched earth. We cannot separate M. Comte's System from its religious aspects, and consider it only as a Philosophy. Such a view in many Christian discourses is amazing. Besides, it is now openly styled the *Religion of Humanity*. No! the Positivist must be considered, not only as divesting himself of all that dignity which results from faith in a Sovereign Creator, but as despoiling himself of that anticipation, ennobling the humblest Christian, who, gazing through the gates of the grave, sees in the future an Immortal Life. The path of the Comtist winds amid tears, and struggles to terminate not in a Heaven but in a grave; not amid angels, but amid worms; not in a radiant bliss, but a loathsome corruption. He must be remembered as reducing himself to the rank of the insect which will devour his flesh, and the beasts which will graze around his tomb, when, in the same grave, he buries Faith in God, and Immortality. It is not to be wondered if he slightly regards his life. Nor will the difficulty terminate with himself. A universal recklessness would mark the reign of Positivism. How for our caprice, or our comfort we destroy the lower forms of animal life! In the higher, what millions of remorseless sacrifices daily for human sustenance! Why is such wholesale slaughter perpetrated without hesitation, and with-

out regret? The fatal blow is unhesitatingly given, because death extinguishes existence. Where there is no Hereafter, capable of pain, and liable to accountability, life is comparatively valueless. It is only when the human being stands before you in the Divine Image, freighted with everlasting destinies, and impressed with the commanding majesty of an acknowledged Immortality; it is only when you feel that the act of a moment may decide the character of an Eternity; it is only when you believe yourself beneath an Omniscient Eye, and exposed to an Omniscient Arm, that you fear to pierce those purple currents, whose ebbing drops and awful stains remind of an endless Future. We charge that Positivism cannot be the Religion of Humanity because its inevitable Atheism destroys one of the greatest securities of Humanity. However mild, and cultured the phrase and bearing of a few polished Parisian Philosophers who discuss its claims in the drawing-room, or the Academy, let it prevail among the careless, reckless, passionate millions of our world, and its results through society would soon be visible, in deeds of violence, and blood. The effect upon France now would be the same, as when, under other names, and pretexts, she voted Immortality from man, and existence from God. Sadness, desolation, and despair are the heritage of Positivism to the individual and to society. More pitiable than even the dying desperation of Voltaire, the last buffooneries of Hume, or the living agonies of Byron, is the career of the mild and virtuous Comte, when, made fully the victim of his own Philosophy, he had obliterated from his soul all faith in a Hereafter, and all sense of a Deity. This remark now leads me to consider his life, as an illustration of his System. Let us test this new Religion for Humanity, by its effects on its own author. It is difficult to say whether laughter or tears should predominate in the recital.

M. Comte in childhood gave evidence of remarkable intellectual power. He was slight in frame, delicate in organization, and sober in his disposition. He early displayed a singular combination of veneration and insubordination. He seems to have been absolutely destitute of all sense of the ludicrous. Youth, and age were to him simply intense and solemn earnestness, unrelieved by smiles or laughter. When sixteen he issued a document, pronouncing a master unworthy of his office, and in consequence the school was disbanded. His long intimacy with Saint Simon terminated in a quarrel, and the most virulent hostility. After

elaborating the System of Positivism, and surrounding himself by a select and brilliant audience, including Humboldt, Poinsett, and DeBlainville, excessive study and excitement dethroned Reason, and he sought to extinguish his sufferings in the Seine, having previously endeavored to drag his wife with him into the Lake of Enghien. His frenzied extravagances were at once ludicrous and frightful, and it is not certain, that after emerging from the Lunatic Asylum, his brain ever wholly recovered from the terrible shock which shattered all his faculties. His quarrels with his wife were constant and painful, clouding his entire married life, and ending in a separation which must have been a mutual relief. We find M. Comte also in perpetual trouble in the *École Polytechnique*, until, finally, his relations became so embarrassed, and unendurable, that he was dismissed from the subordinate position which he had held for many years. After his connection with this institution, he was supported for a period by the generosity of friends, but unwisely and indelicately claiming that as a right, which was really a charity, he estranged those who were his most devoted, and enthusiastic disciples. At the close of his career, when Positivism had developed itself into a Universal Religion, so wild were his speculations, so insufferable his vanity, so arrogant his pretensions, that he ostracized all who did not accept his entire system, and offended, or disgusted men who really admired his genius, and were willing, in many departments of knowledge, to sit at his feet with the docility of children. In the language of Mr. Mill, "His self-confidence became colossal. Except here, and there, in an entirely self-taught thinker, who has no high standard with which to compare himself, we have met with nothing approaching it. As his thoughts grew more extravagant, his self-confidence grew more outrageous. The height it ultimately attained must be seen in his writings to be believed." This same writer, a most devoted disciple of Positivism, speaking again of his master's errors, remarks that their explanation is to be found, "in an original mental twist, very common to French thinkers, and by which M. Comte was distinguished above them all. He could not dispense with what he called, Unity." Mr. Mill seems finally to attain a state of mingled despair and disgust in view of the eternal systematizing of this great discoverer of the Religion for Humanity. We mention these facts because we believe that inordinate vanity, and an almost frenzied desire for unity, appearing

in the youth of M. Comte, were simply developments of his natural character, intensified by advancing age, until they colored and moulded his entire system of Philosophy.

But to what an extent this originator of a Universal Religion sought to impose his opinions, and even sentiments upon mankind would be incredible, if the facts had not been recorded by his own friends. It is conceded by Mr. Mill that the worship of M. Comte is without a God, and thus far the master is most cordially approved by the disciple. To ascertain how the novel conception of a Religion, destitute of a Deity, originated, becomes a most interesting inquiry. We have seen that the relations of M. Comte with his wife were not the most agreeable. Two years after his separation he met Madame Clotilde de Vaux, whose husband had been condemned for life to the galleys. Instantly the French Philosopher is in a flame. The fires of love have never before so burned in the veins of even youth. M. Comte is transported into an Elysium. Suddenly his ecstasies are terminated by the death of the woman he adored. This year of Platonic affection revolutionizes his Philosophy into a Religion which is to regenerate the world. Our Positivist becomes a worshiper. Woman, in her relations as mother, wife, daughter, representing the Past, Present, and Future, is to be the object of universal adoration. Nay! soon the great Positivist, growing more expansive in his views, would have us prostrate before *mankind* instead of Jehovah. He proposes, that, while private adoration shall in all cases be addressed to woman, yet, that in public celebrations our worship shall be directed to collective Humanity. Yea! further, he subsequently included in his conceptions even those brutes who are serviceable to the race. Returning to Fetishism, he attributed to the earth a species of life, and made space itself a Deity. Nor does he rest in mere abstract theory, or confine his opinions to himself. He seeks to reduce his views to practice, and impose them on the world. Two hours of every day must be devoted to the memory of the departed. The first, and longest period of worship is to be in a kneeling attitude, while the last is to soothe us into sleep, and discipline our dreams. The Public Cultus consists of eighty-four annual festivals for the glory of Humanity. The new Religion has also nine Sacraments. To make it universal, M. Comte proposed to dissolve all present nationalities, and establish over the entire world small Republics. From Paris as a metropolis three

Bankers were to rule the earth, while a Grand Pontiff of Philosophy, by the power of opinion, was to give Positivism as a Law to Mankind. M. Comte predicted that in a brief period of years his system would rule the world, in the last cycle of its development becoming allied to Fetishism. Thus, the Universal Religion having found, in a Platonic affection, for a separated wife, its first conception of worship, substitutes, instead of God, first, Woman, and then Humanity, for the adoration of our race. What a proof of the deathless longing of the soul, and the necessary being of the Deity, is presented, as we behold this French Atheist, kneeling in tears beside the grave of Clotilde de Vaux, or prostrating himself before the shadowy memories of departed mortals!

Yes! we are to have a millenium of Fetishism. The superstition of Africa is to be the glory of mankind! Is this doubted as the assertion of an enemy? Hear the words of a Comtean oracle interpreting the mind of its deity. Mr. John Stuart Mill says of the later productions of his master: "He gives much greater development than before to the Fetishistic, and to what he terms the Theocratic periods. To the Fetishistic view of nature he evinces a partiality which appears strange in a Positive Philosopher. But the reason is that Fetish worship is a Religion of the feelings, and not of the intelligence. He regards it as cultivating universal love. He looks upon Fetishism as much more akin to Positivism than any of the forms of theology, inasmuch as these consider matter as inert, and moved only by forces, natural, or supernatural to itself, while *Fetishism resembles Positivism in conceiving matter as spontaneously active*, and errs only by not distinguishing activity from life." We would suggest to Mr. Edger — the John the Baptist of the new Religion of Humanity in this wilderness of America — that, instead of presenting its Philosophical aspects, he deliver a few discourses on its *Cultus*. Let him describe his master's forms of private devotion. Let him initiate public festivals in worship to Humanity. Let him observe the Sacraments of the Universal Religion. This nineteenth century shall then behold in our Republic, this Positivist Regenerator, this Public Preacher of Scientific Reform, this Apostle of a Continent, kneeling in Prayer, not to the Sovereign Creator, eternal in Being, and infinite in Perfection; not to the personal existences of the heathen worship; not, perhaps, influenced by M. Comte's later predilections to bow before the material, but at least palpable objects of Fetishism; not addressing

even the spirits of Earth's departed benefactors, since he denies their existence after death—but adoring *images* of the Past pictured on his memory, or directing his devotion to a monstrous figure of the fancy styled the “Grand Etré of Humanity.”

Delicate, and hazardous as may be the attempt, it is almost impossible to avoid a contrast between the originator of Positivism, and the author of that Holy Religion whose falsity it takes for granted. How superior in its adaptation is His System, founded, not on a scientific abstraction, but on *principles of Morality*! How practical the truths He inculcates! How noble the worship He enjoins! How simple, yet how impressive, and venerable the Sacraments He instituted, representing to the senses the great doctrines of Christianity, and touching the heart by memories of His Person! How grand those Evidences, which, in Prophecy are linked to Omniscience, and in miracle to Omnipotence! How wise, and admirable those institutions of the Gospel which have not only perpetuated its power, but spread it through the world! How it appeals to our hopes, our fears, our affections, our conscience, our intellect, at once connecting itself with all the interests of time, and all our expectations in Eternity! Certainly in its adaptation to Humanity, the Philosophy of M. Comte is infinitely inferior to the Religion of Jesus Christ. Considering, for the present, our Saviour as simply a man, how the character of the Great Theist rises when compared with that of the French Athiest! What wisdom did He exhibit! What dignity! What majesty! He addressed himself not alone to Savans, but, identified with every want and woe of man, became a Teacher of the People. How His illustrations, embodying the deepest moral truth, touch the heart of Humanity! How His parables, move and instruct all ages! How often have the bloom, and scent of those untailing lilies, outshining the glory of Solomon, cheered desponding Poverty! How has that wing of maternal love, sheltering a young brood from fierce talons of destruction, proved through generations an image of the Divine Mercy! How different the mere intellectualism of the French Philosopher from the influence of Jesus over the ignorant, and depraved masses! See how His immaculate Majesty, instead of chilling, and repressing, draws the multitude within the circle of its mysterious love. If Heaven exhibits Him surrounded by saints, and angels, Earth shows Him the centre of a picture, where appears the lame, the maimed, the halt, the blind, the lep-

rous, the lunatic,—publicans, harlots, criminals, outcasts,—men exhibiting every deformity of soul, and body—creeping, climbing, staggering, stumbling, falling, into the Presence of this matchless Purity—now with outstretched hands, and clamorous voices, now with eloquent silence, and pleading tears, supplicating the healing virtue, and then running, leaping, shouting to proclaim its power. Turning from the abstractions of Positivism, and the undignified weaknesses of its dreamy and isolated author, we certainly behold in the career and the teaching of Jesus Christ much more that leaves the impress of a Religion for Humanity. The record of the widow's son starting from his bier; of the ruler's daughter rising from her couch; of the issue of blood stanching by a touch; of Jesus walking to the assistance of his frightened followers over the midnight billow; of Peter lifted from the abyss; of the Syrophenician's daughter delivered by the trembling mother's faith; of the paralytic let down through the tiling; of blind Bartimeus restored through his loud cries; of Jerusalem doomed, but lamented; of the thief promised Paradise in his dying moment; of the weeping mother remembered in the agony of the Cross; of the prayer of expiring anguish uttered for the enemies by whom it was inflicted; of the hands of the ascending Redeemer stretched in blessing over the world by which He was crucified, will most probably live on the canvas of art, and in the affectionate memories of mankind, when the dreams of Positivism are used but to demonstrate the possible limits of human folly.

Nor can we forbear, in conclusion, glancing at an argument, suggested by our former Article, in favor of those Scriptures which M. Comte contemptuously regards as a myth, or a superstition, unworthy of serious notice. Do we obtain from our own consciousness the conception of *causation*, and then, transferring it to a Universe exhibiting traces of wisdom and power, rise to the conception of a God? Must motion proceed from *mind*, and not from *matter*? Are the forces of creation but the volitions of the Deity? If reason can proceed thus far, certain other consequences are inevitable. From the fact that being in the present proves that there must have always been existence in the past; from the vastness of creation; from the impossibility that matter should conserve, and govern itself; from the changelessness of all known laws; from the uniformity of plan everywhere visible through the Universe; from the numberless traces of design we constantly remark; from

the mingled evidences of wrath, and mercy seen in the suffering, and in the happiness of our world — having first demonstrated in the method indicated that God is — we necessarily infer His Eternity, His Omnipotence, His Omniscience, His Unity, His Wisdom, His Justice, His Love. With all the advances of Science, revealing the facts and principles of Nature, our proofs of these attributes multiply. Perhaps, upon the supposition of a God, this will be conceded even by the **Positivist**. The question then arises, do the representations of the Scripture accord with these deductions of Reason? In the deities of Babylon, and Egypt, and Greece, and Rome, and India, and China, we find no such attributes as accord with the greatness and majesty of that Being ruling over a Universe so vast in extent, so intricate in its movements, so uniform in its laws, so wise in its arrangements, as ours is proved to be, by the discoveries of Science. Yet in the Bible are descriptions in every way worthy of His character, and just such as would be suggested by modern research. How does this happen? Job wrote before Homer. Moses preceded Hesiod. David sang before the age of Euripides. Solomon penned his Canticles ages before Virgil penned his Eclogues. The sublimity of Isaiah exalted long before the polish of Horace pleased. The majestic descriptions of the Scripture began in the morning of our world before Art, before Science, before Philosophy. Yet, while in the progress of mankind, the debasing superstitions of Fetishism, and the corrupting idolatries of Polytheism, have passed away from its intelligence — not to be restored even by the later sympathies of M. Comte, and the final developments of Positivism — how does it occur that Science, in her furthest and profoundest researches into Nature, finds no traces of an attribute undelineated in the Bible? Nay, should she carry us around the circles of the Universe, exhibiting all that is minute, and all that is vast, she not only never transcends in her discoveries, the descriptions of the sacred writers, but can never rise to their elevation. By her observations and her calculations should she reveal the whole plan of creation, and then catch the loftiest inspirations of Poetry, she could not comprehend or express, much less exceed, Eternity, Immutability, Omnipresence, Omnipotence, Omniscience — Purity without a stain, Justice without a blemish, Wisdom without an error, Love without a limit — a Perfection, in itself, Absolute and Infinite. The Divine Nature as unfolded in the Bible is beyond both the measure of

human capacity, and the march of human progress. The descriptions of Moses, the delineations of David, the sublimities of Isaiah, the representations of Paul, produced in a mere twilight of Science, not only may express the devotional feelings of a Bacon, a Galileo, a Newton, a Davy, amid the brightest blaze of modern discovery, but may be conceived as worthy of the lips and harps of Saints and Cherubim before the Throne of Heaven, during the endless progressions of the great Hereafter. Yet we are asked to substitute the Philosophy of Positivism for the System of the Scripture, the worship of Humanity for the adoration of Jehovah, and the career of M. Comte for the Life of Jesus Christ.

ART. II.—'EN BAPTISMA ; OR MERCY TO BABES.

A Plea for the Christian Baptism of Infants ; addressed to those who doubt and those who deny the validity of that practice, upon the grounds of the Doctrine of Baptism, and the literal sense of Holy Writ, and of the Domestic, Social, and Religious Nature of Man.—By WILLIAM ADAMS, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology, in Nashotah Theological Seminary, Wisconsin. Philadelphia : Richard McCauley, 1314 Chestnut St.

THE author of this book is unfortunate in having a name that belonged to others, who, in their day, did good service to the Church of Christ, and whose memory still lives. Beside many bearing that surname, there was one *William Adams* of Christ Church College, Oxon, and subsequently Rector of Staunton-upon-Wye in Herefordshire, whose sermons were published in 1716 by the famous Dr. Sacheverel. In the next generation another, and more distinguished *William Adams* was Master of Pembroke College, Oxon, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Landaff. Besides several occasional sermons and tractates, he published a volume of excellent discourses, some of which were reprinted in 1795, in the admirable collection edited by Vicesimus Knox. About fifty years after his decease, Oxford produced another *William Adams*, who will long be honored for "The Shadow of the Cross," "The King's Messengers," and other graceful allegories in which he taught Gospel truths to young and old. And there is now alive

another possessor of the same name, who, though not of our Household of Faith, is well known to the American Public as a preacher and writer. Here then are already four claimants for whatever of honor or reward belongs to William Adams — four obstacles in the way of any other so called, who may seek to secure attention and credit. Any such person must fail of his purpose and dwell in obscurity, unless he is able to outdo the best achievements of his predecessors ; or at the least to show that he possesses unusual talent and a true individuality.

Even on these terms, we have no fears for this fifth bearer of the name. If the book before us were his only ground of claim, he might safely take his stand on it ; for though small in size, it is such a book as no one but a man of vigorous and original mind could produce. The author is not a stranger, nor a novice, nor one of the "mob of gentlemen, who write with ease." He is not a retailer of common-places, nor a seeker after popularity, but a man of well-stored and active mind, a natural teacher, who speaks or writes that he may instruct, and who is listened to with attention and respect because he never trifles with his hearers. Long ago he won for himself an honorable position among writers on ecclesiastical subjects, by a series of essays, which he collected and issued in a volume bearing the mysterious name of "Fewel." That book proved that he possessed a more thorough understanding of such topics, a clearer perception of the great principles involved in them, as well as of the means by which evils could be remedied and success attained, than was at all common among even the best contributors to Church journals of that day — or this. Since then he has frequently written for this Review, and for other periodicals having the same general purpose. At times he has appeared somewhat in the light of a "setter forth of strange" notions ; but the more his lesson, or suggestion was considered, the more valuable and timely it was found to be. He was merely in advance of the prevailing sentiment or opinion, and that not through willfulness, but wisdom. It is to him we owe the return of the American Church to the primitive system of See Bishoprics ; and it was in the pages of this Review he first pointed out the advantages of this, and showed the absurdity of what we may call the State Rights Episcopacy. But to many of our readers he is probably better known by his largest and most ambitious work, "The Elements of Christian Science," published in 1850, — a

book too good to be popular, — one that fully vindicates his right to rank among the masters of Divine Philosophy.

And yet he has still better claims upon our attention and regard. Much as his pen has done to gain him honor, his written works are of less value than his unwritten. He was one of the three Evangelists to whom, under God, the Church is indebted for the awakening of its missionary spirit, — for the wonderful impetus it has received, and the strength it now possesses, in the great Northwestern territory. About thirty years ago, in company with Lloyd Breck and another fellow-student, he turned his back upon the comparative comforts and advantages of ministerial life on the Atlantic coast, and sought a field of labor among the Indians, the trappers and pioneers, in what was then the Far West. They left behind them almost everything that seemed desirable to men of culture. Filled with zeal for Christ and His Church, with love for souls, and with faith in the special promise attached to the great commission, they went some sixteen hundred miles towards the setting sun, and out on what was then the very verge of civilization, founded the first associate mission of modern times. With hearts so full of trust and hope they must have looked for success, but not, we think, for success coming so soon, nor in such glorious measure as God vouchsafed to their self-denying labor. They knew that "one planteth and another reapeth;" and, well content, they went forth, taking as their device a Cross, with the motto, "Requies post laborem." But the Lord of the vineyard has permitted them to taste of the joy of harvest. Their hearts have been gladdened by seeing results of their work, more glorious than almost any that have been perceived, in so short a time, since the Apostolic Age. Those results would have appeared incredible, if announced to them when they took up their abode in the log cabin that was to serve for church, and school, and home. Yet from their venture of faith — from the beginning thus made in the forest, beside the twin lakes of Nashotah, came Racine College — the noble Seminary of which our author is still the ornament — and the whole Diocese of Wisconsin. These are *direct* results — the indirect cannot be measured. How much, then, has already been accomplished through these Heralds of the Cross! How much better qualified, in consequence of their zeal and labor, is the Church of this generation to carry on her peculiar work in that important field, to assert and defend the truth, to redeem and pro-

tect that noble region from the double curse of Romanism and Infidelity. How great, then, is the debt we owe the men who established the Mission and the Seminary ! Books, however able, may be forgotten ; but works like theirs can never cease to influence. They can never fade from the memory of Christian men. The world has known but one Lloyd Breck, and he shall be held in everlasting remembrance. It has known many a William Adams ; but, however it shall be with the rest, *this one*, the life-long missionary and teacher of missionaries, shall be named with honor and affection, in the ages that are to come.

But glad as we are to write thus of one whom we esteem so highly, and whom the Church delighteth to honor, it is not strictly in the line of our present duty. We have to furnish our readers with a full and fair description of the work now before us, that they may know its real character, and so be able to judge whether it is calculated to aid them in overcoming prejudices, or in strengthening the faith of weak disciples.

The book is unquestionably the product of necessity. To the author, and all associated with him in proclaiming the truth of the Gospel in our Western country, the heresy of the Anabaptists is much more of an obstacle than it is here with us ; and they find that its influence is by no means confined to those who place themselves under the banner of Roger Williams, or Alexander Campbell. Among the members of the other "denominations," there are some who deny, and many who decry the lawfulness of Infant Baptism ; and there are many others, who, imitating their neighbors, neglect it entirely, without giving the subject the least consideration. In the hope of correcting this great evil, Dr. Adams prepared his plea, entitled "*Mercy to Babes*," which, in spite of an unprecedented number of typographical errors, was found better adapted to serve the cause of truth than any other book upon the subject that our ministers could circulate. Of the work in its first form, the author speaks thus : "It was very badly printed, so much so, indeed, as to be in many places utterly unintelligible. In fact, one of its Reviewers said, and, I believe, very justly, that it was the worst printed book he had ever seen. Still it was acceptable and popular, and sold rapidly."

A new edition having been frequently called for, and *reprinting* it as it was, being out of the question, the Doctor determined to rewrite the work, and did so, making so many changes and cor-

rections, and adding so much, and taking away so much, that this volume, now printed from manuscript, is really a new book. It has, accordingly, received a new title. But the admirers of the former treatise will find that in this the same "line of argumentation" has been pursued, and many of the thoughts and illustrations have been retained. We are glad to say that on this occasion the printer has done his work creditably, though a few errors have escaped his eye, as well as that of the friend whom the author thanks rather extravagantly for correcting the proofs.

Some are so weak as to suppose that too much is made of this subject. They class it among the lesser matters, upon which differences of opinion may exist, and from either view of which no real harm can come. But those who have most carefully considered the state of Society, with a view to ascertaining the cause of the ungodliness and indifferentism that are so prevalent, can see in the neglect of Holy Baptism the root of all this evil; and they believe the great remedy for it is the restoration of that Sacrament to its proper place, and the faithful discharge of the duties it involves — in other words, the universal admission of infants to the Church, and their being thenceafter trained up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

Dr. Adams is strongly of this persuasion. He speaks in his preface of the doctrine and practice for which he pleads, as those upon which "the whole of Christian Education, and, in a great measure, our onward progress in civilization itself depend. And again, treating of public morals, he mentions the melancholy fact, that the morality of Christianity has never been that of any kingdom or country, but only of individuals — that, in fact, no nation in Christendom has as yet exhibited a morality "at all equal to that of the Romans — the *Plebs Romana*, from the epoch, we will say, of the expulsion of the Kings to the death of the Gracchi."

This is a startling assertion, and doubtless perfectly correct; indeed quite undeniable, if the phrase "in any degree superior" be substituted for "at all equal." And is it not humiliating, disgraceful? Why is it that the sneering Essayist feels at liberty to say, "Under the Stoics every man was a Stoic, but under Christianity where are the Christians?" Our author and we could give a reply to this question, which, though it would only occasion another sneer, would yet reveal the very source of the evil.

Corrupt human nature is left to itself. The Divine influence by which alone it can be changed and sanctified, is not sought. The means whereby the grace of God is bestowed in accordance with His promise, is either wholly neglected, or used only as an empty form. Without earnest prayer, or faith accompanying it; without the sense of a real blessing conveyed, or positive duties assumed in it, Baptism is little better than writing a name in the Parish Register; at least it is not a whit more profitable than that of St. John, and those who receive it so might say, "We know not 'whether there be any Holy Ghost!'" Without the covenanted help of God's Spirit to restrain and guide them; without the special sense of His Presence, and of their own solemn obligation; without the training that all Christians should receive, how is it possible for the multitude, in this or any other land, to get beyond the standard of Heathen morality, and bring forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness? Things must remain as they are until the truth has been learned and acted upon. The reproach cannot be removed, the sneer of the scoffer will not cease, until those nations that claim to be Christian become indeed, and in truth, "the Kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ."

Our author hopes and believes, that this country, which, in all the elements of material prosperity, is so rapidly advancing to the foremost place among nations, will also lead them in this far more important particular. He believes that America is destined to present to the World for the first time, the sublime spectacle of a Christian Nation, that is, a nation of Christians. "And if this glorious result come to us, that the morality of the Gospel—in the high and holy sense in which the Primitive Christians felt it, and acted upon it—is to become and be the morality of the nation, *it can only come in one way*, namely, by the universal spread of the Church, the Kingdom of God, over the whole United States, and by the growth and increase, within the Church itself, of personal Faith and Holiness in all its members."

It is needless to say that no such state of affairs can exist until the doctrine of Holy Baptism is fully understood, believed, and acted upon; until every child born into the world is in the faithful and prayerful use of the appointed Sacrament born again unto God, and thenceafter instructed and nourished in a manner befitting a member of Christ, and an heir of Immortality. And the great impediment in the way of the Church's advance to her proper posi-

tion of efficacy, dignity, and sanctity — to the position wherein she shall not merely *lead* the nation, but *include it and mould it to godliness*, is not, we think, the actual wickedness that abounds throughout the land, but that spirit among professing Christians which leads them to undervalue the very means appointed by God for the bestowal of his grace. Our "Baptist" friends have yielded to this spirit. They have accepted the lowest Zuinglian, or almost Socinian view of Christian ordinances; but in this respect they are by no means singular. The same sad defection is found in almost all those who yet singularly enough are styled "the Evangelical denominations." And it is found in some among ourselves, who, consequently, find our Liturgy burdensome to their conscience, and who unhesitatingly, but most inconsistently, denounce, as Romish, opinions, that are in all essential particulars coincident with those of the men who founded the Low Church party in England, or were prominent members of it. It would be very easy to prove this by placing side by side extracts from English Divines, and from American Church papers of the class referred to. And it would serve a good purpose to show how completely the conductors of those papers repudiate the teachings of the men whose true and only successors they claim to be; but it would lead us too far from our present task. We shall therefore leave the assertion unsupported by any proof beyond what is supplied by this singular fact, that even Bickersteth, is not considered "Evangelical" enough by the successors of Bickersteth. His work on "Baptism" is circulated freely and without scruple by the majority of our Clergy; but the minority — those who profess to be in doctrine and practice such as he was — give it no public countenance. They still claim the *man*, for the "E. K. S." publishes a memoir of him, which, of course, represents him precisely in the light that suits the party. But the doctrine he held is completely ignored. His work does not appear in the Catalogue of that Society; but Dean Goode's heavy octavo, Bishop A. Lee's controversial tractate, and Dr. Stone's "Mysteries Opened," are stereotyped, and always on hand.

But on the particular point of which we were treating, and which we supposed our "Evangelical" contemporaries would regard as bearing the Mark of the Beast, opinions quite as strong as any advanced by Dr. Adams were published nearly half a century ago by one of the most prominent, and certainly one of the best of

the men whom our Low Church friends delight to honor. We refer to the Rev. Henry Budd, whose work, entitled "Infant Baptism, the means of National Reformation," was issued in 1826, and dedicated to "the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society."

The mere title of this book gives a good idea of its design and spirit ; but, for the purpose of showing how orthodox and churchly the tone of "Evangelicalism" was about forty years ago, in comparison with what it is now, we will give a brief statement of the views maintained by Mr. Budd, using his own words as far as possible. He describes the Church of Christ as an Empire wholly spiritual, and founded entirely on God's mercy. In its constitution there is no recognition whatever of any merit in man ; but, on the contrary, "an assumption of man's utter worthlessness and sinfulness," so that everything he receives is declared to be of the voluntary and unmerited goodness of God. In place of a Kingdom wherein the subjects have natural rights, it is one "of mere mercy, and love, and grace, and peace" — one, the blessings of which are obtained by covenant and promise. And this Kingdom he regards as not only designed to bless mankind, but *able to make every man "a blessing to himself, to his neighbor, and to his country, and even an honor to his God."* This view of its purpose, this confidence in its power, he believes, should be ever present to our minds, and should influence us in all our efforts to improve the condition of Society. Man cannot be made what man ought to be, unless under the conditions that will secure to him the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit. The world, if it is ever to be redeemed from the power of Satan, must become the Kingdom of our Lord Christ. Every one born into the one, must be, by the new birth placed within the other, and thenceafter taught to walk in dependence upon the promises of God, and in the discharge of the duties imposed by his covenant with Him. "Let the education of our children be conducted on this principle, as it is carried into practice by our Church in her Baptismal Service, and its two kindred formularies, the Catechism and the Confirmation Service, and we may then hope that, as faith pleads and acts on the promise, God will bless His own mode of ameliorating the human character ; and that our population shall not be a community of mere natural men, but a communion of the Saints of God."

Here, from this well-known Low Churchman, we have the very

doctrine now so well presented by Dr. Adams, the agreement between them arising from the fact that both authors are "Evangelical" in the higher sense, both maintain the truth as the Scriptures reveal it, and "as this Church hath received the same." In Mr. Budd's day, the rationalistic view of the Sacraments had not become fashionable among the members of his party, but the evil was beginning to work. The index of the doctrinal Thermometer (if we may employ such an illustration) had not yet settled down so near to the Socinian Zero; but it was falling, and the writer seemed fully aware of it. In the preface to the second edition, he speaks of the probability of his work being misunderstood, and that "necessarily," because of the "principles" of some who would read it—persons whose "unspiritual mind can discern nothing in the water of the one Sacrament, and in the bread and wine of the other, but the natural elements presented to his outward eye. These act no faith on the word which gives spiritual effect to the Sacrament, because they know not what that faith is." Again, he speaks of those whose "estimate of the privileges and efficacy of Baptism is low and inoperative"—who "rather consider it an introduction into a professing Church than as accompanied with any real spiritual blessing to the baptized"—who "forget that God has received the infant, that He has regenerated him with His Holy Spirit, that He has received him for His own child by adoption, and incorporated him into His Holy Church, and that the Church had given unto God hearty thanks for the same"—who, in fact, "do *not* consider the child thus 'regenerated,' 'adopted,' and 'incorporated,' and therefore do not plead the promise for a blessing on their education of him as one devoted to God."

Upon the practice of such persons, "the rich expressions of privileges *actually conferred* in Baptism, which occur in the Baptismal and Confirmation services, and in the Catechism, have no influence," "and thus, *even among the pious*, Baptism is little more than a dead letter—promises without any plea for their fulfillment—vows without concern to discharge them—a ceremony acquitting them from subsequent interest—a sign signifying nothing."

All of this might have come from the pen that wrote "Mercy to Babes." In truth, the concord in general doctrine between the two authors is so decided, that no author, of what, in these days, is called an "Evangelical" paper, would print in his columns a page or two from Mr. Budd's work any more willingly than he could

from Dr. Adams'. We do not regard this merely as an instance of gross inconsistency, but as a sad and suggestive fact. Forty years hence, if matters continue to progress in the same ratio, it will not be "Evangelical" to believe the doctrine of the Trinity, or the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

But to return to the work before us. Fully convinced that the neglect of the first Sacrament, so common in this country, is criminal in itself, and the great obstacle to the moral and spiritual advancement of the people, Dr. Adams prepared this "Plea for the Christian Baptism of Infants," and sent it forth to do what it could to check the evil. And in spite of the disadvantages already mentioned, it was eminently successful. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, for we believe that nothing but the most inveterate prejudice could resist the forcible reasoning and earnest spirit of the work.

It is not possible to read even the first two or three pages without feeling that the author is actuated by desire to do good rather than to gain victory. The preliminary chapter bears stronger evidence of the thorough honesty of its writer than anything of the kind we have ever seen. It contains some striking truths, well set forth ; but what specially distinguishes it is its *morale*, its manly candor, and tone of affectionate earnestness. Wholly disclaiming the character of a controversialist, the author says : —

"He has the strongest convictions of the evil of that which in the present day is called 'controversy.' He sees that in the majority of cases, it is not a discussion of the truth, to be perused and weighed by the laymen of either side, but a personal conflict between two combatants for victory, regarded by themselves and by their respective partisans solely in the light of champions of party, and intellectual gladiators. In the ordinary course of such combats, the writer has seen many evils. Strong asseverations of fact where facts do not exist, innocently made, because taken upon the authority or argumentation of standard writers of the sect, and yet untrue, and doing all the work of falsehood. Persevering imputations of consequences which *logically* should follow, and yet do not, because our nature, originally formed of God, does and will, in practice, correct to some degree the natural and logical effects of the worst doctrine. Personal imputations, also, of evil motives, and venomous assaults upon character and reputation, and, worst of all, the little paltry literary maneuvering that attends upon all such combats, the small logic and smaller wit, the wretched flippancy and personal snubbing which now-a-days seem inevitable to such argumentation, and because of which,

at the present day, the grave, the sober, the earnest, and the high-minded detest the very name of controversy, justly, and with sufficient cause."

Having thus sketched the evils of "controversy," the author proceeds, in the same striking manner, to point out the uselessness of it as he views it. "The state of Christianity in our days, sect divided into a multitude of jarring fragments," renders controversy inevitable, but at the same time prevents its having the beneficial result hoped for by those who engage in it; for the very zeal which would cause the respective champions of a thousand and one sects to assail the tenets of others, would make them just as earnest in maintaining their own. Or, as our author puts it —

"The clergy of the various denominations are bound and pledged to their several opinions, be they true or false, by ties which would require a great deal more than the argumentation of one antagonist mind to break the slightest of them. The clergyman who has the inclination and abilities to defend his opinions, which are those of his sect, is bound to them by his affections, by his friendships, by his interests. All these things, which must have their weight, tie him down, and attach him in the weightiest degree to that opinion which he defends. Moreover, the very subject is, in his estimate, connected with the highest and holiest purposes, even with the salvation of the world; and the fact that he sustains it against a multitude of opponents, makes him almost unchangeable.

"Furthermore, when he has once entered into the field, if he has any appearance of success, whether right or wrong, he gets the applause of his denomination; he is a champion, so esteemed and so rewarded. However good and pious a man may be, vanity therefore may come, and self-esteem, and pride. The angry passions then are roused by the reply, and so the truth is forgotten, the man's own position is to be maintained, and that at all risks, and the strife goes on until the sense of decency in the public permits them no longer to peruse abusive insinuations and violent personalities, couched in polished and courtly language."

His next objection against "controversy," is that where assertions are met by assertions, or where the cause is pleaded with about equal ability and show of reason on both sides, there is no judge to decide the point at issue. "Between a Churchman and a Baptist, or a Romanist and a Methodist, entering into controversy, where is the authoritative tribunal? Does any one suppose that because the Baptist, or Romanist, or Methodist champion is vanquished by his opponents, that these very respectable denomina-

tions will turn round and determine that their peculiar distinguishing doctrines, for which he combatted, are unscriptural and untrue? Surely not; they will do no such thing. It would be the height of folly to expect it. They may, by a great stretch of candor, allow that their champion has been defeated; but it is the champion personally that they surrender, and not his cause." If there were a competent judge, our author thinks this would not be the case; that as it is now in the civil courts, "the matter in dispute would be the matter decided upon, and not personal merits of the pleaders."

"If Christianity were one body, in one Faith and one Church, controversy, as such, would be useful, whatsoever temptations there might be to the controversialist to fall into the faults above specified; inasmuch as principles once settled would henceforth be no longer mooted points, but be acted upon as principles of life." To the suggestion that Public Opinion is the judge, our author replies with great spirit and propriety. — "Religion is by the law of the land left to be held a matter between a man and his conscience. Consequently no man has any, the least right, to interfere with his neighbor — has no right to judge and determine as to the correctness of his opinions, or his mode of Worship — has no right to interfere with them in any way whatever, unless they are such as to offend the public morals, or inflict injury upon others."

"No arithmetic, then, can give to my neighbors collectively — that is, to the Public — the right which the one individual does not legally possess." Here is a truth which ought to be brought prominently forward; and especially in these days, when outside influence is habitually and earnestly invoked by some; and the power of bare majorities to override conscientious views, and to change established usages, in the face of protest and argument, is as strongly supported by others.

But this is only the *legal* aspect of the matter. A man may safely say, "As the Law does not give to any one man, or to twenty millions of men, the right to decide for me upon Religious matters, I need not submit to Public Opinion." But there is yet higher ground, and on it our author stands, namely: "The sincere Christian, the earnest and faithful Churchman, cannot consent to trust to the determination upon subjects of a spiritual character and of vital importance, that may be made by the Public — a mass of men, full one half of whom have no interest in Christ our Lord, whether

by Baptism, profession, or anything else; and the remainder of whom, saving our own denomination, are pledged against us by all the ties of sect." "I appeal not to the public as the judge of my Faith. I bow not to its decisions, in matters of the Christian Religion. I belong to that body whose business it is to correct and conquer Public Opinion, and to vanquish majorities—the Kingdom of Heaven, the one Catholic and Apostolic Church of God: the 'little leaven' in this world, which 'leaveneth the whole lump.'"

But as it may be said that though public opinion be not accepted as a judge, or standard of Faith, the Bible assuredly is, or ought to be, the author deals with this point as plainly and judiciously as with the other. The statement itself, he acknowledges as unquestionably correct. He "gives the fullest assent and consent to this truth, and cannot better express his opinion than in the words of one of those Articles, which in these days some belonging to the Church of England have most dishonestly tried to misinterpret."

But though thus consented to, the principle is not to be received without some caution; for, "in all opinions formed from the Bible there are two things which go to make them up: first, the infallible word of God; and second, the fallible mind of the individual." And, as in almost all controversies upon religious subjects, the argument is made to turn chiefly upon the sense or application of Scripture language, each advocate claiming that he has the support of the Holy Book—each insisting that the text means what he wishes it to mean, no conclusion can be arrived at through an appeal to Scripture, if made in the usual way. How then is truth ever to be reached, or defended? Do we need a living infallible guide? Not at all. The bare idea is dishonoring to Him who, having endowed us with reason and conscience, gave us also His own Word, to be "a light unto our feet, and a lantern to our paths." To say that it cannot be used as a guide, or for the purpose of discriminating between truth and error—to say that a living infallible expounder of it is necessary, is simply to say that the Most High has mocked us with a Revelation which is unintelligible, and so, in fact, *not* a Revelation. And for any mortal to put himself forward in the character of an authoritative and infallible interpreter of Holy Writ, is nothing less than the most unwarrantable and blasphemous presumption. Where then shall the appeal lie, or how shall it be made? This leads the author to

define his position. He does not present himself to the reader as the champion of a sect, or as a seeker for truth, but as one who has learned the truth, who holds it, and has been commissioned to proclaim or teach it. He is a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that not by mere birth or accident, but —

“From a free and deliberate choice, because he believes her organization to be of Divine Origin, and her Doctrines, her form of Worship, her tone of Religious feeling, perfectly in accordance with the Bible, and the Church, in the purest ages. This conviction taken up, as he believes, sincerely, and upon due examination, has not decreased in power, but all reading and all examination have tended to strengthen it, as well as all experience, and all emotions and feelings. He is, therefore, willing to abide by her standards, taken in the plain literal sense, and to take them as *his standards of Religious Truth*. The reader, therefore, knows where to find him. The Book of Common Prayer is in the hands of tens of thousands. Therein are the writer's doctrines, therein his opinions, and from them, taken in the plain literal sense, he does not shrink. This position is at once free and bound ; freely taken and freely maintained, and yet one to which he is bound. *Such a thing there is, however the present lovers of ungoverned liberty may deny it ; for armor of iron and steel upon the unwilling and incapable is shackles and manacles, while to the willing wearer, it is protection and defense.*

“Now, in the Book of Common Prayer there are no less than two Offices for the Baptism of Infants ; the author therefore is committed as a Pædo-baptist — bound to that position and doctrine.”

He accepts the Church as the exponent of Gospel doctrine, the pillar and ground of that truth, which the Bible reveals. But not the Church *against* the Bible, for her own doctrine is that —

“Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation,” and although “the Church hath power to ordain Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith, yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written ; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed, for necessity of salvation.”

Our author, believing that the Church has conformed to Her own principles thus stated, that She has determined nothing contrary to the Sacred Word, and that whatsoever She presents as truth, “may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,” is willing to accept Her statements as his own ; and by them

to judge all doctrines or subjects upon which Her opinion has been pronounced. But, inasmuch as those who are without will not acquiesce in Her decisions, but insist upon making the appeal directly to the Law and the Testimony, he is willing to let the Holy Book be the sole criterion, provided that it be taken in its plain literal sense. He does not refer to it as a book from which he may pick here and there a sentence that may be quoted to corroborate a statement of fact, or a point in his argument, but as the original source of the truth he holds, and was ordained to teach. It is in the execution of his commission, and not as a controversialist, he comes forward ; he refuses " to enter the lists with any champion of the opposite view."

" He wishes to lay clearly and plainly before those who doubt or deny [the propriety of] Infant Baptism, the grounds for his own belief, that are to be found in Scripture. To lay it before *them*, as before persons that have a real and vital interest in it, as professing Christians, as before persons, too, that have the Bible in their hands, and are bound to search for the truth there. The author's undertaking, therefore, is to declare the doctrine held by the Church upon these points, to take the Bible in its literal sense, and to show that upon the doctrine of Baptism, as laid down therein, infants ought to be baptized ; and then to show how this completely agree with, and satisfies, the Religious, Social and Domestic Nature of Man.

" And he implores of those into whose hands his book may come, that they read it fairly and candidly — that they put aside all prejudices ; and above all, he desires that they would take the Scriptures as they read in the plain and manifest sense, avoiding, as much as may be, the error of the old Pharisees, who, ' making the Word of God of none effect, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,' destroyed the sense of Holy Writ through their tradition."

We have thus given a view or synopsis of our author's preliminary chapter, and think, that even from it, the reader will perceive the justice of our description ; and yet we would not be understood as assenting without scruple or protest to everything he has advanced in it. As to controversy (considered *per se*), we see no evil in it. We hold it to be both necessary and lawful — lawful because necessary, and because it has the sanction of Scripture. When errors are broached, they must be opposed by those who hold the truth, or the truth will suffer ; and if it does, they must bear the responsibility. Christians cannot be Gallios ; Christian minis-

ters cannot confine themselves to the mere declaration of the Faith. They must *prove* it to the doubter and the adversary; and the doing of this is the answering of objections or of arguments in controversy. St. Paul did not scruple to contend, even sharply, with Barnabas, about a matter of propriety and expediency; nor on one of a higher character, to differ from St. Peter, and withstand him to his face — nor did he hesitate to set down among the qualifications for a Bishop, “that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.” And such was his own manner. In Thessalonica, for instance, finding a synagogue of the Jews, “he went in unto them, and three Sabbath days *reasoned* with them, out of the Scriptures.” Again at Athens, “he *disputed* in the synagogue of the Jews;” and so again at Corinth, “he *reasoned* in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and Greeks.” And at Ephesus he “continued by the space of two years,” “*disputing* daily in the school of one Tyrannus.” Nor was he at all singular in this respect. Apollos “*mightily convinced* the Jews, and that publicly,” and St. Jude considered it needful to exhort all Christians, that they “should *earnestly contend* for the faith once delivered to the Saints.” This goes far beyond the mere assertion of positive truth.

It is indeed the fact, as Dr. Adams says, that the establishing of one truth destroys many errors; but specific error cannot be corrected by the preaching of general truths; and the maintaining of particular doctrines, that have been doubted or denied, is controversy. We grant that it is a disagreeable thing, and that, owing to the causes our author has assigned, it is very often a fruitless thing; yet, nevertheless, it is unavoidable, and it need not be fruitless. The Rev. Doctor's objections really lie not against the thing itself, but the mode in which it is conducted. But the gross unfairness, the personal feelings, the uncharitableness, and the abuse which, as he says, abound in controversy, are not inseparable from it; and of this his own work affords sufficient evidence. Let them be cast out, and controversy cannot “disgust” fair-minded seekers for truth. In this matter we do not suppose there is, after all, much, if any, difference between Dr. Adams and ourselves. When he disclaims the character of a “controversialist,” he means *such* a controversialist as he has painted, and not merely one who by producing his strong reasons endeavors to “banish and drive away from the Church, all erroneous and strange doctrines,

contrary to God's Word." For if he meant this, his book would contradict him.

Every one who is at all acquainted with the subject knows that the main strength of the (so-called) Baptists, lies in the demands they make — without authority in reason or in Scripture. Of these, the first in importance is, that every candidate for Baptism shall possess certain qualifications, of which the Bible says nothing — as, for instance, that he shall be able to "make a profession of his Faith." And the second is, — that we who hold that infants may be, and ought to be baptized, shall show a positive command to that effect. Both of these are admirably handled by our author. As to the first, he begins by disavowing all intention to advocate the Baptism of Infants, *as such*. In the opinion of the public, Baptists are advocates of Adult Baptism, because their terms exclude almost all but adults; yet they would not confess that they regard the attaining of any particular age as a condition to Baptism. So, on the same ground, though we are called advocates of Infant Baptism, our author will not allow that we count infancy a qualification.

"Our ground is this. We protest against the mere circumstance of infancy, which of itself involves no sin, being made, as against any human beings, a *disqualification* for Baptism, a stringent and proscriptive limitation, and bar against their entering within the Covenant of Christ.

"Certain persons would limit Baptism, which is the seal of the Christian Covenant, to believers only, they say. But when we come to find what this word, 'believers,' means [as they use it], it implies something more, namely, that they can declare their faith by speech, or something tantamount to speech. In effect, they actually say, We shall permit none to be baptized, but those who believe, *and can speak upon the matter*. This is the reason why they exclude babes from the Covenant. Babes cannot speak — they are infants — that is, *infantes, non-speakers*."

With this made clear, the Doctor proceeds: —

"To uphold the opinion that no circumstance, merely physical, such as this is, of speaking, or not speaking, . . . should so limit the Covenant as to deny Baptism, which is the seal of it, to those for whom Christ died, who have immortal souls, and are pure and clean from the stain of actual sin. This is my position. I take my stand upon the great truth that 'God is no respecter of persons' — 'that no circumstance, merely personal and physical, such as nationality or color, sex, infancy or age, speaking or non-speaking, are disqualifications for an alliance and a

covenant between the ever-living spirit of any human being, and the all-pure Father of the spirits of all flesh."

The rest of the chapter in which this paragraph occurs is devoted to a demonstration of the complete antagonism of the Baptist view to that of the Churchman: that one *must* be false, and that the question, "which is the true doctrine," is one of great and even vital, importance—one in which no Christian ought to be, or, indeed, can be, to the slightest degree indifferent, considering that it not only involves the question whether Christianity shall put forth all its power, and exert its influence in the widest possible circle,—whether it shall be "a motive and principle of action to all persons, or only to those who can speak," "whether it shall be an element, essential and ever present, of the life of the Family; or excluded from it, and made a matter of the Church only;"—but it also involves the question whether we ourselves are, or are not, constantly and grossly sinning against God. For, if the Baptist opinion be correct and scriptural, our teaching is necessarily heretical, and our practice precisely what one of their preachers (Rev. Dr. Howell) describes it: "In respect of God, a mockery and a blasphemy; and in respect of man, a delusion, involving the most pernicious consequences."

But, on the other hand, if *our* doctrine be true and scriptural, their course is a direct interference with the will of God, a presumptuous limiting of his Covenant of mercy, and "a cruelty of the worst kind as done to innocent babes, who are unconscious of the wrong, and cannot resist it, and yet must suffer by it."

In this connection the author thus truly and powerfully points out the real character and the results of the Baptist system:—

"If there be in respect to God, through Christ, only two states in this world, the state of covenant with God and the state of unregenerate human nature, it is to shut the infant out from the Covenant, to leave him to all the influences of unregenerate human nature; to keep him in the world when he might be in the Church; to leave him to the Prince of this world when he might be a subject of Christ, guarded and guided by all the influences and powers of the Kingdom of Heaven. More than this, it is to put a great gulf between the Christian mother and the child; herself a Christian, to compel her to believe that whatsoever claim she herself, as a member of the Covenant, may have on the mercy of God, her child is not a member of it, and therefore *cannot be taught the truths of the Gospel, as one that has a right to them*, but must be instructed in Christianity as a *mere historical thing*, thus cutting away all possibility of

a true *Christian education*, and taking away from the infant, the growing boy, and the youth, Christianity as a Law of Life, and a motive and principle of action."

To decide this vital question, then, whether their restriction of Covenant privileges to those who can "tell their experience," is in accordance with the will of God or not, the appeal is made of course to the Bible ; but before entering upon it, the author returns to the consideration of the mode in which the Bible is to be used. We know no more forcible representation of the abuse of Scripture reference in discussion than he here furnishes, nor of the uselessness of philological learning and critical discussions, in works written for plain people ; but we think that, as in the matter of controversy in general, so in this, his objections have great weight against the *abuse*, and not against the thing itself. He does not prove that the ordinary mode of using Scripture is wrong, but that it is not calculated to help the unlearned. He says : —

"We are Protestants. We have taken at the beginning of this treatise the Protestant ground that nothing is an Article of Faith but that which can be proved from the Scriptures. Now, the dispute on Infant Baptism is between Protestants." "The Bible is the common ground which both parties profess to go upon. The Baptist brings up a text which he thinks to prohibit Infant Baptism ; he urges it ; amplifies it ; takes his stand upon it, as ground firm and sure, that cannot be cut away. The Pædo-baptist comes to reply ; he takes the same text ; he shows that there is no strength in it for the purpose intended ; that the Baptist interpretation is entirely wrong. Again the Baptist replies ; the reply is followed by a rejoinder ; pages are written and books ; all to prove or disprove, to assert or deny, the meaning of a single text." "The proof is not the text at all, for it requires to be proved that it means so and so. Men of whose learning, ability, and honesty we have enough evidence, assert the one side and the other. What is the proof then ? Why, it is the correctness of their own reasonings, the quantity of Greek, and Latin, and Syriac criticism brought out in their pages, and supported by great names, of whom the ordinary Christian has but seldom heard. The opinion of this great man and the other great man ; history which not one in ten thousand knows anything about, and the Christian antiquities of twenty nations for nineteen centuries, as much as can be put in twenty pages."

All this is very true, and shows conclusively that learned controversy is of little value to plain, unlettered people ; but it does not prove that it is wrong in itself, or useless to those whose education

enables them to read it and judge of the evidence and argument. In fact, controversy *must* continue to be conducted with just as much of logical reasoning and learned citation, as it is now or ever has been; and good is to be expected from the increase of erudition, and the application of it—not from its absence. If a Romanist, a Socinian, or a Baptist, supports his view by learning, it is necessary and right that the defender of the Faith should meet him on his own ground, and, by more accurate or greater learning, convince him of error. In no other way can it be done. Dr. Adams may say “it cannot be done;” but we beg to differ from him. The champion, indeed, is seldom convinced, or, if convinced, seldom has the grace to confess and forsake his false doctrine; yet *others* often are convinced, and so the controversy is not wholly useless. And when those who are capable of following an argument in which learning is fully and properly employed, are themselves converted, they are then qualified to instruct and strengthen the brethren. In this we think our author will agree with us, while we will as readily agree with him, that history, textual criticism, and archæology, are “wholly out of the track of ordinary Christian men and women;” that “to the Baptist or the Pædobaptist who is no scholar,” most of “the so-called Bible arguments are no such thing at all.”

The book before us sustains the view we hold. Its author is a learned man, one fully capable of traversing the whole field of the present controversy, or any other with which the peace of Christendom is marred; consequently he *knows* the truth and firmness of the ground he has taken, and he is therefore prepared to guide the unlearned, and “in meekness to instruct those that oppose themselves.” But if he had not given “attention to reading,” if he were not a “good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine,” how could he be properly confident in his own mind, and especially when undertaking to correct others, how could the unlearned inquirer know of a truth, that what he represents as the plain, literal sense of Holy Scripture, is its real and proper sense?

He *seems* to cut himself loose from all such claim upon the confidence of his readers, when he says:—

“We demand of the sober-minded that . . . they take the Word of God in the literal sense *as it reads and as it means*,” “in its plain and manifest sense—the literal meaning that lies distinctly upon its face.”

And to show the propriety of this, he refers to our Lord's mode of overthrowing the doctrine of the Scribes and Pharisees by placing the plain words of the law side by side with their glosses and perversions; and then adds:—

"So when the Romanists declare that images may be worshipped and bowed down to, because of certain subtle interpretations, needless here to mention, the true refutation is juxtaposition of their doctrine with the plain words of Scripture, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image—*thou shalt NOT bow down to them nor worship them.*"

This is quite true. The illustration is one of the most favorable he could have selected; but suppose it had been their view of the Real Presence based upon the words, "This is my Body," would the Doctor be quite willing to grant that those words mean what Romanists say they do? Would he, without protest or denial, without explanation or argument, acknowledge that theirs is the plain and manifest sense of the passage? And yet it is the sense that appears to lie "distinctly upon its face."

There are many cases, then, in which, as in this, "the literal sense as it reads," is *not* the true sense "as it means," and to discriminate and show that the true sense *is* true, we require that very learning and argumentation of which the Rev. Dr. speaks so strikingly.

But we must proceed. The appeal to Holy Scripture is made fairly, and we are certain that no man who desires to know the truth, could follow the writer through the chapter in which he puts the Baptists' principle to this test, without being persuaded that there is no Scriptural authority for either of their chief demands.

As to the second one, indeed, Dr. Adams shows that it is like a begging of the question, an unfair attempt to transfer the burden of proof from themselves to us. He says it is evidently the business of those who forbid infants to be baptized, because they *are* infants, to show that the Great Commission forbids them, or has any such limitation attached to it as they now make.

"This would at once settle the point. But Baptists are very slow and shy of entering upon such a course as this. They prefer making violent calls upon their opponents for a command from Scripture, quite forgetful that a command to baptize all persons, embraces a command to baptize infants, unless an exception of them be made in definite form, expressly limiting the commission itself, by interdicting the baptism of infants as a class."

He then goes on to examine whether, since the words of the Commission have no such interdict, anything equivalent to it can be found in the rest of the sacred volume ; and concludes, as we believe, with perfect justice, that — “ There are no words in the Bible from which we can logically draw the conclusion that the Baptism of Infants is forbidden. No circumstances are there from which we can infer that our Saviour and his Apostles held such a proscriptive dogma. But there is very plain evidence, as we have seen, that the Apostles, in their blindness, approached very near to the principles on which it would be founded, and because of this incurred the Saviour's heavy rebuke and exceeding displeasure.”

The next chapter is given up to consideration of the objections urged against Infant Baptism, on the ground of general doctrine. The first or chief of these is this: “ We see no use in it ; as applied to adults, Baptism has a manifest utility ; but as applied to babes it has none, for it is merely ‘ the Scripture form of the profession of faith, and no more ; it has no grace attached to it, no spiritual power, no consecrating or sanctifying influence.’ ” This the author very truly describes as the opinion of the mass, not of Baptists merely, but of ordinary Christians in the various denominations, and concerning it he asks, “ Where is this written in the Word of God ? ” “ Does He put it so ? ” “ Ye baptize, not because ye expect any spiritual benefit to attend upon the ordinance, but simply because it is commanded. Does our most blessed Lord command, without giving any other reason than his command ? ” The abolition of the multitude of formal ceremonies that existed under the Mosaic dispensation — the substitution for them of the two simple Sacraments of Christianity, and the fact that this is the reign of grace, the dispensation of the Holy Spirit should prevent our judging so unworthily of these special ordinances as to class them among mere forms, mere representative ceremonies, such as Jewish rites, which were significant, indeed, but not spiritually efficacious. The former things which were “ done away,” had their uses, but they were lower in nature and limited in extent compared with those, which, under the present nobler and more spiritual economy, have taken their place. And the theory which would reduce the Christian Sacraments to *their* level is not only untrue, but “ derogatory to the grace and verity of the Gospel.”

To justify the higher view of Gospel ordinances, which the Church maintains, our author quotes a series of passages from the

New Testament, in which blessings are promised, or spoken of in connection with Baptism, in such a way as to show that there is far better ground for receiving or administering it than the mere command to do so.

And in reply to the question, "Who believes these texts as they stand, in the plain, literal sense, and without any salvo?" he says "that he does," and that, "as a Clergyman of the Church, he must be either very dishonest, very stupid, or very much influenced by prejudice," if he did not, considering that he is bound to the doctrine of the Prayer-book which he uses. In proof of this, he quotes from the Baptismal Service, the Catechism, and the Nicene Creed, language which, honestly taken in its "plain, literal sense," requires the Scripture passages adduced to be taken in the same way.

And further, he claims that the consistent Churchman alone can use those passages freely and boldly. Those who hold lower views of Sacramental efficacy, cannot employ them as they do other texts.

"When the cry arises from one or many, 'What shall we do to be saved?' dare they say, or *do they say*, as Peter did, 'Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus, *for the remission of sins*;' dare they say, as Ananias did to the repentant Saul, '*Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins*, calling upon the name of the Lord' Or dare they use, in their plain sense, the words, 'Except ye be born of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven?' Certainly not; these texts ordinary professors do not use as they stand, in the plain, literal sense of them and their preachers preach not upon them, except for the purpose of doing away with their force, and proving that they actually mean nothing.

"And does it not betoken something wrong in the whole state of ordinary Religion, that men should shrink from the plain literal sense of God's words, and do it away, because they cannot bear with it; because it does not agree with their preconceived ideas. I ask the honest and candid inquirer to look at this fact, and not to shrink back, as men sometimes do, from truths unpleasant and unsuitable, but to face it, and ask himself is it so with him? And then I ask him to go back to these motives I have above specified, and to see whether they are not *his* motives; to examine them by the Scriptures, and to cast them aside."

The chapter concludes with a statement of the Christian doctrine of Baptism, as deduced directly from the Bible. "It is more than a commanded ordinance: more than a mere profession of

faith. It has *real and veritable blessings* attached to its reception, gifts that depend upon God's grace, and the supernatural influence of His Spirit, of which our Faith is the recipient."

"In Baptism received upon repentance, with living Faith, we are 'born of water and of the Spirit.' And this embraces the following consequences: (1.) The Remission of Sins. (2.) The being introduced into the Kingdom of Heaven, that is, the Church of God. (3.) The gift of sufficient grace. (4.) The dwelling of the Holy Spirit within us. (5.) The mystical union of Christ our Lord with man, whereby we are made partakers of His Life and Resurrection Power. (6.) That the Baptized, if they abide in Faith, are in the Communion of Saints, having a participation in all the prayers and spiritual blessings of the holy on earth, and the holy departed, and also are under the immediate guardianship and care of the holy angels, whereby He ministers to them that love Him."

How different is this from the loose, low, popular notion of the efficacy of Baptism, and yet how fully and solemnly true it is, how completely in unison with the manifest teachings of the Infallible Word, and the doctrine that has ever been held in the Church of God, since the days of St. Peter and St. Paul! And surely, if such and so great are the virtues of Holy Baptism, the system which is based upon the theory that Christian Sacraments are not effectual means of grace, is in nowise tenable.

We do not know that we could alter the above statement for the better, even in a single word, except that we should hold as applying to the fourth, fifth, and sixth, the condition which Dr. Adams has appended only to the last. With this amendment, we take his words just as they are, as containing, in brief compass, the whole truth upon the matter, without any admixture of error. We recognize the doctrine he thus puts forward, as that of Scripture and of the Church; and, viewing Holy Baptism thus, we "heartily thank our Heavenly Father that He hath called us to this state of Salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour."

But any such declaration of belief will certainly be met by the question of Nicodemus, "How can these things be?" Our author therefore devotes a chapter to reply, which he does by showing that they come through the Covenant God has made with man. We can claim nothing of right, we deserve only condemnation and wrath; but through the covenanted mercies of the Lord, we may abound in blessings; and thus things, otherwise

impossible, become precious realities. But this idea of a real and proper agreement between us and our Maker, appears to have died out of the heart and mind of multitudes, who are called Christians. Nowhere have we seen this sad and startling fact so clearly established, or its results so ably portrayed, as in these pages : —

“The curse or plague of Religion in this age is, that we have so habituated ourselves to metaphor, that everything has become a metaphor. A man takes Dr. Watt's paper called a Form of Covenant ; he writes it down for himself, he solemnly prays over it, and in its form, and he calls that [making] a covenant with God. It is not a Covenant. It is a *vow*, by which he has bound his conscience in the sight of God. Again a very respectable denomination has a night of meeting yearly in which they read a series of good resolutions, in which every one present is supposed to join. This is called, “The Renewal of the Covenant ;” this, too, is a metaphor. A man is convinced of sin, he promises in his heart obedience to God ; this is called a *covenant* with himself. All these are metaphors. The Scripture meaning of the word covenant is lost through our metaphoric talk. It has slidden away into vagueness, and become a mere phrase. . . . Now let us cast aside these merely metaphoric notions, and remembering that a promise or vow binds only one party, and that on the contrary a COVENANT is made by two, and binding upon two ; let us look at this fact of a Covenant in the Christian Religion, and we shall find it one of astounding magnitude, and overpowering to the intellect as well as to the feelings of man. Here, on the one hand, am I a creature of yesterday, frail and feeble, limited in power and knowledge, impure and unholy, my position as well as my nature making me liable to sin ; and on the other side is the Almighty and Omniscient God, the Lord of the Universe, the Creator and Ruler of all, — All-pure and All-holy. And between me and Him there can be a Covenant — actually and in truth a Covenant, an agreement binding upon both parties !”

This is indeed an overpowering thought, “from its very magnitude, startling and astounding to man ; and yet nothing less than this is an adequate representation of the position in which, upon earth, the Sons of God stand to their Father in Heaven.”

And in this Covenant is the whole of the Gospel. It is, of course, based upon the perfect satisfaction made by the death of our blessed Lord, but the full merits, or blessed fruits, of that Atonement are obtained only in and through it. We do not say that there is no blessing bestowed upon those who are without — God forbid ! but that the special blessings of the Gospel, the full benefits of the Cross and Passion of Christ, are receivable only

by those who are within the Covenant of Grace. And how great and glorious are the privileges thus conferred ! What help or blessing that we can need, will be denied to us ? Does not the Apostle Paul say, " All things are yours, for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's ? " If God " withheld not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things ? " These questions are the proper and sufficient answers to the other — " How can these things be ? " We might rather ask, " How can they *not* be, if they are needful and profitable to us ? "

But we have already taken up more than the space allotted to us, and so must draw our Article to a close. The author, having shown that the idea and fact of a Covenant render *possible* all that he has set down as fruits of Baptism, proceeds to prove, as regards each one, that the express words of Holy Writ give it the character he assigns to it. He then devotes one of his ablest chapters to proof of the fact that children are capable of receiving these blessings. We find it difficult to resist the temptation to make some extracts from this and the subsequent chapters, on " The Moral and Religious Effects of Infant Baptism," and on " The Benefits to Society." True and beautiful, exceedingly, are the views of home life, under Christian influences, which the author presents, and which we " doubt not, but earnestly believe," are realized in many a Christian Family ; but oh ! why not in more ? Why is it that among those who " profess and call themselves Christians," so many look upon the House only as " a lodging-place for a pair of rational animals," a sort of " tavern, wherein the husband is a permanent boarder, for the money he brings in, and the wife a permanent boarder, for the work she does ? " Why should it not be a " Temple," consecrated to the service of God, in the ordinary duties of a holy life,—something that can prove to the coarse sensualist and the unbeliever " that there are upon earth holiness, and reverence, and worship, and affection, independent altogether of self and selfishness," — a charmed circle, within which the Christian husband, from his association with a Christian wife, will " gain a tone to his piety which otherwise it could not have — where to the Christian father, the teaching of his *Christian children*, born again of water and of the Spirit, will communicate a great deal of that child-like temper, which, according to our Saviour, is the character of true Christianity ! "

Before taking leave of the work, we would refer to two points, on which the author has spoken with rather more positiveness than, we think, *an exponent of the Church's doctrine* should have manifested. The first is that view of the Communion of Saints, which is set forth on pages 179-80:—

“When the thought bursts upon us that of our departed friends we are not left alone, or deserted by them, when they die, but that, were our eyes unsealed, *we should view them near us*, how does it make a Heaven of the Church upon Earth, and embalm the thought to them and us!”
“The mother who was taken away from the child whom she had begun to train in the ways of God, *may have been taken away in order to train him all the better through her spiritual influences upon his soul.*”

There *may be* truth in this view, but it has certainly not been accepted and stated as the doctrine of the Church, nor even extensively held by our leading Divines. We would class along with this the idea (beautiful in itself), that the guardian angel is given to each babe in Christ at Baptism, and that the sign of the Cross then imprinted remains visible to angels, the sign of an indelible character, the token of citizenship in the Heavenly Kingdom.

This the author does not present as anything more than an opinion that prevailed in the ancient Church, and not improbable in itself. He candidly avows that he considers it true, but he does not describe it as a doctrine of the Church.

But the other case is one in which we think that, with as little real authority, he does represent a private opinion as an acknowledged part of the Christian Faith. It will be found on page 210, where treating of Regeneration he says, “It consists of two parts: first, *the implanting within us of a new principle of spiritual life*; and secondly, the being introduced into the Kingdom of Christ,” etc., etc. The clause italicized is the one to which we refer.

That Regeneration is something more than introduction to the Church, every rightly informed Christian will allow; that it has in addition to this a present spiritual blessing, communicated by the Holy Ghost Himself, we believe every sound member of our Church will confess; but so far as we know, the precise nature of the blessing is nowhere defined in Scripture, or in the standards of our Church, in such terms as to warrant this positive statement of what is called the “germ theory.” It is quite true that it has been held by very many Divines, and that it has rapidly grown into favor especially in this generation, and that it may be the exact truth we

will not venture positively to deny ; but we should prefer confining our statements upon the grace of Baptism to those which the Church has made in express terms, or taught by implication. Our objections to it are, (1.) that it requires us to believe in the implanting at Baptism of a germ, or principle, which *must* be quiescent, inoperative for years, and, (2.) that it is too near an approach to the notion of the Calvinists, namely, that in Regeneration consequent upon Conversion, there is a seed of Spiritual Life implanted, by which the Life Eternal is begun, and begun with the certainty that it *shall be Life Eternal*, that the person regenerated shall never perish.

This notion springs, of course, from their dogma of the indefectibility of grace, and its alleged Scriptural warrant is, 1 John iii. 9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, *for his seed remaineth in him*, and he cannot sin because he is born of God." But this is one of those passages that, we think, even Dr. Adams himself could not be willing to take, strictly and literally, without gloss or reservation, in the sense in which it reads.

In the Church's Article upon Baptism, there is no mention of this "imparting of a principle of life," or "implanting of a seed," nor do we think it can be found in any other authoritative document.

The nearest approach to anything of the sort is the "giving of the Holy Ghost," which is very frequently mentioned by the leading Divines of the Church in England, as a direct or immediate result of Baptism. Our author regards this as meaning the impartation of the Divine Spirit, who in his Real Presence dwells in, or abides with, the Baptized Christian. To this understanding of it, as applying to those whose mental and moral condition renders them capable of being profited by such indwelling, there can, we think, be no valid objection. But, in the case of the babe, we prefer to regard the "gift of the Holy Ghost" as meaning *not* the indwelling presence, but the blessing and protection of the Blessed Spirit. And our reasons for making this distinction is that the Holy Spirit dwells in the *heart*, i. e., not the great muscle that propels the blood through the system, but the seat of the affections. There must, therefore, be a capacity for receiving Him, and work for Him to perform, before He can take up His abode in us ; there must be affections to be directed, a will to be subdued and sanctified, and possibly evil habits to be corrected. In the case of an

unconscious babe, there are no affections, no principles, no habits, or will, beyond what are instinctive and belonging to a mere animal nature. There is, therefore, so to speak, no proper seat for the Holy Spirit, and no opportunity for the performance of His special work.

The *heart* cannot be "changed" before it exists, and it does not exist, at least, there is no evidence whatever of its existence, before the dawn of reason ; and, as "change of heart" is really the same as what Bishop Mant and our author describe as the imparting of a new principle of spiritual life, we conclude that the latter cannot take place.

Of course, all reasoning of this kind would be vain if there were any plain statement of the doctrine in Scripture, or in Church standards. But the Church speaks only of (1) grafting into the body of Christ ; (2) forgiveness of sins ; (3) adoption by the Holy Ghost ; (4) confirmation of Faith and increase of grace "by virtue of Prayer to God." Among these we find no mention of such imparting of a new principle, nor anything equivalent to it ; but rather on the contrary, as Bishop H. Onderdonk says, "The language of the Article affords no countenance, as has been alleged, to those who make Baptism, or what is conferred in that Sacrament, the initiatory point in the moral change, or the *germ*, or *seed of moral regeneration*. The "increase" of grace in or at Baptism obviously is not the *beginning* of such grace."

Bishop Hobart, when explaining and advocating Dr. Waterland's distinction between Regeneration and Renovation, was not clear as to the mode of reconciling this "germ theory" with his, and yet evidently did not want to abandon it entirely. So he says : "In Regeneration, the *quickening power* of the Holy Ghost is bestowed upon us, by which we receive the means of spiritual life. In Renovation, this spiritual life is called into holy energy and activity by the *sanctifying power* of the Holy Spirit." This, we confess, is too mysterious for us to comprehend. We have a quickening power of the Holy Spirit, which yet is *not* sanctifying, and which does not quicken, which is not called into energy or activity until it is quickened by the sanctifying power. A much clearer paragraph follows this, and the doctrine is just as much better as the sense is more evident. "Regeneration is a change of our *spiritual condition* — a translation into a state in which our salvation is rendered possible. *Renovation is that change of heart and life by which salvation is finally attained.*" (Posthumous Works, vol. ii. page 472.)

The various strong expressions to be found in the older English Divines about the gift of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, we regard as meaning not invariably the actual communication of His real presence; but such of His graces as the subject needed, or was capable of receiving. Take, for instance, Dr. Barrow, who enumerates among the benefits of this Sacrament the following: "In Baptism the gift of God's Holy Spirit is conferred, *qualifying us for the state into which we THEN come, and enabling us to perform the duties which we then undertake.*" But the state into which babes come at Baptism is only one in which their relation to God is changed, and by the sanctifying blessing of the Lord they are qualified for *that*; but they undertake no duties *then*, they can perform none then, and so they receive no enabling power. That comes with the beginnings of intelligence and the formation of the moral nature.¹

Hooker (Book v. chapter 9, section 2) speaks of "that diffused divine *virtue* of the Holy Ghost which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition toward future newness of life." This approximates the theory in question, but still only approximates. He views the gift as one of grace or virtue, not of the Paraclete himself, and the result is not "newness of life," even as in a germ, but a *disposition* towards it at some future time.

Dr. Waterland (and Bishop Bethell following him) taught that a moral change requires the exercise of will or choice and action on the part of the subject; in fact, the coöperation of the man with God, and consequently cannot take place in unconscious infants; but after the renewal of their state to Godward by their Baptism, "the renewing also of their heart *may come gradually in with their first dawning of reason, in such measure as they shall be capable of.*" This is just what we believe, and it is quite as far as we think the Church authorizes us to go in this direction.

Dr. Adams explains his theory of the spiritual life, that it is not *in us*, but in the Holy Spirit that dwelleth in us. The "germ," then, must be in the Holy Spirit; that is to say, the mere seed of Spiritual Life is in Him, who is the very fullness of that Life, the Lord and giver of it! This does not seem to us to make the matter any more evident or acceptable.

Anticipating the objection that there is no indication of that Spiritual Life in babes, which in its rudiment or principle he believes

¹ See also Cranmer's *Catechism*, Oxford ed., 1829, p. 186.

is imparted in Baptism, he says: "Life is present when we are unconscious of it, when we are asleep: unseen itself, and indiscernable, it shows itself only by its workings." Very well. Are there any workings whereby, in the immense majority of cases for two or three years, there is any evidence of the presence of Spiritual Life in the baptized babe? Life may be dormant, but then *some* signs of it can be traced; when every sign of it is gone, death reigns. So if there be absolutely no sign of Spiritual Life in an infant, we are obliged by this very analogy to believe that it does not possess such Life. Every baptized infant has indeed begun the Christian Life in one sense, but *not*, we believe, in the sense of true spiritual living unto God. There are in such subjects none of the enjoyments or the works resulting from this higher Life. And we cannot see that anything is gained by supposing that the Great Worker enters at Baptism into the heart of a babe, designing to remain there in idleness until the understanding begins to open, and the affections to be exercised. We must regard this as in itself highly improbable, and as inconsistent with the Scripture assertion, that "the fruit of the Spirit is *in all*, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance."

We have allowed ourselves to be led much farther by this matter than probably it is worth; but when we venture to object to anything advanced by one at whose feet we are willing to sit, we feel impelled to state fully the grounds or authority upon which we withhold assent.

We strongly advise such of our readers as have not yet possessed themselves of this Book, to get it at once, and give it their best attention. If they have, in their Parishes, persons who doubt or deny the lawfulness of baptizing children, and who are capable of following any argument, and willing to know the truth, this Book will do more for them than any other, or all others put together. But if they have no use for it in this way, let them study it at home. It will give them greater confidence in the truth they hold, and the pleasure inseparable from reading even the least work of a true MAN. They will thank us for making them acquainted with one of the strongest minds, and one of the warmest and purest hearts that have ever adorned the American Church.

As to mere style, they can judge sufficiently from the samples herein given. The Doctor is one of those whom Bacon calls

"ready" and "full" men. He writes thus, his manner being that of an unequalled talker, too earnest in his purpose, and too conscious of the merits of his cause to care for the mere graces of style. His is the eloquence of thought and feeling rather than of metaphors and epithets. His sentences are not polished like Macaulay's, nor cadenced like Robertson's; but they convey his meaning, and gain his end quite as well as if he had spent weeks on every chapter. His style is not rapid and direct, like a rapier thrust, but rather wide-sweeping, like the swing of a battle-axe, which comes down blow after blow.

ART. III. — REJOINDER TO THE "CATHOLIC WORLD."¹

WE should not take notice of this somewhat lengthy reply to our Article in the January number of this Review, did we not feel that we owe our readers, as well as the "Catholic World," some apology for the cavalier tone of that Article, and its abrupt and strong expressions. The assumption of such a tone is perhaps never in good taste, and certainly is never good policy, for it is a kind of begging the question at issue—the question, namely, of your opponent's incompetence, which it is the very object of your argument to establish. But while making these admissions, and expressing this regret, our clear recollection of the temper of mind in which we wrote acquits us of any intention to indulge in personalities, nor can we find on reperusal of the Article any intemperance of language, so excessive, as justly to call down upon us such a rebuke as this:—

" Considering the general character of Episcopalians, we expected, if not much profound philosophy, or any very rigid logic, at least the courtesy and fairness of the well-bred gentleman, such as we might expect from a cultivated and polished pagan. We regret to say that we have been disappointed."

The fling at the Church, which may be found less delicately expressed in a previous passage, seems scarcely called for. But indeed while we feel that our own sins, although they may have been "set down in malice," are without excuse, their burden is

¹ "The Church Review and Victor Cousin," *Catholic World*, April, 1868.

easier to bear when we find the writer voluntarily abandoning the vantage-ground of a calm dignity which yet remained to him, and descending, at least, to our level, to dispute with us a field of gibes and sarcasms, which we willingly yield to him unfought. For the rest we must leave it to the impartial judgment of those competent to judge, to pronounce, whether these Articles of the "*Catholic World*" are especially "entitled to be treated gravely and respectfully," whoever is their author, and whether they do not on the contrary offer, if not an excuse, at least, an explanation of our manner of treating them.

On another point also we are obliged to plead guilty to a violation of strict etiquette. The writer says we had no authority for charging the authorship of the Article we reviewed to Dr. Brownson, since that Article was signed by no name. We cannot deny that, however plainly and palpably a man's writings may reveal their author, so long as he seeks to hide that authorship behind the shelter of a periodical, he has a right to have his sanctuary respected, and the vail he has drawn over himself treated as if it were really a disguise. We therefore offer our apologies to Dr. Brownson for having replied to him by name, whether the assumption that led us to do so were correct or incorrect, — on which point the writer of these Articles leaves us in some doubt. He seems to intimate that we were mistaken in our conjecture, but he does not distinctly say so; nor has Dr. Brownson — if this intimation is to be relied upon, and he is not the writer — ever repelled the imputation to him of the Article in question, or, so far as we know, said anything that will throw light upon the matter. To some readers of these two Articles the point may perhaps seem sufficiently settled by the writer's remark that no man in this country can speak with more authority on Cousin's Philosophy than Dr. Brownson, and that none was accounted by him a more trustworthy expositor of his system. Such a man, they may conclude, cannot be the author of these Articles.

Having said thus much for the past, let us take a hasty glance at the present Article. The writer enumerates nine "principal charges," to each of which he replies at length. We have time only to touch briefly upon some of these points, since important matters claim our attention; indeed it seems unnecessary to enter into a reconsideration of them all.

The writer repeats thus his cavil at Skepticism being made a Philosophy: —

"Cousin counts Skepticism as a system of Philosophy. We object, and ask very pertinently, since he holds every system has a truth, and truth is always something affirmative, positive, 'what then is the truth of Skepticism which is a system of pure negation, and not only affirms nothing, but denies that anything can be affirmed?' Will the Reviewer answer the question?"

This very "denial that anything can be affirmed," is equivalent to a most positive affirmation, and has a basis of truth, though the truth be distorted to error. But the writer does not take the word Skepticism in Cousin's sense. In the latter's use of it the term is *quasi* technical, and signifies something different from Skepticism, viewed simply as unbelief, or pure negation. It means a phase of human thought; the appearance of common sense upon the scene of Philosophy to test the systems of dogmatism by the negative thinking of the understanding.

"Moreover a system of pure negation is simply no system at all, for it has no principle, and affirms nothing."

This obvious truth did not escape Cousin, and it was not to any such system of "pure negation" destitute of principle, that he gave the name of Skepticism. But here the writer does not use the word *system* in Cousin's sense. Cousin, in studying the history of Philosophy in its various particular systems of different ages and countries, arrives at the general truth, that there are four, and only four, possible forms, or phases of thought, that must always and everywhere subsist, because the mind of man is always and everywhere the same; that under the influences of each succeeding age, now one, now another of these phases is developed, now among this people, and in this country, and now among another nation, and in another region. To these forms of thought, or directions of the mind, he gives the names of Idealism, Sensualism, Skepticism, and Mysticism. He calls them, it is true, systems of Philosophy, but it is in a plainly different sense from that in which he calls their writings the *systems* of Kant, or of Spinoza; for these former are rather systems of systems. This, of necessity, was a new use of these old words, for they were taken to express a new idea, and when we are familiar with Cousin's thought, and accept the language in which he explains it, we see no room for objection to either. It augurs ill for one's power to tread the higher paths of his Philosophy, to stumble on such smooth ground.

" . . . What salutary influence has ever been exerted on Science or Morals by any so-called system of skepticism which denies the possibility of Science, and renders the binding nature of Virtue [obligation?] uncertain, we have never yet been able to ascertain."

That a reader of the history of Philosophy should have failed to see the salutary influence which Hume, for instance, — who in Cousin's classification belongs to the Skeptical System, — exerted on Science, and ultimately on Morals, by striking an almost mortal blow at the prevailing Sensism of his time, — is surprising. Without Hume there would have been no Reed, and, probably, no Kant. The skeptical results of his Philosophy were the direct incentive, as every one knows, to the reaction from the principles of Locke to deepen spiritualistic views.

The writer next returns to the attack on Cousin's ontology, and re-states his position. The only way to meet his argument is to carry the question deeper, but a subject so profound cannot be treated within the limits of such a paper as this in a way at all adequate to itself, or satisfactory to ourselves. We must content ourselves with offering some suggestions that may serve to show how far his criticism is from reaching Cousin's thought, and how little, consequently, it troubles it.

Cousin, the writer says, does not make his impersonal reason really objective, but, simply, independent of our personality. Between the personal, and impersonal reason, he recognizes only a distinction of modes. Therefore, there can be no essential difference between them.

"Now, we demand, what is this one substantive reason operating in these two different degrees or modes? It certainly is not an abstraction, for abstractions are nullities, and cannot operate or act at all. What then is it? Is it God, or is it man? If you say it is God, then you deny reason to man, make him a brute, unless you identify man with God. If you say it is man, that it is a faculty of the human soul, as Cousin certainly does say — for he makes it our faculty, and only faculty of intelligence, — then you make it subjective, since nothing is more subjective than one's own faculties. They are the subject itself. Consequently the impersonal reason belongs as truly to man, the subject, as the personal reason, and therefore is not objective, as we said, to the whole subject, but only to the will and personality."¹

¹ For a direct answer to this point, see *Du Vrai du Beau du Bien*, Leçon IV., pp. 100, 101.

What solution the writer himself would give of this difficulty does not appear. As he puts it, the best that can be done with it seems to be the identification of man with God — a not altogether satisfactory result, but in truth no such difficulty exists for one who will comprehend the nature of reason. Mind very certainly is not an abstraction, and to the question, "is it God or is it man," we answer it is both, or, if one pleases, *it is in both*. God is the infinite Spirit, man is a finite spirit. Cousin, it is true, speaks of reason as the *faculty of knowing*, and, in the connection in which he uses it, such language is sufficiently exact, but he well knew that a true conception of mind can never be attained if we regard it merely as an attribute of the individual, for in fact it constitutes the person. We cannot sever and disjoin the personality though we may distinguish its elements in thought. Personality is the union of reason and will; for while freedom is the essence of personality, a freedom which shall not be self-conscious is inconceivable. Consequently, Reason is not a mere faculty of the subject, it is a necessary element in the subject. But its pure activity, the impersonal Reason, is objective to freedom, as the writer admits Cousin to have established. What, then, remains for it to be objective to? Nothing but itself. To demand, therefore, that Reason be objective to the "whole subject," is to require a contradiction — that it be objective to itself. Do you still say that this Voice which makes itself heard in your soul, speaking with an independence beyond your power to influence or control, is merely a subjective phenomenon? Do you still say, "all this is nothing if Reason be not objective to the 'whole subject'?"

Then we grant your demand; you shall have your contradiction. Reason *is* objective to the whole subject — it is objective to itself. The writer pursues: —

" . . . He [Cousin] says there are in thought, or consciousness, two elements, the subject and object; or in his barbarous dialect, *le moi et le non-moi*; but he is careful to assert the subject as active, and the object as passive. Now a passive object is as if it were not, and can concur in nothing with the activity of the subject. Then as all the activity is on the side of the subject, the subject must be able to think in, and of itself alone."

The writer has not arrived at an insight into self-determination, the form of the constitution of mind. Self-determined being exists dually, (A) as determining, and (B) as determined. As

determining, it is the active which contains the possibility of determinations ; as determined it is the actuality of determination — the result of the activity of the determining. But both are the same being ; the activity is in the form of a circle, and each side returns into itself. As determining, or active, (A) it acts only on its own determining, and as passive, or determined, (B) it is, as the result of the former, the self-same active itself. This self negation (for *omnis determinatio est negatio*) resolves itself into affirmation. It is a positing of distinction which is immediately cancelled. Something is made object, and identified with the subject in the same act. No finite existence could endure this contradiction, and hence we know the immortality of the Soul. The Ego has the form of infinitude.

"It is very clear," the writer goes on, "that Cousin does not get out of the sphere of the subject any more than does Kant, and all the arguments he adduces against Kant apply equally against himself." Cousin had no need to "get out" of the sphere of the subject, — something that would render any knowledge *by* the subject an impossibility, — for he shows that "Kant's mistake was in taking the self-conscious intelligence for something one-sided, or subjective, whereas it must be, from its very definition, subject *and* object in one, and thus universal."

All that we call Science, said Kant, all that has the form of generality, is merely the form of our mind, and does not belong to the thing in itself. But if this be so, pursued Fichte, much more is this thing in itself, taken as an object, as a beyond to the mind itself, a mere phantom of the mind, a nonentity. When we abstract what we know to be subjective, we abstract all possibility of a thing in itself in that very act ; for if the category of "existence" be subjective there can be nothing objective. Thus accepting Kant's negative results he founded his philosophy upon the Ego. Now from Kant's own principles, the necessity, or "subjectivity" of the categories, Cousin draws positive conclusions that overthrow Kant's Skepticism. He concludes, not (1) that we cannot know the objective, nor (2) that the notion of the objective is a pure illusion, but that there is an objective, and that we do attain knowledge of it in thought. Now the writer's principle is the independent existence of the object ; but if he will not consent to know this object in Cousin's way, in the psychologic fact, he must be content to remain in ignorance of it,

for there is no other way to a knowledge of it. He would have us believe that our thought is not sufficient to itself; that "all man's interior operations depend on the support and active concurrence of that which is not himself;" that "the object being independent of the subject, and not supplied by it, must exist *a parte rei*, since, if it did not, it could not actually concur with the subject in the production of thought;" but on these conditions there is no longer possible to man *any* Science or Philosophy. If the active concurrence of an object existing *a parte rei* be necessary to thought, it ceases to be man's thought; and the knowledge thus gained by the activity of that which is foreign to me, will be, so far as I am concerned, no knowledge at all. What is written upon a slate may serve the writer; but what does the slate know about it? But mark, that when you separate the object or thing in itself, entirely from the mind, you overlook the fact that it appears in thought, or the *fait de conscience*, and so you never can *explain* this fact of consciousness. You explain thought as the effect of the object, when, in fact, it is the effect of thought to produce a representation of that object, and you can have no knowledge of that object except in thought. If you make thought the effect of the object, you absorb the subject in the object, and there results an objectivism which not less completely annihilates the validity of thought, and the possibility of science than the subjectivism of Kant. Moreover, how can you ever show that there is any such independently existing object of thought? It is plain you are speaking of something you do not *know*. The mind knows nothing about this object, save in its own action, thought, and you assert that the mind cannot suffice for its own thought. This gratuitous assumption leads your argument at once into a circle, and an assumption of the object is all that is left you. Faith you may have, but not Science. However the repetition of this principle of the object *a parte rei* be varied, it remains always the same impotent assertion — the same leap in the dark. They who question the authority of consciousness, and the validity of thought, or who, like this writer, try to account for the one and bolster up the other, by that which destroys them both, seem much in the predicament of Jeremy Taylor's dreamer. That man, he says, "was prettily and fantastically troubled" who, being used to put his trust in dreams, was warned one night in a vision that all dreams were vain. If he trusted this one, as usual, he must disbelieve all dreams; but if

he did that, he must disbelieve this dream, and then he must believe in the authority of dreams, and so in the authority of this, and consequently in the falsity of all, and so round and round forever. The assertion that thought is insufficient to itself, is itself a thought, and no more and no less reliable than what it impugns.

The *Cogito Ergo Sum* is not an argument of any sort; it is simply the statement of the psychologic fact. What is it to say I think — what is it to say I? It is to posit myself; to take cognizance of myself as existing; it is to be self-conscious, to be conscious of my being. This highest category is the permanent element in thought; any predicate other than being contains being *plus* determinations, and so can be subsumed under being. Moreover, this category is fundamentally identical with the Ego; for the process of cognizing Being was a self-recognizing; the Mind proves to be its own other, its own object, and self-consciousness becomes the basis of knowledge. For, in the being of mind, we have an exhaustive concept of Being; all absolute being — Being, *absolutus*, freed from dependence on other being, and existing for itself alone — is in the form of self-relation, and the being of the total, therefore, since it is absolute, is self-determined — the *Infinitem actu, vel rationis, of Spinoza*.

The writer adds: —

"The Reviewer follows the last passage with a bit of Philosophy of his own; but as it has no relevancy to the matter in hand, and is withal a little too transcendental for our taste, he must excuse us for declining to discuss it. We cannot accept it, for we cannot accept what we do not understand, and it professes to be above all understanding. In fact, the Reviewer seems to have a very low opinion of understanding, and no little contempt for logic."

It is rather too long for insertion here; but we venture to think that all candid and careful readers who will turn to pages 537-539 of the "Church Review" for last January, will find the passage referred to sufficiently intelligible and sufficiently pertinent to the course of our argument. That passage did not "profess to be above all understanding;" it simply asserted a speculative knowing distinct from sensuous certitude, and from discursive comprehension, and equally positive with those. In representing the principles of formal logic as inadequate to the expression of the Real, and the Universal, we have only done what the Father of Logic himself has done before us. In his *Metaphysic*, Aristotle

restricts the applicability of these principles to the abstract — the incomplete, for they state only one phase of the totality. In all that involves process and reality, these abstract principles must be set aside. He illustrates this by the principle of contradiction applied to motion : — If a body move, it must either move in the place where it is, or in the place where it is not ; but neither of these is possible, consequently there is no such thing as motion. And applied to change : Every somewhat is some one condition, or else in some other, it cannot be in no condition ; but if it is in one condition it is not changing, nor is it if it is already in another ; therefore there can be no such thing as change. He recognizes that these principles, when taken universally, refute themselves. Thus they cannot be exhaustive "laws of thought," as has been pretended, for they are only fragments of principles. The true principle is a high synthesis which contains the partial principles of Identity and of Contradiction in a union which, completing each with the other, resolves their discord. Abstraction is like the surgeon's knife, which dissects and lays bare the anatomy of the human frame, and brings its mechanism into clear view. But as no lancet can show us the life which pervades the organism, so abstraction cannot reach an explanation of Reality, or concrete existence ; for its process is instantly to dis sever and hold apart that concrete, and so to suspend its very being. It is consequently not a complete procedure, and its result is not an ultimate where we can rest, for it needs always a something other to round it off. Only by a method concrete as Truth itself, can we reach absolute Truth.

"The Reviewer, in favoring us with this bit of philosophy, tells us in support of it, that Sir William Hamilton says, 'All thinking is negation.' So much the worse then for Sir William Hamilton. All thinking is affirmative, and pure negation can neither think nor be thought."

Let us consider this a moment. And first note this clause — "in support of it." What we said was this : —

"All thinking, says Sir William Hamilton, is negation. This is true of all logical thinking ; but there is a positive thinking in a higher sphere than that of logic, coursing over a range of ideas which refuse to be cut up and fitted into logical forms. Logic, in short, is to train the mind to its highest development, not to fetter it by absorbing its whole activity, etc." ¹

¹ *Church Review*, January, 1863, p. 538.

It is plain, then, that we controverted Hamilton's proposition in its universal form, and restricted its application to logical or discursive thinking. But the writer goes so far beyond us in his zeal to overwhelm our supposed ally, as to say that "all thinking is affirmative," adding, "pure negation can neither think nor be thought." But the question is not about *pure* negation; it is about the admixture of negation in every judgment. To think, in the analytic manner of the understanding, consists in distinguishing objects. But the distinctions of a thing from others are its limitations, in which it ceases its determinations, and "every determination is a negation," because it negates of a thing the predicates of other things. Hence the affirmations of the understanding are only the laborious product of two negations, as Hamilton has very well established.

Let us develop a little the thought touched upon in the passage the writer refers to. There are, as Plato and Spinoza especially teach us, three grades of thinking, three stages of mental culture. The first is sensuous thinking, which uses images; it seizes objects by themselves — isolatedly — without their relations, and each thing seems a wholly independent existence. The second stage is the thinking of the understanding. This grade of thought finds that things exist in interdependence upon each other, for the properties of each thing are only its relations to other things, and these properties, without which the thing could have no distinct existence, are the very destruction of its independence, for they bind it up with other things. This negative point of view reduces all to dependence and finitude; there is no being through itself, but each is through others. This is the comprehension of individuality, or negative unity; it has not ascended to the universal, it has not arrived at Being. This can only be at the third stage, the thinking of Pure Reason; the thinking *sub quadam specie eternitatis*. Dependent being, it is here seen, cannot support anything, for its own support is not in itself, but in another. These dependent beings then depend not upon each other, but upon the including whole. The including whole, therefore, is not a dependent, since it is for itself, and each element is determined through it. But what, then, is the character of this including whole? Character means determination. Now its determination cannot be through another, or it would not be an independent; it must, therefore, be through itself. Thus all determination presupposes self-determination. The Nega-

tive, the Finite, the Relative presuppose the Positive, the Infinite, the Absolute.

Now to apply this to the question of method. The writer says the "difficulty" Cousin encounters arises from his placing the question of method before that of principles. We must first settle the question of principle, he says, and then follow the method they prescribe. But whence are these principles, and how does the mind obtain them? This single question puts his theory utterly to rout. For in metaphysic these principles are precisely the matter in question, and the true method cannot be a descent from these principles, for it is an ascent to them. If you base your science of mind on these principles taken for granted, you have not "settled the question" of them. Thus the writer falls into the very difficulty in which he thinks Cousin is involved. He assumes the validity of certain principles in order to follow their method, but as these principles are only found in the mind itself, which, according to him, is *insufficient to itself in its activity*, his Philosophy is built upon a *petitio principii*. It does not solve the difficulty to say that these principles are in the mind through the action of "that which is not the subject," it only removes it one step further; for this object, too, is only found in the mind, and its independent existence is for him a mere assumption. This is the vice of what we called the analytical, or logical method, which deals only with the abstract, and uses metaphysical principles merely as formulas for the solution of particular problems. The psychological method, on the contrary, makes it its object to discover and establish these principles in order to lay a foundation for the superstructure of knowledge. This, the procedure of true speculative thinkers of every age, was well understood and pointed out two thousand years ago. Plato describes the speculative method as one which, far from setting out, as the abstract sciences do, by positing first principles presupposed as valid, by which all is to be established, begins with the immediate, which, soon seen to be insufficient to itself, is removed. We ascend to the more adequate by removing the first hypothesis, and so proceed till we come to the first principle, which is its own evidence from being the absolutely universal. Thus, it is seen, that what is stigmatized as "only a generalization of psychological facts," is nevertheless an arriving at the absolute, for it is the very character of the psychological fact to have the form of the Total; and we issue upon the highest of all truths, that God is a Person, or rather *the* Person.

Let one free himself from the dominion of the Negative, and the tyranny of the Understanding if he would find Truth; for search and look, out of the Understanding there cometh no philosophy. Let one learn to reach the positive through the negative; let him find his way out of the quarrelsome antinomies of the categories into the organic unity which underlies them. That this pure thinking, "under the form of Eternity," is in any way easy to attain to, it would be absurd to pretend. It is the fruit of patient and self-discipline. He who would ascend to the thought of the world's greatest thinkers must elevate his own thinking to their plane. For the natural man beholdeth not the things of the Spirit. Philosophy is not contrary to common sense, it is above it, and its results reach beyond the ordinary views. For intuition, be it remembered, is not Science, any more than the acorn is the oak. Immediate knowing must pass through the stage of mediation, and arrive at absolute mediation. It is not otherwise with the True than with the Beautiful, which Plato calls the *Splendor of the True*. Who does not know that for the vulgar Art is a veiled Goddess—who would pretend that it needs no high culture, no change in our innermost, to enter into the works of Beethoven, or Michael Angelo? But this culture must be a *self* culture, and this is what the close of this paragraph of our Article intended to convey. Finally, since this thinking of pure reason is the highest intellectual activity, let it not be confounded with the Intellectual Vision of Schelling, nor with any form of mysticism.¹

With regard to another point, we have to beg the writer's pardon for imputing to him a strictness and precision in the use of language which he seems prompt to disclaim. When he spoke in his first article of action within the circle of the Divine Being, as distinguished from action *ad extra*, or creative action, we called it a distinction without a difference. Such interior activity can mean nothing but the *actus purus* of the Will, or volition, which, while it remains unproductive, seems very nearly to resemble passivity. The writer now explains himself thus:—

"When we speak of His activity within the circle of His own Being, we refer to the fact that He is living God, therefore, Triune, Father, Son,

¹ For a masterly exposé of these principal positions, and a profound treatment of philosophic fundamentals generally, we refer the reader to the admirable *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, William T. Harris, Editor, St. Louis, Mo., and in particular to the articles, "The Speculative," "Herbert Spencer," and the series entitled, "Introduction to Philosophy."

and Holy Ghost," and adds, " . . . Do not this generation and this procession imply action?"

Assuredly not if the word be used with any strictness. There is no such thing as action that is not causative or creative. There is no action in Man or God that does not come from the Will, and the writer expressly says : —

"The Unity of Essence and Trinity of persons do not depend on the Divine Will, but on the Divine Nature."

This concedes all we would claim, for it concedes everything. The fact that God is Triune, is the fact that He is self-determined. Self-determination is the eternal Form of Reason, absolute or finite, and is heaven wide from action of any sort ; and thus we escape from the writer's contradiction of "eternal action" — a causing, a beginning to produce, that is, which shall be without beginning.

The Son of God, the great Cause, by whom all things were made, and without whom was not anything made that was made, is called by St. John not the Deed, but the Word. . . . The Logos is the eternal expression, so to speak, of the Divine thought, and so is that thought Himself, which He could not be if He were in any sense the product of God's activity, for the creature is not the same, but something different from the Creator. This most orthodox doctrine we have seen is that of Cousin, when he carries the categories of substance and cause, which he finds in the self-determination of mind, into Theodicy.

We should continue "discreetly to refrain" from entering upon the question of Cousin's Pantheism had not the writer reduced the consideration of that question to two points.

"Cousin's Pantheism follows necessarily from two doctrines, that he, from first to last, maintains. First, there is only one substance. Second, Creation is necessary."

The second doctrine we have already maintained is falsely imputed to Cousin in its Pantheistic sense, and explicitly denied by him in that sense. When we "repeat Cousin's own word, 'necessary,'" it is after we have explained it as equivalent to morally certain. The writer justly observes : — "a necessitated creation is no proper creation at all," but Cousin strenuously maintained the doctrine of a Creation, so strenuously as hastily to speak of it as necessary — because the only possible alternative would be an eternally idle God, an inactive Activity, a non-causing Cause —

but his idea, after he had retracted its inaccurate expression, certainly contains no opposition to the freedom of creation, for freedom, he well knew, is the very essence of every creative act.

"Cousin denies that God does or can create from nothing; says God creates out of His own fullness, that the stuff of creation is His own substance, and time and again resolves what he calls creation into evolution or development, and makes the relation between the Infinite and the finite as we have seen, not that of *creation*, but that of *generation*, which is only development, or explication."

This passage is a fair enough exhibition of the writer's style of criticism. It is very true that Cousin makes the obvious remark that God cannot create from nothing. Nothing, nonentity, is a purely negative notion — no thing; and no multiplication of zero will produce a unit. If "pure negation can neither think or be thought," it would seem strange that it could produce, or concur in producing. Cousin says then that God creates out of his own fullness, but he does *not* say that the "stuff of creation is his own substance;" he is even careful to avoid being so misunderstood. The writer's article, to illustrate the point, is his creation. Are we to suppose that he has passed into it in his own substance? The "stuff of it" is his "own substance" in the sense that it is the expression of his ideas, just as the Universe is the expression of the Divine ideas, but these ideas are not the Person, they are not Him, they are His.

Further, Cousin does *not* "resolve what he calls creation into evolution or development;" it is *not* the relation between the Infinite and finite which he "makes, as we have seen, not that of *creation*, but of *generation*." The relation that he makes one of generation is that of the Infinite to its own other, the relation which the Gospel represents as that of Father and Son, with which, as we have said, creation, or action have nothing whatever to do.

As to the first doctrine, "There is only one Substance," properly understood it is the very foundation of Natural Religion, as well as the result at which all profound thinkers have arrived; for it is only asserting the unity of the total. There is only one Being who has ever said, "I Am that I Am." Finite substances cannot be self-sufficient, for they are dependent on that which limits them; consequently their true being lies beyond them, or, to put it more

precisely, their immediate being is not identical with their total being. Thus they are, as it were, in a state of self-contradiction; hence individual existences are changeable, transitory, and ever passing away. They have not being, in an absolute sense, for Being is through itself and for itself alone. They have drawn their being from the Independent Being, the Being of beings. But what is the character of this Absolute Being? If it be regarded simply as negative unity, as an individual, from the point of view of the understanding, we have the position of Pantheism. It is the One and All from which all emanates, and to which all returns. But the Absolute Being cannot exist without determination, in the manner of the Spinozan Substance, for being pure from any determination, Cousin often repeats, is nonentity. Pure being is an abstraction, but the abstraction of being is being as non-existing, that is, it is not-being, and *Das Seyn ist das Nichts*, as Hegel says. The Absolute, then, must have determination in order to *be*, and since it cannot be determined through another, and retain its independence, it follows that it must be self-determined. Self-relation, self-consciousness is the form of the Absolute. God is the Absolute Person — our Father which is in Heaven. And this gives the answer to the charge of Pantheism. How can Pantheism co-exist with the doctrine of a Personal God?

On another line of thought this charge may be met, and rebutted. For one who grasps, as Cousin did, the full dialectic of Cause, the illusion of Pantheism is powerless, is no longer possible. He will see that Will is Cause, and that there is no Cause but Will. Physical forces are properties of matter, but they are in no complete sense, causes, for they are not free, are not independent; they have not their power within themselves. They are necessitated and instrumental, and their efficiency cannot for a moment be separated from obedience to a Will that lies behind them. The recent "Correlation" theory does not leave them self-sufficient, for it does not bring us to a self-moved, to that which is *causa sui*. But will is personality, and thus an abysmal distinction opens between God and His Creation, and the notion takes to flight of a world-soul pervading the generality which the illusive term Nature personifies.

The writer further explains that when he represented Cousin as holding Language to be unnecessary to the operation of the reflective reason, he did not mean reflective reason in Cousin's sense, but

simply human reason considered as a reflex of the Divine. In this somewhat peculiar use of the word, "reflective," his criticism may stand. Cousin certainly does hold the activity of the intuitive reason, at least logically anterior to speech, for language is the product and expression of thought, and there cannot be expression till there is something to be expressed. But the theory of the origin of language has been so ably set forth by others that we need not discuss the matter here. We would call the writer's attention in particular to the article "Signes," by M. Francke, in Vol. VI. of the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques."

In conclusion the writer tells us, in a manner that wears somewhat the appearance of a challenge, that if we send him a rejoinder, he will retort by numerous and explicit citations from Cousin's works, book and page marked. But we must remind him that such isolated passages may well appear "objectionable," and opposed to Christianity, for they may even appear contradictory to each other. As Cousin himself says, "Thought in vain seeks to avoid the exclusive;" every proposition presents one view of the whole truth, and may often consist with its apparent contrary, for opposites complete, and do not exclude each other. No man ever uttered more paradoxes than our Saviour Christ. The writer loses sight of this when he says Cousin "resolves the Trinity" into God, Nature, and Humanity. "He says God is triple, '*C'est-à-dire à la fois Dieu, nature, et humanité.*'"

The triplicity here spoken of is one of external manifestation, not, like that of the Trinity, one of internal form.

We may recommend as applicable to Cousin's Philosophy, the advice he gave his pupils with regard to our Religion: "Do not listen to those superficial minds who give themselves out for profound thinkers, because they have been able to discover difficulties in Christianity."

We have only to add that whatever charges the writer may see fit hereafter to prefer against Cousin's Philosophy, we deem it scarcely profitable to pursue the discussion with him any further, and shall be content to leave the Philosopher undefended against arrows which so evidently fall short or fly wide of their mark.

ART. IV. — EARLY HISTORY OF SOTERIOLOGY.

THE word *Soteriology* means, literally, "A Discourse on Salvation;" and is used by theological writers as a substitute for the phrase, "The History of the Doctrine of the Atonement wrought by Christ." In this sense we shall constantly employ the word.

The Christian's Rule of Faith and Practice is Holy Scripture, and the doctrines contained in its inspired pages. But, while the fundamental verities of Holy Writ are clearly obvious to the humble, prayerful mind, so that none need err from the way of Salvation, its sublimer teachings are so profound, that the noblest human intellect can never fully fathom their depth. An uninspired book would long ere this have been exhausted by the study of successive generations; but the Bible is at this day as fruitful a field for pious thought and investigation, as it was in the days of Origen and S. Athanasius. Had the minds of men been free from sin and error, no commentary on those sacred pages would have been required, nor would the simpler Creeds of Apostolic days have needed the Nicene and Athanasian Symbols to explain and defend them. But as successive heresies sprang up and assailed the Catholic Faith, the mind of the Church was busied in explaining, and scientifically stating the dogmas which she had firmly held *ab initio*. This is what we mean when we speak of a "*true development of doctrine*."¹

We are fully aware that this term "development of doctrine" has been subjected to gross misapprehension and abuse. Many have erroneously supposed, and some have attempted to prove, that *new doctrines* have been invented from time to time by Church Councils, or metaphysical divines, and palmed upon the Church as the Truths of Holy Writ. We have no sympathy with any "development of doctrine," which would deduce the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin from a mis-translation in the Vulgate (Genesis iii. 15); or would

¹ "The word *development* has been much abused by Dr. Newman and others, in modern times; yet I know of no word to substitute for it in the history of doctrine. The term, in fact, is harmless, if we are careful not to confound development,—which is the opening, defining, and applying of truths contained in Holy Writ,—with corruptions and accretions derived from other sources. Siddon (Bampton Lectures) takes the same view of Development."—MAHAN'S *Church History* (Dana), p. 95. This valuable manual needs an index.

prove Calvin no Calvinist for the sake of a comfortable salary at Andover. For Papal and Puritan "developments" we have no words, but those of undisguised abhorrence. But there is, nevertheless, such a thing as a true development of doctrine. All the doctrines of the Holy Catholic Church are contained in the New Testament. But they are not there arranged in the shape of a theological treatise. There we will find the texts on which the Church has founded her homilies from the days of S. Chrysostom until now. The Council of Nicæa (325) *developed* the doctrine of the true Godhead of Christ in opposition to the heresy of Arius, but it did not *make* the doctrine. The doctrine was revealed by God in the New Testament. When *divine* truth was contradicted by an erring human mind, it was necessary that *human* reason (guided in the way of truth by divine grace) should busy itself with the exposition and scientific development. To this we owe the Definitions of Faith, which at Chalcedon completed the development.

It is a vain task for any one to deny the facts of history. Open any volume of Church History, and you will at once perceive that the mind of the Church was occupied on different themes at different epochs. During the earlier centuries heresy assailed the very foundations of Christianity, and it was not until the Council of Chalcedon that the Church had fully fortified the truth of Scripture against the assaults of Arianism, and its cognate errors. A little later we find the Church, in the age of St. Augustin and his successors, occupied in resisting the heresy of Pelagius by affirming the dogma of the Natural Depravity of our fallen race. When in the Middle Ages such errorists as Scotus, Erigena, and Abelard attacked the true doctrine of the Atonement, we find in the tract of Archbishop Anselm (entitled "*Cur Deus Homo?*") the noblest vindication of the truth. The collective mind of the Church has been occupied in later ages in a fuller statement of "*Justification by Faith*," "*Sacramental Grace*," "*The Divine Orders of the Ministry*"; and in systematizing and arranging its theology. God, in His own good time, will doubtless send us the Augustin or Anselm, who will treat of "*Eternal Retribution*," a doctrine so fiercely assailed by modern Restorationism.

The Doctrine of the Atonement may well be considered as in many respects the *central point* of Christianity. In these dark days of infidelity and latitudinarian "*liberality of belief*," it be-

hooves Christians to observe well the old land-marks — to inquire what the Fathers have believed, what errors they have vanquished, what truths they have explained and defended.

It is our design in the present essay to present in a popular view the opinions which have been held by leading Christian writers (orthodox and heretical), in all ages on the subject of the Atonement. By the Atonement of Christ we mean distinctly His Divine-human expiation of the sins of our fallen race. We shall from the outset accept as a postulate the Catholic Doctrines of the Trinity, and the Theanthropic Person of Christ. Our aim is not to establish our doctrine by direct argument, but simply to narrate its history.

The Hebrew term for Atonement is כָּפָר (from כָּפַר to cover), meaning “a covering for sin.” The Greek is ἱλασμός, “a means of appeasing, or propitiation.” The patristic Latin is *Satisfactio*. The theological term used by the early English writers was *Satisfaction*; but this has given place to the more Saxon word, *Atonement*. This word, At-one-ment, has the etymological sense of “reconciliation.” The orthodox dogma (as stated in our Second Article) is, that “Christ, very God and very Man, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.” The following may be accepted as a scientific definition of the doctrine. “The Atonement of Christ is the vicarious Satisfaction for the sin of man accomplished by the substituted penal suffering of the Son of God.” By “penal suffering” is meant suffering endured to satisfy the claims of Divine Law.

Archbishop Thomson (in his “Aids to Faith”) has put on record this brief, but satisfactory, analysis of the doctrine: —

“1. God sent His Son into the world to redeem lost and ruined man from sin and death, and the Son willingly took upon Him the form of a servant for this purpose; and thus the Father and the Son manifested their LOVE for us. 2. God the Father laid upon His Son the weight of the sins of the whole world, so that He bore in His own Body the wrath which men must else have borne, because there was no other way of escape for them; and thus the Atonement was a manifestation of DIVINE JUSTICE. 3. The effect of the Atonement thus wrought is, that man is placed in a new position, freed from the dominion of sin, and able to follow holiness; and thus the doctrine of the Atonement ought to work in all the hearers a sense of love, of obedience and of self-sacrifice. In

shorter words, the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ is a proof of Divine Love and of Divine Justice, and is for us a document of obedience." — *A. to F.*, p. 389.

That this comes from the patron of Mr. Voysey will not, of course, detract from its intrinsic merit. The inconsistency can be best explained by the author!

The scientific statement of the Atonement was slower in construction than of the Trinity. The disputes with regard to that dogma and the Person of Christ fully engrossed the mind of the Church in earlier ages. It has been well remarked, however, by the Prelate just quoted, "that in the first ages the disputes which prevailed about the Person of Jesus superseded the discussion of the Atonement, because they contained and implied it." . . . "When the whole doctrine of the Person of Christ was the subject of searching controversy, the doctrine of Atonement did not emerge as the subject of a separate dispute; but we may be sure that it was never far off."—*Aids to Faith*, pp. 392, 393.

Two causes give impulse to the true development of doctrine, (1) the attacks of unbelievers, (2) the heresies of misbelievers. The Apostolic Church received its teachings from the lips of inspired men, and was graciously preserved from the strifes of later ages. But soon the heresy of *Gnosticism* appeared, and broached its dangerous errors under at least two distinct forms, which we may classify as the school of *Basilides*, and the school of *Marcion*. These were subdivided into types, perhaps as numerous as the Sects of the day. Gnosticism (from the Greek Γνῶσις, knowledge) was an attempt to explain the New Testament by the aid of heathen Philosophy, and to deduce from the inspired volume mysteries which it never contained. The germ of Gnosticism existed before the birth of Christ, and it eagerly laid hold of Christianity when it made its appearance, hoping it would prove the means of accomplishing the Gnostic ends. It prevailed especially in the East, and the School of Alexandria, while contending against the Gnostics, imbibed unconsciously some of their pernicious principles.

What Christ accomplished by His *appearance* was the chief thing in the eye of the Gnostic—he ignored the results of the Saviour's Death and Passion. As we have already observed there was a marked difference between the schools of Basilides and Marcion.

1. *Basilides* of Syria (according to Epiphanius) flourished about

the year 125 in Alexandria, where he founded a Gnostic school, which was continued by his son Isodorus. His school claimed that the suffering of Christ was merely *human*, and denied its expiatory efficacy; for (1) it was *finite*, and therefore inadequate to an Atonement, and (2) they refused to admit the idea of a *substituted* suffering. The suffering of Jesus was held to be an atonement for personal guilt which He had Himself incurred in an *antecedent life*.

Basilides recognised a redeeming God — but not a *God-man*. The man Jesus was only the organ which the redeeming God chose, in order to reveal Himself to men and to influence them. The Redeemer, in the true and proper sense of the word, was the chief of the *Æons*, (or subordinate gods,) sent down by the Supreme God to accomplish the work of redemption. This *Æon* united himself with the man Jesus at the baptism in Jordan. From this moment the work of Redemption went on. The man Jesus spoke and did things which shook the Universe. The Archon, or Demiurge, who created this world, was himself surprised and confounded, acknowledged the Supreme God, and submitted to His sway. To quote the words of Basilides: "When the Demiurge heard the words of the redeeming Spirit, he was perplexed, looked about on every side, received the glorious message, and his confusion was called *fear*. This explains the text, 'The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom;' [!] for the fear of this God [the Demiurge] was the beginning of a wisdom which distinguished different kinds of natures, let them reach perfection and restore them to the rank of existence for which they were intended." Amid these semi-pagan absurdities, we can detect a faint recognition of the quickening power of the Gospel.

2. *Marcion*, who flourished a few years later, was the son of the Catholic Bishop of Sinope, in Pontus. Having been excommunicated for heresy by his father, he betook himself to the City of Rome, and there moulded his tenets into a Gnostic system, somewhat different from that of Basilides. He admitted that the Death of Christ was a sort of Divine Suffering; but it was only *apparent*, emblematic, unreal. Christ in person was only symbolically Divine — His death but a symbol of the idea, that we must die to this world, in order that we may live to God. Marcion also declared that the appearance of Christ was the self-revelation of the Supreme God, who had been concealed hitherto from His creatures.

Beside the Gnostics, there was another sect of ancient heretics, called the *Ebionites*. These were Judaizing, nominal Christians, who denied the possibility of Christ's Atonement for sin, and referred the expiation of human guilt to the legal ground of the merit of good works. They held that the work of Christ was not Atonement, but the Revelation of God through doctrine — a view akin to that of modern Socinianism. Christ disappeared when Jesus suffered; so that He endured only human pains, which, of course, could have no atoning value. The Gnostics and Ebionites — divided on other points — agreed in this, that there is no such thing as the expiation of human sin by the sufferings and Death of Christ.

These heresies, so little known, or studied at the present day, exerted a great influence during the second century. Gnosticism was no vulgar superstition — it was the last grand effort of dying Paganism to effect a moral victory, by engrafting on its own errors and follies some of the great truths of Christianity.

The Catholic Church armed herself for conflict with this new foe. She saw at once that the fundamental verities of her Creed must be explained, and defended by logical arguments. She withstood heresy by setting forth the *nature* and *purpose* of Christ's sufferings. (1) In *nature* they were those of a Theanthropic Person, *i. e.*, a God-man. (Why do Roman Catholic writers reverse this word, and write "Man-God"?) Christ united in one Person, God and man; and this Person was truly crucified, so that all in Him *capable* of death (*capax mortis*) died. The Godhead, of course, survived, while the Humanity died, and rose from the dead. This Death and Resurrection appear in the New Testament as the consummating acts of Redemption; partly because they were the highest acts of sacrifice, and partly because they win the love of our race — chiefly the former. (2) The *purpose* of this Sacrifice was, not so much the *instruction* of the human race, as its Redemption from sin and hell, to the Kingdom of God and Eternal Glory. See Matthew xvi. 20, 21, — xx. 28; John i. 29, — x. 11, 17, 18, — vi. 51; Romans iii. 25, 26, — v. 12–21; 2 Corinthians v. 18–21; Galatians i. 4, — iii. 13; Ephesians i. 7, — v. 2; Colossians i. 20–22, — ii. 15; 1 Thessalonians i. 10; 1 Timothy ii. 5, 6; Titus ii. 14; Hebrews ii. 14, 15; 1 Peter i. 18, 19, — ii. 21–24, — iii. 18, — iv. 1; 1 John i. 7, — ii. 2, — iii. 16, — iv. 10; Revelation v. 9, — vii. 14. These are but a few of the more prominent proof-texts.

In treating of the history of this doctrine, we would naturally examine first the writings of the *Apostolic Fathers*. These were S. Clement, of Rome, S. Polycarp, S. Barnabas, S. Ignatius, and Hermas. They are called "Apostolic," because they were the immediate successors of the first Apostles, and their testimony is second in value only to the inspired Record. We may say of them, *in general*, that they speak with the greatest fervor of the Salvation which Christ has wrought for men, and depict in a lively manner the high merit which He has won by His doctrine, and His example. They declare that He first communicated to our race the true knowledge of God, directed us to a pure Worship, and gave us a pattern of Holiness. They celebrate especially *His Death*, through which we were purified, have received forgiveness of sins, and are made *at one* with God. They often represent Christ as a Sacrifice offered for our sins, and a Ransom paid for our guilt; but they do not undertake to show to what extent the Death of Christ was necessary to accomplish that forgiveness, nor the precise nature of the satisfaction. In the support of the orthodox doctrine against the assaults of heresy, they were wont to adduce pointed texts of Scripture. Let us examine their individual testimony in support of this doctrine.

1. *S. Clemens Romanus*, Bishop of Rome, a pupil of S. Paul (Phil. iv. 3), wrote (A. D. 97), an Epistle to the Church at Corinth. In several passages he bears unequivocal testimony to the doctrine of Christ's vicarious Satisfaction.

"Let us look steadfastly to the Blood of Christ, and see how precious His [Blood] is to God, which, having been poured out for our Salvation, has set the grace of repentance before all the world." Ad. Cor. I. c. 7.

"And thus they made it manifest that Redemption should flow through the Blood of the Lord, to all them that believe and hope in God."—c. 12.

"On account of the love He bore us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave His Blood for us, by the will of God; His Flesh for our flesh, and His Soul for our souls."—c. 49.

In chapter 2d of the same Epistle, he distinctly speaks of the "Sufferings of God."

2. *S. Polycarp*, Martyr, Bishop of Smyrna, (+ 169), is very explicit in his teachings on this point:—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sins suffered even unto death."—Ad. Phil. c. i.

"Let us then continually persevere in our Hope, and the Earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, 'Who bore our sins, etc.' (1 Peter ii. 24.)"—c. 8.

3. *S. Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom at Rome, Dec. 20, 107 (or 116?). We use the *shorter* Greek recension of his Epistles:—

"By the Cross He calls you through His Passion."—Ad. Tral. c. 11.

"Permit me to be an imitator of the Passion of my God."—Ad. R. c. 6.

"You are established in love through the Blood of Christ."—Ad. Smyr. c. 1.

"Of this fruit we are by His God-blessed Passion."—Ad. Smyr. c. 1.

"He suffered all these things for our sakes, that we might be saved.—c. 2.

"If they believe not in the Blood of Christ, judgment is to them."—c. 6.

The heretics, he says, "confess not the Eucharist to be the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins."—c. 7.

"The servants of Christ our God."—c. 10.

"In the Name of Jesus Christ, and in His Flesh and Blood, in His Passion and Resurrection."—c. 12.

4. *S. Barnabas*, in the first half of the second century:—

"For to this end the Lord endured to deliver up His flesh to corruption, that we might be sanctified through the remission of sins, which is effected by His Blood of Sprinkling."—c. 5.

"If therefore the Son of God, Who is Lord of all, and Who will judge the living and the dead, suffered, that His stroke might give us Life, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered, except for our sakes."—c. 7.

5. *Epistle to Diognetus*, same date:—

"God Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities, He gave His own Son as a Ransom for us, the Holy for transgressors, the Blameless for the wicked, the Righteous for the unrighteous, the Incorruptible for the corruptible, the Immortal for the mortal."—c. 9.

We see clearly from the above citations, that the Doctrine of the Atonement in its Scriptural signification, was maintained by the Apostolic Fathers. Besides their direct assertions of the dogma, they make use of many illustrations and analogies: *e. g.* As sin came to our race from a tree; so also salvation. A woman brought the temptation—a woman bore the Deliverer. Rahab's red cord (Joshua 2d), was a type of the redeeming Blood of Christ.

From their writings we now pass to those of "The Primitive

Fathers," who come next in order. Among these we may mention the venerable names of those Ante-Nicene Christian Teachers, S. Justin Martyr, S. Irenæus, S. Cyprian, Tertullian, and the Alexandrians, S. Clement and Origen.

S. Justin Martyr, Presbyter, (A. D. 114–165), is thoroughly Catholic in his doctrine. He teaches distinctly that the aim and object of the Incarnation was the suffering for mankind.

"Predictive of the Passion He was to endure, cleansing by His Blood those who believe on Him."—Apol. I. c. 32.

"For the Salvation of those who believe on Him, He endured both to be set at naught, and to suffer, that by dying and rising again He might conquer death."—c. 63.

"For us He became Man, that becoming a Partaker of our sufferings, He might also work out a healing."—II. c. 13."

He calls the Death of Christ, *προσφορά*, an Offering or Sacrifice.

"His Father caused Him to suffer these things in behalf of the human family."—Dial. c. Trypho. c. 95.

"Our hope depends on the Crucified Christ."—c. 96.

"He alone will save those who do not depart from His Faith."—c. 111.

"The Blood of Christ will deliver from death those who have believed."—c. 111.

About this time there arose an erroneous theory concerning the object of the Atonement, known by the title of "Satan's Claims." Many think that traces of this tenet can be found in the writings even of the orthodox *S. Irenæus*. The theory was this: "The devil got man into his power at the fall, when he persuaded him to transgress the Divine Law. The power of Satan was grounded in the transgression and fall, by means of which man was fettered. Christ, by His sufferings and Death, purchased man from the power of Satan, by paying to the destroyer His Blood as a Ransom for the Redemption of man." The texts which were thought to give color to this view were:—"Having spoiled principalities and powers, (*τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας*), he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it."—Colossians ii. 15. "That through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil."—Heb. ii. 14.

"The meaning of the expression (Col. ii. 15) is somewhat obscure. It appears most probably to imply that, as hinted at by Theodoret, and apparently all the Greek commentators, our Lord by His Death 'stripped

away from Himself' all the opposing hostile powers of evil (observe the article) that sought in the nature which he had condescended to assume, to win for themselves a victory." — Bp. Ellicott, *in loco*.

S. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, (A. D. 130–202) is well known to Christian scholars by his learned word, 'Adversus Hæreses,' written A. D. 185. In it the disputed passage occurs.

"Since the Apostacy [*i. e.*, the Devil] unjustly got the dominion over us, and, though we belonged by nature to the Omnipotent God, alienated us against nature, and made us His own disciples, the Logos of God (Christ), powerful in all things, and perfect in justice, acted justly in regard to the Apostacy, redeeming from it that which was His own; not by force, in the way that it got dominion over us in the beginning, when it carried off insatiably that which belonged not to it, but by *persuasion* (*secundum suadelam*), as it became God to receive what He would, by the use of persuasion, not of force, that Justice should not be infringed, nor yet that which God created of old should perish."—Adv. Hær. B. v., c. 1, s. 1.

The whole controversy hinges on the meaning of the words, *secundum suadelam*. Was this "persuasion" addressed to the devil, or to man? *Baur* interprets it in the former sense; but it is better with *Duncker*, and *Gieseler* to understand that the *suadela* was addressed to *men*. On this passage *Gieseler* remarks:—"The meaning of *Irenæus* is this,—'The human race was conquered by the devil, and held by him in bonds. The Logos ended this connection, in that He became Man, and as such conquered the devil. As through the disobedience of Adam man fell into this captivity: so through the victory of Christ was he freed from it. This victory Christ won by His unceasing obedience to God, which He accomplished through His union with the Logos. The culmination of this obedience was His Death. As Man He conquered the devil, and made a like victory possible for other men. *Irenæus* regards the Atonement, (1) as taking man out of Satan's hands; (2) satisfying Law; (3) reconciling man to God, so that man receives forgiveness of sin, and restoration to the image and favor of God." This is certainly a very satisfactory view of the passage; for we must remember that *Gieseler* was no enthusiast for orthodoxy, but a cold, impartial critic.

"In the dogma of "Satan's Claims," we can detect some latent traces of Gnosticism. The Gnostic held that the Prince of this world (*Demiurge*) was conquered by Jesus, who delivered spiritual

men from his power. This led Baur (German Pantheist), to assert, that "the first Christian idea of the Atonement was taken from Gnosticism!" The falsehood of this is too self-evident to need refutation. The Gnostic view was that man fell into the power of the Demiurge, and that the Atonement consisted in the Supreme God rescuing him from the Demiurge. The idea of "Satan's Claims" may have entered too strongly into the language of some of the Primitive Fathers; but neither the words of Holy Scripture, nor the writings of the Apostolic Fathers warrant any such idea. Later we shall find this disturbing element entirely eliminated from the writings of Theologians.

With the most *ultra* view, there is a very marked difference between the Patristic and the Gnostic idea of the Atonement. The Patristic doctrine contained the judicial and expiatory element. The writings of the Fathers teach a justice due to God — not due to Satan. The language of S. Irenæus shows this — Baur to the contrary.

In different ages there is apt to be a difference in the verbal statement of the same great truth. Thus we have seen that what was once called *Satisfaction* is now designated *Atonement*. The first word gives prominence to the *expiation*, the second to the *reconciliation*. It is important also to remember, that failure to make a clear statement of a principle is not equivalent to a *denial* of it. Baur and Neander both overlook this fact. S. Irenæus referred the Work of Christ to God's attribute of JUSTICE. This can be proved from the very extract cited by Baur to show that S. Irenæus substituted "devil" for "demiurge." The Gnostic Demiurge was a subordinate deity; but S. Irenæus nowhere teaches Gnostic Dualism. He does not lower the Godhead to a level with Satan. As man freely fell, so must he be reclaimed by free agency, — "not by compulsion, *sed secundum suadelam*." The "justice" spoken of in the extract cited is not justice toward Satan, but justice to the Nature of God. Baur says, "The justice due to Satan seems to Irenæus to stand in the way of God's saving man." Not so. What S. Irenæus taught was, that Christ died to satisfy *Divine* Justice, and that God could no more save man without such a Satisfaction, than He could tell an untruth.

The German historian, *Neander*, says, (V. I. p. 713):

"The Doctrine of Redemption has two sides, one negative, the other positive; in relation to the condition from which human nature was freed,

and in relation to the new condition into which it was brought. One is the assumption of human nature with all the consequences of sin and guilt, fellowship with sinful, conscience-stricken man; the other is the realization of the ideal of holiness in this human nature, which hitherto has been ruled by sin, the communication of Divine Life to fallen man. Irenæus gives great prominence to the latter idea, though he does not entirely overlook the former."

Prof. Dorner, in his great work on "The Person of Christ," arrives at a juster appreciation of this Father. He shows that S. Irenæus holds to a vicarious Atonement; that he divides Christ's love into active and passive, and teaches that *both* are involved in the Atonement.

"In the view of Irenæus, humanity, in its development, has taken an abnormal course. Redemption is a repetition of the history of man, but in an opposite direction. The abnormal is made good, or removed. Christ, as the normal Man, takes all sin, guilt, and punishment on Himself. He bears punishment, and expiates guilt; but in this expiation He represents holy Humanity, loving God and annihilating sin by its obedience."

ART. V. — ORIGEN.

IN the following outline of the life of the tireless Catechist of Alexandria, we shall endeavor simply to sketch the salient points of the man's life-work. To name properly all the services, both theological and exegetical, the former negatively, the latter positively rendered to the Church, would require space that cannot be allowed us. We cannot, now, at least, estimate the influence his principles of exposition had over later and soberer exegesis. Nor yet shall we try, by our later standards of a sounder Philosophy applied to the Catholic Faith, his many heretical opinions, his incautious conjectures, and rapid inferences, thrown out to the eager pupils who hung upon his every word. Our avowed object is only to present the man working at his appointed task, and by it producing results which entered into the permanent work of the Church, and which Demetrius Theoctistus, Alexander, and Firmilian could name, and for which they could do him honor. We would remove the conventional conception of him, the result of later and not always appreciative criticism, by showing him, as

well as we can by a simple outline of his daily work in his vocation of Catechist—the great Catechist of Alexandria—with all his faults the greatest Catechist the Church has ever possessed.

Origen was born A. D. 186, in the seventh year of Commodus, of Christian parents. He was early trained in the Faith with singularly loving care and thoroughness, by his father Leonides, who was apparently well fitted for the task. Probably this extraordinary care was bestowed in consequence of the childish precocity he exhibited. Apt to learn beyond his years, he asked many eager, childish questions, beyond his father's ability to answer. Leonides checked his forwardness by telling him that when he was old enough to understand, *then* it would be soon enough to explain them to him, but that now his curiosity was impertinent. How well this could satisfy his inordinate love for knowledge we are not told. But when the boy was asleep Leonides would steal softly to his bedside to kiss the breast so evidently the Temple of the HOLY GHOST. Leonides seems also to have been his first preceptor in the elements of polite learning, though he soon passed on to the instructions of other and abler teachers. In the Catechetical School his master was the famous Clement, soon to become Patriarch of Alexandria, but then adding to the reputation the school had acquired under Pantaenus. Alexandria was then furnished with unrivalled schools, both in Philosophy and Literature as well as in Christian Doctrine. The centre of the world of letters, already having overshadowed Athens, the home of the leading Neo-Platonists, it was the proper place where only such an insatiable student as Origen could be trained. The leading school in Philosophy was under Christian control, as it then happened. From the Catechetical School he next attended the Lectures of the noted Christian Philosopher, Ammonius Saccas, which were the most attractive for the disputatious youth of Alexandria. Origen was an assiduous attendant. As Ammonius Saccas is accused of teaching doctrines which his great pupil developed into dangerous heresies, we may pause for a moment to say a word about him. He was of Christian parentage. Though Porphyry maliciously and falsely accuses him of abandoning the Faith, we may well believe that, averse to perilous professions, he may have kept rather in the back-ground his religious tenets, and, publicly lecturing upon Philosophy, have striven to keep his belief to himself. This is not improbable, since Plotinus was his pupil

also, and as there is no intimation that he ever (as Origen afterwards) proselytized any of his pupils to the Faith. A Neo-Platonist, and a Christian, it is said, that he scrupled to commit his opinions to writing—unless he is the same Ammonius who composed the lost “Harmony between Moses and Jesus.” He may have felt that there were too many unsolved problems of Philosophy to be received to permit, as yet, a philosophic creed, perfectly accordant with his confession of Faith. And he hesitated the less to keep this silence as his life-long attempt was one of conciliation. He propounded (if we comprehend the conjectures about him) an eclectic system of his own, too universal and having too many compromises to be critically correct. Unable to give up Philosophy, and absorbed with this scheme, he saw that the best exposition of metaphysical science could not be popularly considered compatible with Christianity, while in common with many Christian leaders (*e. g.* his cotemporary Clement) he instinctively felt that there could be no incompatibility between the two systems. Of course, whatever hopes we may now have of a sound Christian Philosophy, his plan of reconciling adverse schools was simply impossible. Even then the Church felt that she was the keeper of all Truth, and eagerly sought to make metaphysics her handmaiden. But Ammonius was preparing a mere patch of maxims and principles from all past theories, and apparently prided himself upon the success with which he expounded it to the students who crowded to hear him. Indirectly the Church gained by him, while he retained his independence as a Philosophic Lecturer.

His influence upon Origen was pernicious, for Origen boldly and pertinaciously applied the maxims of his master to his own peculiar department. He insisted upon forcing the rules of interpretation he had learned, as well to the Holy Scriptures, where they were wholly inapplicable, as to mere speculation, where they did no harm. It was this want of delicate perception which, in our estimation, deprives Origen of any claim to true genius, though it places him at the very head of the talented men of the world. He was as tenacious of his philosophic theories as of his Catholic Creed. But he must needs elevate his philosophy to the rank of his Faith. He as boldly avowed the one as he proclaimed the other to the clamorous mobs of Alexandria.

In another respect Ammonius' influence was bad, as it fostered disputation, which, indeed, was the mode of instruction pursued

within the limit of clashing with the master's ultimate *dictum*. Origen seems to have had a sort of spongy mind. He absorbed all knowledge within his reach by a process of mental capillary attraction. But he gave it up with almost equal facility, and, so far as we can judge, without any substantial change. His mind was deficient in the digestive and eliminatory faculties. His imagination was strong, and his love for speculation irrepressible. We have just recorded how he asked questions that could not be satisfactorily answered when a mere child; how, in the lecture-room, where freedom of speculation was not simply permitted, but invited, this passion was freely indulged. Ammonius' system would necessarily exert a determinate influence over Origen's future speculations and teachings. Consciously or unconsciously, his efforts were, in after life, directed towards comprehending within the same boundary both his Philosophy and his Faith. This is seen in the 'pirated' work, 'Dr. Principiis,' which his friend Ambrose, breaking faith, could not resist the temptation to publish.

But now, as a student, he was eagerly drinking in all the knowledge that Alexandria could afford his thirsty mind.

During this preparatory period, though the youngest of his cotemporaries, he pursued the most abstruse speculations with untiring zeal. From an allusion in Eusebius' sketch of his life, he was probably, also, initiated into the mysteries of authorship. The foremost student of all polite learning in that tasteful Alexandrian society, he pursued his studies into the broader fields of speculation. He had nearly completed his seventeenth year when the persecution under Septimius Severus changed the current of his hitherto unruffled studious life. The Imperial officers seized his father Leonides. So far from shrinking from his father's side, he was eager to share his prison with him. His mother, finding all entreaties and dissuasives useless, and her authority disregarded, hid his clothes so that he was forced to remain at home. He then wrote to his father a bold characteristic letter, now lost, of which Eusebius has preserved to us this sentence, "Take heed (father) not to change thy mind on account of us."

As his father's property was now confiscate to the Imperial treasury, his mother and himself, with six brothers, were reduced to great straits. But with this mention of their distress they are dismissed from the meagre biographies, and we know nothing of

their after state. Henceforth Origen stands out alone as a central figure in the Alexandrian Church. And he seems to be really *alone*, for though he had troops of admiring pupils, except his convert Ambrose, years after this, he has no real friend in whom to trust. He has now to rely solely upon his own resources. And this friendlessness but serves to give him the greater prominence, and to allow him that freedom which was necessary to him. Immediately after his father's martyrdom (A. D. 202), he found a home with a wealthy lady, but as she patronized and adopted one Paul, a heretical teacher of much popularity, he soon left her roof, as he refused to associate with him, or to join him in prayer. Next he opened a school—a grammar school, as Cave calls it, answering best, perhaps, to our Lectureships on Literature and Philosophy. As it was opened in the midst of an intermittent persecution it shows the characteristic coolness of the young teacher. But he ventured a step farther. His public school was soon most decidedly successful, and insured him a competent income for his simple needs. As the persecution had necessarily broken up the Catechetical School, and there was now no authorized means of instructing those who sought for the Faith, he boldly undertook to supply it. His success was immediate and thorough, for it soon bore the fruitage of six martyrs.

In this posture of affairs, it would seem that the Catechetical School passed, perhaps informally, under Origen's control. In this desultory persecution, at times stimulated into active cruelty by riotous mobs, but never really dangerous to the existence of the Church, there was little time or need for a formal installation. At eighteen he was recognized as its Master. This new office imposed double duties upon him which he endeavored to discharge with scrupulous fidelity. He was hardly pressed with work. In fitness for his place he had no equal then, no rival afterwards, and he had already proved his devoted courage.

In one of the intermittent bursts of persecution, at this time, several of his recent converts (gained while yet lecturing in his private school) were seized, and made a good confession, and after bore a manful witness. The first was Plutarch, a brother of Heraclas, Origen's future assistant Catechist, and subsequently Bishop of Alexandria. Origen attended upon Plutarch during his imprisonment, and at considerable risk from the thronging crowds walked with him to his execution. Then followed in quick suc-

cession others of his pupils, to whom he performed such last offices as he could possibly discharge. Severus was burned. Heraclides was beheaded with Heron. Terenus was tortured and then beheaded. Heriàs, a female Catechumen, received her Baptism by fire. So far from trying to screen them he urged them on. His courage was so conspicuous that his preservation from the peltings of the populace and his escapes when hunted for, are piously ascribed to providential interpositions.

As his reputation increased his schools grew proportionately, so that it was impossible to conduct both at the same time with equal attention. He resolved to give up all secular teaching and devote himself to the Church School. He at once reduced his personal expenses to the lowest living point, sold all his philosophical works, (apparently those of his own composition) for an annuity of four oboli *per diem*, equivalent to ten cents currency; discarded the useless luxury of shoes, and the unscriptural possession of more than one coat, and slept at large on the floor that he might not waste too much time in bed. He recognized the Catechetical School to be his special vocation. Henceforth it became for thirty years his uninterrupted labor. The few intermissions to be noticed were no rest. From eighteen to fifty-nine he conducted the most important duty that the Church can in any age entrust to Her laymen.

Let us take this opportunity to outline this work of Origen's. The duty of training those who were applicants for admission into the Church demanded the utmost care. None were admitted who had not been previously as thoroughly taught as possible in Her Doctrines. The approaches to the Door of Baptism were jealously guarded. The applicant had to be vouched for by a sort of sponsor, who was his guardian till his Baptism. His credentials and sponsor proving satisfactory, he was admitted by imposition of hands, and consignation to the order of Catechumens, and was considered in some sense (but how far it would have puzzled them clearly to define) a Christian. If, while a Catechumen, he stood the test of persecution, and was possibly to be a martyr, he had the SEAL (Baptism) conferred in prison. But if there was no opportunity for that Holy Rite, he was assured that martyrdom would supply its defect. But the Catechumens (classed generally in two broad divisions of imperfect and perfect) were arranged into four classes, and had to pass through three years novitiate, though in some

places it was very much shortened. The first class included those who were privately taught, previous to being admitted to the privilege of listening to sermons in the Church. It was a sort of continuous individual examination, preparatory to the second class of Hearers. Thirdly, the sharers in Prayer. Fourthly, the Seekers for Baptism. The term of instruction was shortened only in exceptional cases, in favor of some extraordinary forward Catechumen, or (still more rarely) in time of persecution in favor of the whole classes desiring Baptism. If the Catechumen misbehaved, or was guilty of a crime, he was not utterly rejected, but was degraded according to the enormity of his offence. Among the Catechumens, too, were placed the baptised children of the Parish, but they were not so accurately classified, and were admitted to the privileges of the faithful already. In some places the classes have a special room assigned them, in others they were instructed in the Church building; but this was rare in the earlier times. Taking the Clementine Recognitions as an accurate picture (at their probable date) of the practice then, the Catechumens were usually collected in some convenient place, in a hall, a garden, or a waste field, or a class room, and orally instructed in the rudiments of the Faith. The fact that they were rarely admitted at first into the Church, till advanced enough, accounts for the small proportion of Ante-Nicene Sermons, and Homilies *ad vulgum* preserved to us, and for the proportion of Apologies composed at that period. The Homilies proper perish with the moment of being delivered to the small congregation admitted to hear them, and were chiefly hortatory, and not generally argumentative. The hearers were admitted to a part of the service. The Sermon they heard was placed as near the opening of this service as the preceding Psalms and Lessons could permit. At its close they were dismissed. The third and last classes shared in the appropriate prayers preceding the Liturgy, and were then let go; while at the proclamation of the Deacon only the faithful remained to partake of the tremendous Mysteries.

From the Apostolical Constitutions which present the usages of this time (A. D. 200-250,) we readily gather the usual course of instruction.

“Let the Catechumen be taught before Baptism the knowledge of the FATHER unbegotten, of the SON begotten, of the HOLY GHOST; let him learn the order of the world's Creation, and series of Divine Provi-

dence, and the different sorts of legislation ; let him be taught why the world and man, the citizen of the world, were made ; let him be instructed about his own nature, to understand for what end he himself was made ; let him be informed how GOD punished the wicked with water and fire, and crowned his saints with glory in every generation : viz., Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham and his posterity, Melchizedek, Job, Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and the saints of every age. Let him also be taught how the providence of GOD never forsook mankind, but called them at sundry times from error and vanity to the knowledge of the Truth, reducing them from slavery and impiety to liberty and godliness, from iniquity to righteousness, and from everlasting death to Eternal Life. After these he must learn the doctrine of CHRIST'S Incarnation, HIS Passion, HIS Resurrection and Assumption, and what it is to renounce the devil, and enter into covenant with CHRIST."

As oral instruction was necessarily largely used, much more was demanded of the Teacher than is now required. Very much depended upon his ability to attract as well as to instruct. If his manner and style were not eloquent, or his ability not transcendent, under such defects, the School or Lecture languished. Eloquence was not merely confined to oratory. The ancient orator was a philosophic *litterateur* as well as a ready declaimer. The orator was also often a Teacher. The same special training served for either ; and this Origen had received. His early success in the Grammar School proved his ability to fill this office ; and within a year the members who crowded to his lectures proved his eloquence. We are able even yet to form some estimate of his powers from the fragments of his Commentaries. Though they were written out twenty years after this period of his life, they are properly the notes of his class-room addresses. They exhibit his power of happily interweaving texts of scripture, giving them a new turn by his use ; his fertile imagination and strong memory, his easy, often colloquial, always pleasant style. We may then sketch a picture of the teacher and the class from these materials. Tall, clad in a coarse tunic, barefooted, with a careless, abstracted air, very different from other elegantly dressed and perfumed Lecturers, we may imagine him standing on the *Bema*, slightly above the level of the floor, and glancing with bright eye over the rows of pupils, some seated on the floor, or on cushions, or leaning against the pillars or wall, all attentive, some taking notes on tablets. Bending forward, with a gesture of his hand to call attention to himself, he begins in musical, earnest tones to address the

class upon the Faith of Abraham, in the course of his Lectures on Genesis.

"Notice the single separate observations which are recorded. He who will dig deep into these single texts will find a treasure. And, perhaps, where they are not suspected, lie hid the precious bracelets of Mysteries. . . . The Apostle, who, I believe, spake by the Spirit, has shown in what temper, and by what counsel Abraham acted, when he saith, 'By Faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac, — accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead.' Therefore the Apostle has produced for us the thoughts of the man; for a faith of the resurrection in Isaac was aroused. Abraham therefore hoped that Isaac would surely rise, and believed that that would be, which was not yet done. How can they be the children of Abraham, who do not believe that fact concerning Christ, which he trusted would be in Isaac? But consider the weight of the trial: With tender and loving terms, once and again repeated, his paternal affections are aroused; thus by the watchful memory of love, these fatherly feelings might hinder him from immolating his son; and the whole array of the flesh thus struggled against the faith of his soul. At the hour of proof, it is added, 'Take thy son, thine only son Isaac.' Enough, Lord, that Thou remindest the father of his son; but Thou dost add, 'thine only son,' whom Thou dost command to be slain. Is not this enough to torture the father? Thou addest, 'whom thou lovest.' Triple pangs try this father. What need that Thou shouldest say, 'Isaac'? Could Abraham forget that his son was 'dearly loved;' that he, whom he loved, was named Isaac? Why is it added now? That Abraham should remember that Thou saidst to him, 'In Isaac shall thy seed be called,' and in Isaac are thy promises? His name is added, that despair of the promises which had been pledged under his name might enter in. But all these things happened because God tried Abraham. Wherefore, the journey was directed — even the ascent of the mount; that thus Love, and Faith, and the Love of God, might have room to struggle with the love of the flesh — the pleasure of the present, with the hopes of the future. . . .

"Say, O Abraham! spakest thou the truth to the young men, that thou wouldest go yonder and worship, and return with the child, or didst thou deceive? If in truth — then thou wouldest not make him a burnt-offering. If in deceit — it becomes not such a Patriarch to deceive. What temper of soul dictated this speech to thee?

"'I say truly,' saith he, 'and I offer the lad as a holocaust; for this I carry with me wood, — and I will return to you, for I trust (and such is my faith), that God is able to raise him from the dead.'

"What next follows? Isaac saith to his father, 'Father!' and now the voice of the son brings fresh trial. How, think you, can the son be

offered, who has so shaken the father's heart by this word? Yet, though Abraham is sterner by his Faith, he responds to the loving term, and answers, 'Here I am, my son.' . . . Abraham places the wood on the altar, binds the lad, and prepares himself to slay him. Ye fathers, who hear this in the Church of God, are many. Thinketh any of you, that from this recounted history he would acquire so much constancy, and strength of mind, that when a son is lost by the common death owed by all, even though he were an only son, and as dear to him, he could imitate Abraham, and place his magnanimity before himself to follow? And, indeed such magnanimity of soul is not required of you, that you should bind your son, lay him down, and draw the knife and slay thine only son. These Mysteries are not asked of thee. With fixed mind, at least, and with steadfast Faith, gladly offer thy son to God. Be thou in soul the Priest of thy son. It doth not become the Priest sacrificing to God to weep. Wouldest see why this is asked of thee by God? In the Gospel the Lord saith, 'If ye *do the works* of Abraham, ye are the sons of Abraham.' Lo! this is the work of Abraham. Do what Abraham did, but not sadly, — for God loveth a cheerful giver. . . . To this address it is objected, that God said that now He knew that Abraham feared God, as though He knew it not before. God knew, and it was not hid from Him, since He knoweth all things before they happen. But for thy sake were they written, because thou believest also in God, but unless you fulfill the works of Faith, unless you obey every precept, however difficult, unless you offer sacrifice, and show that you prefer nor father, nor mother, nor sons to God, — thou knowest not how thou fearest God, nor can it be said of thee, 'Now I know that thou fearest God.' . . . See how God strives with men, with magnificent compassion. Abraham received of God a mortal son, yet spared from death. God hath given His immortal Son to death for all. Why do we speak of these things? How shall we return to God for all He hath given us? God the Father, for our sakes, spared not His own Son. Who, think you, of you shall ever hear the voice of the angels saying, 'Now I know that thou fearest God; seeing that thou hast not withheld thy son, or thy daughter, or wife, nor hast spared wealth, or worldly honors, and earthly ambitions, but hast despised them all, and counted them all but dung, that thou mightest win Christ.'"

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The Lecturer is closely listened to, for the earnest and impressive tones of the speaker do not permit the attention to wander. At its close, he asks a few questions, and answers some proposed by a hearer, and dismisses the class with an announcement of the time of the next lecture, but to-day there is no discussion. Origen returns to his own room to apply himself to severe studies which will extend far into the night.

The Homilies exhibit pretty closely his mode of instruction ; they show, too, his main defects. He wanted a critical judgment in weighing and arranging philosophical principles. He held them as crudely as they were uttered. All ideas within his broad grasp he readily retained, but beyond a new collocation, by the assistance of an ever active imagination (the higher faculty — *not fancy* merely), he had no power over them. Because he could not thus eliminate the multitude of thoughts and suggestions he was receiving, they rather held a mastery over him. This is partly the reason why he is ever advancing and abandoning in turn opinions, both religious and philosophical, without apparent effort, or consciousness of inconsistency and self-stultification. Dogmatic only on positive truths absolutely held, his Homilies are rambling, and filled with subtle and fanciful connections between apparently dissimilar passages of Scripture. They debate, much more freely than was prudent for his classes, many doubtful questions, entertain some useless speculations, and are more tentative than positive in their teachings. You feel that he is trying to make you think for yourself, rather than thinking for you. While on the essentials of the Faith he permitted no debate, he was led, by the temper of the age, and the mode of teaching then in vogue, to discuss many questions which “deny the foundation by consequence.” It had been better to have omitted them, no matter how clever, or how plausibly excused by a flourish of apologies. It destroyed the confidence which would have been given to his teachings in all after-times by sober men. Conjectures in the heat of a lecture will not bear the cool scrutiny of the closet. But it readily becomes as popular as the dogma. In self-defense then, the “*falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*,” must be imperatively applied to such teachers.

But as yet he wrote nothing, at least, formally. His correspondence was enlarging with his fame. He was busied about his school, and in constant study of Holy Scripture, and incessantly receiving the many who sought his advice and spiritual counsels. He was a very hard student. Devout and ascetic, he practiced with equal enthusiasm what he taught with such captivating persuasiveness. We have in him a type of the highest grade of the popular Teacher. Facile in his address, oftener at fault in what he taught, than at a loss for something to say, with the resources of a good memory ever at command, with ever active imagination, we can readily conceive of his unbounded popularity.

He was possessed of an energy, which amounted to obstinacy in himself, and infused into others unflagging perseverance. He could not permit any wearying, scarcely any opposition.

From the first, his success in the Catechetical School was certain; and we have already recounted the Martyrs whom he had instructed, and then aided in their hour of trial. The first years passed without any notable action. The same round of duties were performed without relaxation. But about A. D. 206, he inflicted on himself that famous mutilation, which destroyed so much of the peace of his later years. As he was a layman, it was not directly in the path of open condemnation, and as it was concurrent with the popular tendency towards extreme asceticism, it was, at least tacitly, approved by his superiors, as removing all cause for scandal against him, through his free intercourse with women of all classes, who came to receive his instructions. But it afterwards so avenged itself, that he was constrained to condemn himself. Five years of toil passed on — toil which none but teachers can properly appreciate, — during which interval he was laying the foundations, broad and deep, of that intimate acquaintance with the text of the Bible which his writings exhibit.

The Emperor Severus had now died (A. D. 211), and the Church had comparative rest. Origen now gratified a long harbored wish to visit Rome, which was so intimately connected by political and commercial relations with Egypt. What results the visit may have had, if any, we do not know. Upon his return, being pressed by the number of his pupils, and needing some one to share the work of direct personal superintendence, he chose Heraclas, the brother of the martyr Plutarch, and who is described as a man very devout, and of a contemplative turn. Origen associated him with himself, giving to him the primary classes.

He now began to enlarge his labors with the grandest conception that could have been entertained in that age. Indeed, it would have been a huge undertaking in any age, with all the appliances of printing. It was to edit, critically, the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament. We cannot adequately measure the toil it implied, nor yet the ability to successfully plan such a work, in a time when the apparatus and canons of criticism were yet in their rudiments. It was, in truth, an astounding undertaking for the beginning of the third century. He edited the Hebrew text in its own character, in one column; in a second, the same in Greek

letters ; and the Greek versions in columns parallel to these. The mere outline of the plan was the creation of a new field of criticism. This undertaking would have failed, but for the generous aid of a fast friend, in the person of Ambrose, whom Origen had lately reclaimed from the Valentinian heresy. Ambrose was as liberal as Origen was laborious, defraying his expenses, and those of his amanuenses. The work extended through several years, and was not completed till after Origen's visit to Palestine, [Eusebius does not permit us to place its inception later ; for Cave apparently mistakes when he puts the work at the time of Origen's final residence at Cæsarea]. The Hexapla came first. It was often called the Octapla, as, in the Psalms, and in parts of other books, there were added a fifth and sixth version. But the whole was presented in this order, — the Hebrew in two columns, as above, then the LXX., Aquila, Symmachus (of whose translation he availed himself of the copy "the Lady Juliana" had inherited from Symmachus himself, with his comments), and Theodosian. The fifth version [imperfect] was obtained from Nicopolis ; the sixth, from Jericho [also imperfect], was found in a tub, or cask, with other manuscripts. It was a work of infinite toil, the main part of which must have fallen upon Origen, however much his amanuenses and copyists may have relieved him of the mere manual labor. His unwearied devotion to this work, while yet attending to his duties, won for him the deserved titles of Adamantine and Kalkenteros, which have been his ever since. He afterwards prepared the Tetrapla, made up of only the four authentic Greek versions. The Octapla must have been begun in Alexandria, though it may have been completed with fresh material from Cæsarea.

Origen, in a letter preserved by Suidas, gives us a pleasant picture of his unreserved intercourse with his patron, Ambrose. Ambrose was ever asking for comments on the Scriptures, and at their suppers, it was continually the theme on which he conversed the best, as well as in their walks and recreations. Both night and day, when together, they read, studied, and prayed. When prayer ended reading began, and when reading ended prayer began again. He was visited by many strangers, philosophers, and heretics, who came either to learn of him, or to test his skill. Nor did he entirely abandon teaching philosophy, literature, or political science, to such catechumens as proved apt for them ; asserting that they would receive no small benefit from these in understanding Holy Scripture.

While he was so deeply occupied, the Governor of Arabia sent a soldier with letters to Demetrius, the Patriarch, and to the Prefect of Egypt, demanding that Origen should be sent to him in all haste, to communicate to him his doctrine. Origen took some brethren with him, and set out for the Governor's Court. It could not be called a missionary journey, as Arabia had already been Christianized. It could have been prompted solely by the Governor's curiosity; for Origen did not stay long, though he may have left the brethren behind, and its only result is, that it becomes a singular proof to us of Origen's fame, and the probable whim of the Governor.

Some little time after his return from Arabia, occurred the visit of the restless Caracalla, — a visitation full of dread, from the known temper of the Emperor, for the witty Alexandrians had not been deterred by their reverence for him from slyly satirizing their master; and his sojourn in other parts of his empire had not led them to expect any pleasure, or profit from his coming. He drew near with an army, and causing a riot, ordered a massacre, which he superintended from the Temple of Serapis. When these commotions began to be threatening, Origen retired to Palestine, where he was cordially received. Theoctistus, the Bishop of Cæsarea, invited him to deliver his Homilies publicly in the Church. This proceeding greatly annoyed Demetrius, when it was reported to him; and trusting only to Egyptian precedent, he declared it an unendurable innovation, and recalled Origen. Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus defended their invitation by sufficient precedent. Origen was reluctant to obey the summons, till Demetrius sent some deacons and laymen after him. When he returned, he resumed his old labors again.

Changes were rapidly taking place in the political world. Caracalla (217) was succeeded by Macrinus, and Diadumenianus, and they in quick succession by Elagabalus (218), and this monster, after four years of mad excesses, by the gentle Antoninus Alexander, and his mother Mamæa (Mar. A. D. 222). The Catechist's routine was broken in upon by a call, or rather an Imperial invitation, backed by a military escort, to attend upon the Empress Mamæa, while at Antioch. As she was given to superstition, rather than possessed any deep religiousness, she listened with pleasure to his teachings, but they only secured her good will, and her influence with her son in good offices, towards the Christians.

Whatever personal results may have flowed from the visit to the Empress herself, Origen was not encouraged to remain long, but returned to his school.

At this time, probably, he planned, under the solicitations of Ambrose, his Commentaries, though they were not begun till after his return from his journey to Athens. He seems to have now made some fast friends, since he could not have borne up alone against the coolness which sprang up between himself and his Bishop. We gather, rather from the tone of Eusebius, than from anything he has actually said, that though their relations were friendly, they were not perfectly cordial. Demetrius (as Dr. Mahan suggests) was a practical working chief pastor, and not given to much speculation. There was too much reality in managing Egyptian Sees, and providing for the due organization of the growing Church work, to allow a cultivation, or much appreciation, of the theoretical life Origen led. He is not to be lightly blamed for not always looking with favor on the ingenious and plausible conjectures of his popular Catechist. Most assuredly he valued him and his labors very highly, and his reputation was counted among the chief things of his Patriarchate. Naturally he would look with disfavor, not on his popularity, but on the currency which that popularity would give to speculative teachings. For, let us remark that we do not consider Origen as culpable in his Homilies as in other writings. Except in his *De Principiis*, there is not much to demand severe reprehension in those writings we know to be genuine. And the *De Principiis* was written for the private use of his friend Ambrose, whose admiration for Origen led him to the indiscretion of publishing it, — and so doing its author a very serious injury. He raises the defense, in a later letter to Pope Fabian, that his writings had been designedly interpolated and altered, and that some of his works were mere discussions for his private friends. However, he owns the imprudence of discussing, and writing unguardedly on doubtful speculations.

In A. D. 227, he was sent on some ecclesiastical business to Athens. He travelled by way of Palestine, provided with strong commendatory letters from Demetrius. On revisiting his warm friends at Cæsarea, they laid hands upon him, and by friendly over-persuasion, ordained him to the Priesthood. He does not seem to have acted other than a passive part; but he certainly should not have consented to receive an office from which his own voluntary

act had canonically excluded him. The blame falls upon the Bishops Theoctistus and Alexander. And their reason seems to have been, a desire to have Origen preach there, which Origen, as a layman, could not now consent to. When Demetrius learned what had been done, he wrote, violently condemning the act. The Bishops in reply referred to his letters of high commendation furnished to Origen. In the mean while he proceeded to Greece. In Athens he spent some time in the Schools, holding discussions, and gaining golden opinions for himself. His movements were quite leisurely, for he took Palestine again on his way back (A. D. 228).

When he returned to Alexandria he resumed his catechetical duties, but, so far as we know, did not attempt to put forward his clerical rank. He now occupied himself with giving a definite and permanent shape to his lectures on Holy Scripture. He began with Genesis, and completed eight books, of which remain only seventeen Homilies; his Commentaries on the first twenty-five Psalms succeeded; then those on Lamentations; then the *Stromata* (now lost), the unfortunate *De Principiis*, and five books on St. John. From this insequent order, it is probable that he recorded his lectures as they were given in class.

Here it is fitting to advert, though but too slightly, upon the charges against Origen, as an extreme innovator upon the received principles of Exegesis. It is said that he devoted himself to allegorical interpretations, that he actually decried what he could not bend to his system, saying that in such passages God accommodated His teaching to the intelligence of each several age He has spoken to. But this is too naked a charge. Origen speaks ever most modestly and diffidently of his interpretations, and frankly owns it, wherever his opinion is doubtful, and asserts that he who has the gift — for he deemed it a special gift of God — of interpretations, and is most devout, alone can expound it aright; and this gift he disclaimed possessing. But again the force of the accusation, in the blame implied, is blunted by a consideration of the conditions of that training, under which Origen exposed himself to it. He had been taught to seek for more than one sense in Scripture, more than the letter alone implied, by his master, Clement, who himself received it from the works of Philo the Jew. Assuming this as an unchangeable rule, Origen founded a theory of a threefold sense for all Scripture — the Literal, the Moral, the Mystical. But with a

slighter knowledge of human nature, and of the object of the Bible, than we would think possible, he objected to certain narratives in the Old and New Testaments, as being unworthy of God's honor, in having them recorded as literal facts, and, therefore, he chose to consider them as giving allegorical instruction. Again, the temptation of the Kingdoms of the Earth offered to our Lord by Satan, and some of the miracles, he did not deny, but preferred for them a mystical explanation. So, too, with the details of part of the Ceremonial Law, the supposed difficulties of which he chose to solve in this way. It was neither sound, nor ceremonious, nor reverent, and certainly, did not tend to confirm for him any sober confidence in later ages, which were unable to sift the vagary from the subtle insight, which we think Origen possessed in a great degree. Mosheim suggests that he learned this style of exegesis from Ammonius, whose pagan pupils applied it to the fables of Homer and Hesiod. But Möhler gives us a better reason (at least, for the treatment of the Old Testament narratives), when he speaks of the Fathers meeting Christ in every turn in the Bible. To his devout mind, then, eager to recognize Him who was the end of the Law, in the Law; full of a theory which he thought was a universal solvent for all difficulties in Scripture, the ceremonial details, and literal facts, would not be denied, but sublimated into something they certainly could never have meant, and which must be imperatively rejected by soberer expounders. So, too, of the Miracles of the New Testament.

Besides this error in exegesis — itself a fruitful source of other blunders — he has been accused of an excessive use of mystical interpretation where it was useless, and at best only fanciful. But this does not fairly amount to an accusation. Origen may have gone farther in this direction, but he was not alone; he only pushed farther in others' tracks. If he exceeds by comparison, it is in quantity, not in quality; though he is not wanting in forcible and striking expositions, which by their truthfulness commend themselves to our fullest acceptance. Here is one on Proverbs xxx. 19, from his Homilies on the 16th of St. Matthew, which has a great deal of beauty and depth: —

“It is evident that neither against that Rock on which the Church is built, nor against that Church which is built upon the Rock, can the Gates of Hell prevail. For, as it is set down in the Proverbs, *neither can the way of the serpent over the Rock be found.* That against which

the Gates of Hell prevail can neither be called that Rock on which Christ Himself buildeth, nor that Church which is built by Christ on that Rock; for the Rock is both impassable to the Serpent, and it is the true Church, therefore it must be stronger than the opposing Gates of Hell, — for Christ is that wise Man who buildeth His Church upon a Rock.”

As fine accommodations are to be found scattered here and there throughout Origen's Homilies. But neither Origen, nor any contemporary would have called such use of Scripture, accommodation. The Christology of the Old Testament was too evident to them in every part, to permit them to think of any lesser application than a direct one. To seriously accuse Origen of unpardonable error in this, is to condemn the larger, and, to us, by far deeper, truer, and more devout Expositors, in every age of the Church. They who urge it, would cry up a bold and empty system of platitudes which avenges itself: If the allegorical and mystical exegesis was carried too far, it was through an earnest religiousness thoroughly trained in, and habituated to, the principles of hermeneutics then applied to Holy Writ.

Those who heard Origen lecture were fascinated by his eloquence, and the high compliment was afterwards paid him by the Bishop of Cæsarea, of giving him the exclusive duty of interpreting and explaining Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Holy Scripture.

To accomplish so much work as he had already performed, Ambrose supported the expense of seven amanuenses (to all of whom it is said he could dictate at once), besides having several girls, who were experts in calligraphy, constantly employed. From a MS. of the tenth century in our own possession, we may judge of the skill they are said to have attained. A graceful and profound scholar, once inspecting them, exclaimed, “The art of writing is now lost!”

We had intended to quote more largely than we have done from his Homilies, but as a more important passage will demand citation later, we must leave this partial defense of Origen's exegetical practice but too incomplete. We regret it, as the Homilies display, without the slightest ostentation, that mastery of the Bible which excited Jerome's envy, when he declared that to possess Origen's skill in the Biblical text, he would suffer all the obloquy cast on him.

The crisis of Origen's immediate career was now approaching, and soon he is to assume another duty in God's providence, which

was of service to his own day — his task for the coming ages being continued. We spoke of the divergence in the sympathy for each other's pursuits evident between his Bishop and himself, and how his elevation to the Priesthood at Cæsarea roused the anger, and broke upon the forbearance of Demetrius. Demetrius was as determined and energetic a ruler as he was a Catechist, and had resolved to deprive him of his Clerical Office. Origen had to endure a great deal of annoyance for the next three years (228–231). It was not very serious, since in his Commentary on the 6th of St. John, he notes, that as yet what he suffered was endurable. At last, the difficulties became unbearable; and he took the step of secretly leaving Alexandria forever. Epiphanius tells an absurd story of his falling into a disgraceful trap, laid for him by his hearthen enemies; but we pass that over as untrue, as we have already omitted some other tales, choosing only to record authenticated facts. However, he left his home, and abandoned his school, where he had won so much renown, to his assistant Heraclas. Demetrius summoned a Synod of the Bishops of the Province, and the Presbyters of the City, and procured a sentence of expulsion from the Presbyterate of Alexandria. But this did not suffice, and a second Synod deposed him on the ground of false teaching, which was ratified by the Church generally, except by the Achaian and Asian Provinces, who did not heed it. Indeed they ought not to have done so. Origen was cordially received, and employed by Theoctistus, giving him the school at Cæsarea, and himself and Alexander becoming his pupils-by-courtesy. The duties were probably lighter and more varied, for we find him now engaged in the controversies of the time. His friend Ambrose had removed with him to Palestine. Among his pupils, who rose to after eminence, were Gregory, afterwards surnamed Thaumaturgus, and his brother Athenodorus, who came to study the polite arts, and by his persuasion studied Theology. They continued with him five years, and when they returned home were advanced to the Episcopate. Gregory wrote afterwards a splendid panegyric upon his master. At Cæsarea Origen was more of a public character than before, and his immediate usefulness became, perhaps, greater. He probably made a second journey to Athens, where he completed some of his Commentaries. He also issued another edition of his Hexapla, which was certainly completed some years before. Just as he had fairly settled to the work in his new sphere

of labor (235), the short but fiery persecution under Maximin broke out. He sheltered himself with Firmilian, in Cappadocia, where he still worked on his Commentary, and wrote, to strengthen his two intimate friends Ambrose and Protocetus who witnessed a good confession, his book on Martyrdom. They providentially escaped with their lives.

Soon after this thunder-gust was over, he was an active leader in a Synod called to combat anew the errors of Beryllus of Bostra, in Arabia, better remembered now for the awkward blunder made by later writers of supposing, because Hippolytus is mentioned by Eusebius immediately after as Bishop of Portus, that he was Bishop of the Arabian Portus Romanus, instead of his real Italian Bishopric "to the Strangers." At this Council Origen took a chief part. Beryllus seems to have blundered unintentionally into a serious heresy concerning the nature of our Lord, — a sort of mingled Arianism and Gnosticism. Origen, with much tact, drew from him, by questioning, a statement of his error, and then so refuted it that Beryllus himself renounced it, a result not always the end of such Councils, but which was probably due to the courtesy with which his statements were listened to and refuted, for if this had not been the temper in which the Council met him, there was room enough for an ill feeling (arising from previous Synods) to have prevented the effect of Origen's refutation.

The Great Catechist and Expositor was now in his sixtieth year (A. D. 246). Again he was noticed by the Imperial family then on the throne, for we find him corresponding with Philip the Arabian before Constantine, and with his Empress.

He was now, at the solicitation of his friends, engaged in a refutation of the epicurean Celsus, who, just a hundred years before, had written an attack upon Christianity entitled "The True Doctrine." He had now a subject that was worthy of his best powers; and he produced a book which is claimed to be the real exposition, and proof of his Orthodoxy. When he undertook it, there had been no formal reply yet made, and he had a fresh untrodden field before him. He quotes in it the current objections to the Church as set forth in Celsus' own words, and answers them, very generally, with that fullness and confidence, which "a mastery of the situation" always begets; but sometimes, his reply seems to be only special pleading, yet this is only in a few unimportant things. The work has several values. It contains much of Celsus' lost

work. It is an authentic statement of the current objections and refutations. It is valuable as a witness of the statements made about many theological terms on our Lord's Divinity; forming a storehouse of material from which the refutations of Arianism and Unitarianism have largely drawn, as may be seen in the works of Bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland; and it is claimed, as the soundest of Origen's works, that it should be the true proof of his orthodoxy, and not the mere speculative and unpublished *De Principiis*, or the largely interpolated Homilies. If his own statements of the way that his writings circulated in his own lifetime were treated, are entitled to be received (and of course we neither doubt them nor his account of the corrupted report of a discussion which he held with a heretic who mangled it to suit himself), this claim is but fair. In place of analyzing the whole eight books, we prefer to give an extract which will at once illustrate the current allegations against the "despised sect," and will give completeness to our outline of the Catechetical work. Origen is evidently recounting his own experience.

"What reason has Celsus for accusing us of usually saying that none learned, or wise, or prudent, but every boor, or ignorant person, or infant can come to us? For if they came thus, the Word of God promises medicinal doctrine fitting all for God. But it is false, that only the fools, the stolid, insensate, slaves, women, and children, are caught by the preachers of the Divine Word. For preaching, indeed, calls them, that it may make them better; but it calls also their betters, for Christ is the Saviour of all men. Nor Celsus, nor his fellows deny that they have as a duty to humanity to instruct an ignorant people by addresses. But if Philosophers are not to be blamed for doing this themselves, let us see if Christians do not far better urge the common people to honest living; for they (*i. e.* Philosophers) standing openly before a crowd of men do not closely discriminate between the hearers, but any one can stand by and listen; but the Christians, as far as possible, first examine the temper of those wishing to hear them; and first, they are privately set apart before they are admitted into the congregation. When they appear to have gone so far as to be desirous of an honest life, then they are introduced in distinct orders, the one, of those recently admitted, not yet having received the symbol of lustration, the other, having already professed the Christian Religion. Lastly, some are appointed who examine the life and character of those applying, that they may exclude from the congregation the candidates of Religion who do not reform, and receive those of a contrary temper, and make them better by daily accessions. We strive to the

utmost by every way, that our congregation may consist of prudent men ; and whatsoever good and divine [teaching] we may have, this we bring forth in popular sermons when there are present a number of proper hearers. But we conceal, and pass silently by the deeper meanings, in the gatherings of those who need milk, as we are wont to say. For so doth Paul write to the Corinthians, not yet purged of Greek (Pagan) manners, 'I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.' We own that we wish that all (though Celsus forbid) were trained in the Word of God, so that to the very children we could impart wholesome admonition, and show to the servants how that through a free mind they are freed by the Word of God. And they who are best versed in our doctrines profess themselves debtors both to the Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and the unwise. For they refuse not proper medicine to the souls of the thoughtless, but rather follow Solomon's direction, 'Ye simple be of an understanding heart, and he that is simple among you let him come to me ;' and also they hear Wisdom inviting, 'Come eat my bread and drink the wine which I have mingled ; forsake the foolish, and live and go in the way of understanding.' See by what paction also, ridiculing our teachers, who try only to raise souls to God the Creator of all things, and prove how, the present and visible things being despised, we stretch upward to the conversation of God, and the life blessed, in the contemplation of invisible and intellectual things spent with God, he counts us with the rude men, wool-carders, cordwainers, and fullers, encouraging boys, children, and women to evil courses, that they may listen to them, contemning the authority of parents and masters. From what wise parents, or what masters, teaching solid instruction, do we alienate boys or children or women ? Let Celsus produce and describe these women and boys who follow our instruction, who have better teachers than ourselves, or who, having abandoned grave and honest training, suffered themselves to be led away to evil courses. But nothing of the sort can be brought against us ; except that we keep young wives from disagreements with their husbands, and from divorces, from the folly of theatres and dances, and from every superstition. Youths we restrain from itching lusts, not only being warned how vile it is to indulge in licentiousness, but also what danger it is to the soul, and what punishment is in store for it. . . . (Celsus objects) — *Those to be initiated in other mysteries are wont to be thus summoned by the herald : 'He who is pure in hands and wise of speech [approach].'* And again, '*He who is free from every crime, whose soul is conscious of no evil, who has lived well and justly.*' *These they proclaim, promising sacred lustrations. Now let us hear what sort they be whom these summon : 'Let every sinner, every fool, every one childish, in short every unhappy one, receive this kingdom of God.'* By saying sinner,

do ye not summon the cheat, the thief, the poisoner, the sacrilegious, the burglar, and the robber of graves? If one were gathering a gang of thieves, whom else would he call? To these charges we also respond, it is one thing to call the sick souls to their healing, another to call the whole to the knowledge and recognition of divine things. Keeping this distinction, we so care for those called that, hearing wholesome doctrine, sinners learn not to sin, the simple acquire knowledge, the childish manliness, in fine, the unhappy happiness, or rather (more properly speaking), blessedness. Wherefore when the converts seem to have gained a healthier mind, and by the Divine Word having cleansed their lives for the better, to have changed according to their strength, then we initiate them into our Mysteries. . . .

“When we consider the idiotic addresses (as Celsus think them), even then how full of efficacy are their exorcisms; how they draw the multitudes from license to honesty, from double dealing to equity, from vacillating fear to such constancy that through love of righteousness they make no account of death! Are we not deservedly envied such a power? For their teaching and their preaching in first establishing Churches, had such a persuasiveness not possessed by the professors of the Platonic Wisdom, or by any one man not more than human. But this persuasiveness of the Apostles of Jesus, given divinely, was efficacious by inspired Faith, wherefore their preaching swiftly concurred with their (or rather, God’s) ministry, transforming many sinners by nature and habit, whom none could change by any possible punishments. But the Word of God, reforming, brought them under His own Will.” — *Contra Celsus*, Lib. III.

The value of Origen’s Refutation is to be found in Bull and Waterland, and other works of a similar class. We have used it to restore some conception of the living work of the Church.

His literary occupations were again interrupted by a call into Arabia to assist in checking the growth of some heretical teachings, which maintained that the soul was destroyed with the body, and recalled with it into existence at the Day of Judgment. In this Council again he was very successful in bringing back the estrays from the Truth; but we may safely attribute it as much to his brilliant reputation as to the arguments which he could have used. His correspondence, by its extent and by the place of those who sought it, proves his fame. Of all his writings we regret the loss of his letters most, as in them would be solved many obscure points of chronology, and of historical detail. Eusebius seems to have felt their value, for he collected as many as he could. But there only remain two. One to his pupil Gregory, and another interesting one to Julius Africanus, the chronographer, upon the genuineness

of the History of Susanna, which he defends. Especially do we regret the letter (from which Jerome quotes) to Fabian in vindication of his writings.

Again, it is fair to remark, that there is no trace of any vanity in his writings, as might have pardonably occurred from the great deference continually paid to him, and the distinctions conferred upon him. If it had found a place in his mind it would have left some trace in his writings, or in his actions, which would not have escaped the keen search of his enemies.

His next labor was the refutation of the Elksaïte heresy, — a sudden and for a while a formidable body of heretics, which went down as suddenly as it arose. Origen thus describes it in his comment on the eighty-second Psalm.

“ A certain one came recently, with a great opinion of his abilities, to maintain that ungodly and wicked error of the Elksaïtes which but lately has appeared in the Churches. The mischievous assertions of this heresy I will give you, that you may not be carried away with it. It sets aside certain parts of the collective Scriptures, and it makes use of passages from the Old Testament, and from the Gospels. It rejects the Apostle (Epistles) altogether. It asserts also, to deny Christ is indifferent, and that one, who has made up his mind in case of necessity, will deny Him by his mouth but not in his heart. They also produce a certain book which they say fell from Heaven, and that whosoever has heard and believed this will receive remission of sins, a remission different from that of Christ.”

The student of these heresies will recall the discussion on them in Bunsen's Hippolytus, and will be struck too with the fundamental resemblance they bear to some of the most popular “isms” now in vogue. To this time, in the defect of any definite date beyond the allusion in the *Contra Celsus*, we would assign the composition of the ten books on *Romans*, which, by their different shape from the Homilies, appear to have been composed about the same time when Origen was engaged on the *Refutation of Celsus*.

In 249, Philip was assassinated, and Decius Trajanus succeeded to the purple. As soon as he was firmly fixed on the throne, he organized the most sweeping and relentless persecution yet launched against the Church. None were to be spared. Every rank, from the senator of the highest station down to the lowest plebeian, all were included in this minutely accurate edict. We have had occasion already to dwell upon its horrors, when describ-

ing St. Cyprian's energetic administration amid the disorders it introduced within the Church, so there is little need to recount them here.

Origen had now passed his sixty-fifth year, when he was seized and thrown into prison, where he was fearfully tortured. Eusebius thus sums up the trials of his brave Confession : —

“ But the greatness and number of Origen's sufferings then, during the persecution, and the nature of his death, when the Spirit of Darkness drew up his forces, and waged a war with all his arts and power against the man, and assailed him particularly beyond all that were then assaulted by him ; the nature and number of the bonds which the man endured on account of the doctrine of Christ, and all his torments of body, the sufferings also which he bore under an iron collar, and in the deepest recesses of the prison where for many days he was extended and stretched to the distance of four holes in the rack ; besides the threats of fire, and whatsoever other sufferings inflicted by his enemies, he nobly bore, and, finally, the issue of these sufferings when the Judge eagerly strove with all his might to protract his life in order to prolong his sufferings, and what expressions after these he left behind, replete with benefit to those needing consolation — all this, the many Epistles of the man will detail with no less truth than accuracy.”

What these details might be, Eusebius's own records of other Confessors and Martyrs, and Cyprian's letters, sufficiently intimate.

Origen's constitution was as well-nigh adamant as his unconquerable will, and bore him through the tortures from which his courage and faith forbade him to flinch, till the defeat and miserable death of Decius in the German Marshes opened his prison doors, and he went forth a broken, pain-wrenched, useless wreck. His work was done. Except his correspondence, there is no other mention recorded of any work the unwearied Catechist might possibly yet undertake. He was now awaiting the summons to his rest.

He probably survived three years, through the short reign of Gallus, into that of Gallienus, and Valerian, when Death opened the prison gates of this life, and freed him from this body — to him now the body of this death — in his seventieth year, at Tyre. However sore the conflict in prison had been, he, who had written to his father not to flinch from torture and death for his family, and to Ambrose, that wealth, wife, and children were but so many reasons for a bold Confession and Martyrdom, must have met all pain with gladness, recognizing it as a glorious privilege to suffer. And certainly it was a fitting close, after teaching others, after

attending on them, and encouraging them to the last by pen and voice, thus himself also to suffer for Christ.

We do not need formally to sum up the characteristics of the great Catechist. We have only purposed to picture him at his daily work in the school, in his cell, in the class-room, in the Synod. The materials at our command have been too scanty to attain that completeness we have striven to give our sketch. One difficulty with us has been to avoid the coloring that prejudice and later criticism has thrown over every biography or notice we have consulted. So, from Eusebius's confused accounts, we have tried to exhibit Origen as he appeared in that age, hard-working, intent upon accomplishing thoroughly the Church work entrusted to him, enthusiastic, self-denying, and looking to find others so too. This partly explains why he seems to have been at first so lonely. None would share his enthusiasm, or his toil — for it was joined to a rigorous self-denial — till Ambrose came to bear the outlay for his work. His exceeding zeal must have made him too much absorbed in his daily task to care for future fame, or surely he would not have been so inconsistent in his opinions, nor would have trusted his mere speculations so thoughtlessly to others. The only defense that has come down to us which he attempted, was to explain how his writings had been already corruptly copied, and his speculations published against his will. The severest attacks upon him are drawn from the "*De Principiis*," a work he disavowed and regretted. In our conception of his character, we would attribute his faults to the defects of daily life. His will was energetic enough to triumph over all obstacles, and to undertake herculean toils, and it could impress its own impetuosity, perhaps, on those *under* him, but could not attract others to him. It certainly rose to an obstinacy which put him in opposition to his Bishop, and finally led him to steal away from Alexandria, rather than yield. His devout enthusiasm, which had such a wide-spread influence, and which can even be traced now, showed itself in that perverted interpretation of a saying of our Lord's which led him to that self-mutilation which, at first approved, resulted in so much unhappiness. His thirst for all knowledge led to hasty and crude generalizations, and his eagerness to consecrate his stores to holy purposes, brought him into imprudent and needless discussions of useless questions, and caused his Bishop to oppose him. His courage, which made him stand unshrinkingly by the side of the Martyrs, whether in the prison or in the arena,

and which feared not the violence of a hooting mob, was shown, too, in his determined following out what he had resolved on.

A less amount of any or either of these qualities, while it would have removed some asperities, would have hindered the development of the grand designs which he accomplished. Five thousand different compositions, be it letters or tracts, up to his voluminous Commentaries, and his noble Octapla, are attributed to him.

The treatment his reputation has undergone would furnish a curious volume, were it traced out in all its phases. Among other results, it had a share in causing the unjust banishment of St. John Chrysostom from Constantinople.

The condemnation Demetrius procured was not recognized by the Asiatic Churches; but by the Egyptian and Roman Sees. Why Rome accepted it is easily seen. Unable to form an independent judgment of the Greek's acuter theological dialectes (as was shown by the mistakes her Bishops were making even at that moment), it was safer for her apparently to side with the excommunicator than with the excommunicated. The violence of party strifes in the East afterwards attacked Origen's soundness, though for a long time he found steady adherents and admirers, among whom Athanasius may be counted. But the same jealous selfishness that led Rome to join in his condemnation, changed Jerome from a strong admirer into a bitter enemy. The final decision of the Oriental Church, after a long quarrel, which engaged the monks in its heats, was attained in the sixth century, and has ever since been enforced, though the reasons which Simeon of Thessalonica (A. D. 1410) gives are very pitiful, and show long party rancor will survive the remembrance of any true causes. To avow any liking for his works brought upon the bold student an imputation of heresy not easily purged. It is not strange, therefore, if charges so long forgotten, became worthless when revived at tenth-hand.

Compared with his contemporary, Tertullian, the result to his reputation is singular. The African Lawyer, though an excommunicated heretic, and leader of a schism in his lifetime, has, by the fervor of his genius, attained a high rank on the roll of the Fathers; while Origen, never a schismatic, never generally accounted unsound, caressed and courted while living, has become of no better account than the heretical teachers he so utterly abominated.

ART. VI. — THE WISCONSIN MEMORIAL.

THE Church in the State of Wisconsin, in her last Convention, has acted upon the universal conviction that our management of the Episcopate has been a mistake. She has taken the broad ground that the Episcopate is the order of Apostles, and that Bishops should be sent forth as the first missionaries of the Church. And with this she has united the expression of an opinion, that the Church is the Church Catholic in this land; that in every city must be her Bishops and her Cathedrals: all through the land her churches as a refuge for the perplexed. To cite the noble and spirit-stirring words of the Memorial: "In every city in the land offering herself as a sure haven of refuge in this great storm of manifold and sincere, yet perplexed and agitated religious thought — having in every city her Apostle, or Bishop, the ambassador of the Everlasting Gospel, the Bishop's Church — his Cathedral, the centre of all his work, religious, educational, and benevolent, a blessed temple and heavenly home to which all eyes may turn, and in which all hearts may rejoice."

And this Memorial was passed *unanimously*, signed by all the Clergy and Laity, and solemnly entrusted to her Bishops, and clerical and lay delegates, to be presented to the General Convention. Nor was it a theoretic matter, but a suggestion from the necessities of the Church in the State of Wisconsin, as the reader will see in the body of the Memorial. The Church unanimously is convinced, that, this day, "it is desirable she should have at least four centres of missionary work in four several cities of Wisconsin, with an Apostle, or Bishop of the Church, in each of these cities, with his See, his residence, and his Cathedral therein." In fact, two years ago Bishop Kemper gave his consent, in writing, solemnly, to the division of the Diocese. And in this Convention Bishop Armitage showed very clearly and forcibly by plain statistics, that the Northern Convocation, the upper part of the State, is ready and willing at once to have a new Episcopate, and can give ample work to the Apostle of the Church, if our legislation only permitted it. But as the Fifth Article of the Constitution, that obstructive legislation whose wrongs and ruinous injuries to the Church we have expounded in our July number, prevents this establishment of new missionary centres in Wisconsin, the

Church in the State of Wisconsin demands in this Memorial the repeal of the Fifth Article, and the substitution in its stead of another based upon better principles.

The Memorial, therefore, is presented for your pages, calling to it the attention of all your readers, and especially of the members of the coming General Convention. For of old it has been a fact that the "Church Review," more than any paper or periodical of the Church, has reached the leading minds of the Church, and especially the members of that noble body, the Triennial National Council of the Church.¹

We send it with a great deal of satisfaction as it embodies and carries out the principles which the Review upholds, and as our spreading it upon your pages secures the amplest consideration to its proposals.

But at the same time we must say that we think there are in it one or two deficiencies upon which we are bound to comment. However, a Memorial to a legislative body is not legislation; and these defects can be readily supplied in the action of the Convention. We must remark, also, that the copies that have got abroad in the Church papers are more or less incorrect, and this that we give is taken from the Journal of Convention and corrected by the original. We proceed now to give the Memorial.

A Memorial, to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

The Church in the State of Wisconsin assembled in Convention in the city of Milwaukee, with the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, does hereby respectfully represent:

First, That the Episcopate is the missionary order of the Church, and has been so constitutionally from the beginning; Bishops being not only successors of the Apostles, but themselves Apostles, the one order having the direct and immediate commission and command to go into all the

¹ It is usually thought that there are only three kinds of Church Councils, and yet by Church Law there are four kinds — "General, National, Provincial, and Diocesan." *

Rome is not in favor of National Churches in any way; and the National Council is therefore laid aside. Of this a very striking instance occurs in the last Council of the R. C. Episcopate here. It was actually a National Council of the R. C. Church in the United States. Yet the title given it was "The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore." National Councils, however, to the Canon Law are next in importance to General Councils. For these reasons we have proposed the title "Great National Council," instead of General Convention. We know that to put *Nationality* on the front of our *Great Councils* is a clear point, antagonistic to the Roman spirit of opposition to all nationality in the Church."

* *Burns' Ecclesiastical Law*, Vol. III., page 397.

world and preach the Gospel to every creature. And that they were so called in the first ages, until at last the title Bishops (Episcopi or Overseers) belonging to the first two orders in the ministry was given to them, and the term Apostle, from a misjudging reverence, was appropriated exclusively to the Twelve, is evident from the unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity. Bishops, therefore, as Apostles, are and ought to be the leaders of the Church in every onward step of advance and progress; the pioneers of all our work in the conversion of the world to Christ; according to their name Apostles, the first sent forth into each new sphere of Christian missionary enterprise.

And furthermore, that it is evident that from the earliest time, after the miraculous powers of the first band of the Apostles of Christ, those chosen by Himself, came to an end, the place for the Apostle or Bishop was in the city, as the centre of population, of wealth, of intelligence, and of all progress of doctrine and propagation of ideas. And from the city the Episcopate was named: the Bishoprics of Rome, of Ephesus, of Corinth, not of Italy, Asia Minor, or Greece. And in the city was the Bishop's Church or Cathedral, the mother church of the whole Diocese, and the Bishop's residence at the centre of his work, the very focus of all influences whereby the propagation of the Gospel can be organized, pressed on, or facilitated.

The Church in Wisconsin being convinced that these facts are true, and that they make the only basis whereupon the Church can be organized so as to have her full power to do the work that God has placed before her in this great land; and that the English Reformation which takes the grounds of Primitive Truth and Apostolic Order, the Open Bible and the Catholic Faith, and in England has been impeded by the domination of the State, is to be completed and consummated here only, in this land, in us the American Church, free alike from the Supremacy, whether of the Pope or of the State; and that such a Church, only, gives the hope of Christian unity, once again to the whole Christian world, first in this land, and finally in all Christendom; and, therefore, that in every State, in every city, and in every village over this whole land, this Holy Church should be organized and represented, manifesting to all people her Apostolic order and Evangelical truth; and that all impediments to her progress which at present exist should be removed.

With these convictions the Church of Wisconsin begs leave to call the attention of the Church in General Convention assembled to the canonical legislation of the Fifth Article of the Constitution. This article was finally enacted so late as the year 1838. We have in it so many provisions, and limitations, and restrictions, that instead of being, as its title purports, an article for the "admission of new Dioceses," it has been actually an article to prevent the increase of the Episcopate, and

hinder the erection of new Dioceses. So that by means of the obstructive legislation of this Article, instead of the Church having at this time her Episcopate established and settled — the Apostles of the Gospel in the Church throughout the cities of this land, the clergy and laity of States the size of European kingdoms, cannot place Bishops of the Church in many localities, even when endowments are ready, and the Church in the whole State desires it.

The Church, therefore, in the State of Wisconsin, knowing that at the present time it would be desirable for Herself to have at least four centres of missionary work in four several cities of Wisconsin, and an Apostle of the Church in each of these cities with his See, his residence and Cathedral or Bishop's Church therein; and that it is only the unchurchly and obstructive legislation of this Fifth Article that hinders this action upon her part, as it has hitherto hindered, and does now hinder Church progress in the whole United States, and especially in this great valley of the Mississippi — requests of the General Convention to repeal this Fifth Article with all the restrictions that it imposes upon the increase of our Episcopate in accordance with primitive and Scriptural principles.

And in its stead to enact an article with these provisions:

First. Recognizing the principle of the See, and providing that there shall be ultimately a Bishop of the Church, with his Bishop's church or Cathedral in every city of the land.

Second. When in any Diocese it shall seem expedient to divide and erect a new See, that it may be done upon a vote of the majority of both orders, passed in two consecutive annual Conventions, with the approval of the General Convention.

Third. That the division of the parishes and the assignment of limits between the two Sees shall be made by mutual consent, the final decision thereof resting with the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the whole State, or a committee appointed by them.

The Church in Wisconsin would submit these principles for the division of Dioceses and the erection of new Sees to be arranged in such form and modified by such provisions as the wisdom of the Church in General Convention assembled may supply.

And these measures she suggests for the increase and progress of the Church over all this land, according to her Apostolic organization and constitution; and the manifold necessities that lie upon her of expanding and growing with the growth of this great land — million-peopled, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And the more, that all the statistics of commerce and population manifestly indicate that this is to be a land of great cities, many in number and populous, more than any country has been since the fall of the Roman Empire.

These measures she suggests, that the Reformation begun in England

may here be completed by the universal spread of the Church founded upon the same principles, but free from the domination of the State. That the World may behold once more what it has not seen since the fatal days of the first Constantine, the Church equally free from the Supremacy of Kings and Popes, standing forth with the Bible in her hand open to all her children, and the Catholic Creeds, governed by the law of Christ, and guided by the Holy Spirit, pure and holy in principle and life; in every city in the land offering herself as a sure haven of refuge in this great storm of manifold and sincere, yet perplexed and agitated religious thought—having in every city her Apostle or Bishop, the ambassador of the everlasting Gospel, the Bishop's church, his Cathedral, the centre of all his work, religious, educational and benevolent, a blessed temple and heavenly home to which all eyes may turn and in which all hearts may rejoice.

That these manifold blessings may be brought about, the Church in Wisconsin requests the repeal of the Fifth Article of the Constitution and the enactment in its stead of a substitute based upon the principles above stated.

We now proceed to notice the two points which we think are of importance. There is, first, no limitation in it; our American cities being of all sizes, from the huge bulk of New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, down to the little western cities of three or four thousand inhabitants apiece. There ought to be, for the time at least, some limit. Every one knows the intense self-feeling that actuates the people, especially of the West, with regard to their villages and cities. Indeed, at the East it is not utterly unknown. And we think that for the time at least some limit should be placed. Say that in the Article to be enacted instead of this Fifth Article there be a clause "That a See can be erected now in any city having a population of twenty thousand inhabitants at the least; and after fifteen years from the date of the passing of this Article, in any city whatsoever,—the provision expiring by self-limitation of that time." Of course, in any State where there is no city of that size, the largest city, be it small or great, must be the See. But there are only ten States that, by the census of 1860, have not cities of twenty thousand people within their bounds, and in all of these, excepting Arkansas, we have already a Bishopric and a Bishop. The fact of these cases, therefore, does not stand in the way of such a proviso.

But with regard to this limitation, there is no doubt that the

proper doctrine is, that there shall be ultimately a Bishop, his Cathedral and his See-House, in every city. And that had we taken the Church ground at first, our Bishops would now be settled in every city of the United States, and well endowed, without any excitement or trouble, by the natural growth of a self-propagating system; quietly, as the tree sends forth the shoots under the earth, unseen and unheard, and then from the proper centre at the proper distance from the parent trunk, the new tree grows up to perfection. So it is with the Church system, unfettered by obstacles such as we have put upon our own growth.

"Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo."

But we have impeded our own growth, and this we must consider in our present legislation. There is in the census of 1860 a list of one hundred and twenty-six cities and towns, called "the principal cities and towns in the United States." Perhaps there may be fifty or one hundred more with City Charters. We as a Church do not want to put the Episcopate upon such a basis that the property owners of every village with a City Charter, East or West, should have an Episcopate open to their selfish and obscure ambition. All the cities of the United States will ultimately have in them Sees, Cathedrals, and Bishops, but for the present there should be some restriction.

We have considered pretty much all sorts of limitations — that of endowment, of number of communicants, of number of clergy, of square miles of territory, and we think that the limitation for a time of the Episcopate to cities of twenty thousand inhabitants and over, will be the best. Our present number of Bishops within the United States is forty-four, and the number of cities having over twenty thousand inhabitants, in the census of 1860, is only forty-five, so that when we take into account the States that have a Bishop and no cities of that size, it will only increase our Episcopate by ten at the most if all possible divisions are made at once, which certainly will not be the case. And at the same time it will expressly and emphatically provide for the evangelizing of the coming population of our cities, for as is remarked in the Memorial, "the United States is to be the land of great cities, many and populous."

We hope the friends of the Memorial will be content to insert such a proviso, for we tell them there are yet in the Church,

especially in the East, strong traditional feelings of the solitary and singular dignity of the Episcopate. And many good and influential men will be willing theoretically to accept the Church doctrine of the See-Episcopate, who, in practice, will not be content to open it at once to every city in the United States. A limitation such as this will be accepted by them for the present, as a matter of safe and cautious experiment on the progress and growth of the Church, and in a few years the Church principle, without limitation, can come into operation.

But in another and a more important matter we would criticize the Memorial. It demands the power of division to be in the Diocese, and that it may be done upon a vote of the majority of both orders, passed in two consecutive annual convocations, and with the approval of the General Convention. The consent of the Bishop, it will be seen here, is not required. The Absolute Veto with which he is invested in the present article is wholly put aside, so that the Bishop comes in only with his Convention. For it is the Bishop and Convention that must pass this vote in two consecutive sessions. And there is no doubt that the influence of the Bishop in any vote whatsoever of importance is very great, especially if he be a man of holiness and zeal, and decision of character. His is a preponderating influence that will generally decide any question of such importance as this is, if it be firmly and distinctly expressed.

The Bishop, as we remarked in our last number, has actually, by the present interpretation of the Fifth Article, an *absolute veto* — his *personal consent* is absolutely requisite — he need not even assign any reasons. He may say, "I have no doubt the time is coming for a division of the Diocese, and you are all of you ready to divide. You are ready to provide an endowment, a Church, a house for another Bishop, to do the work which all men see that I cannot do adequately over this great State. All the Clergy, and all the Laity of the Diocese have made up their mind unanimously — but my consent is necessary — and I think that the time is not come. I will not give my consent." And so the thing comes to an end. We ask, has not this exertion of the absolute veto taken place, as a fact in more than one State?

Nay, so fully is the matter of an absolute personal veto established that Bishops have founded upon it new conditions, extra-legal, lying outside our canons altogether. "I will not give my

consent, except so and so be done." Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania, a very good and able man indeed, we believe started this fashion. He *agreed* to give his consent to the erection of the Diocese of Pittsburgh *on condition* that forty thousand dollars were raised, as an endowment for the new Diocese. Other cases, also, might be cited. And really, if the absolute veto, the arbitrary personal consent, be the rule, we see not why it may not be run out to its full extent; why any conditions, not criminal, may not be made — the choice of a High Churchman, or of a Low Churchman, or of the Bishop's nominee, or the exclusion of some person whom the Bishop wholly dislikes. The Church should prescribe the conditions legally and constitutionally of erecting a new Diocese, and not enact such a law that the personal will of any man, no matter how able or how good he may be, shall prescribe extra-legal, extra-canonical conditions to the erection of new Sees.

We would, furthermore, remark, that the words of the Article upon this point of the veto are ambiguous. They are these: "No new Diocese shall be formed unless with the consent of the Bishop and Convention of each of the Dioceses concerned, as also as of the General Convention." Now, manifestly this clause, upon the face of it, may mean, "The consent of the Bishop and Convention as canonically assembled," so implying only the consent of the Diocesan Convention, with the Bishop at its head — *only one consent*, and *that legislative*. And indeed this is the most natural and obvious meaning. But practically and in fact, the other interpretation is that which has always been acted upon. That is, first, the *personal consent of the Bishop* — *an absolute veto*, without reasons necessarily assigned. And, secondly, the consent of the Bishop and Diocesan Convention — *two consents, not one*. A principle which we may dislike and count, as it is, utterly wrong, but if it is to be altered it can only be done in General Convention, for it has a color in the wording of the Article, *and has in all cases been acted on as the true interpretation*.

We think it utterly wrong in principle, and at the same time that we think that it is so, we consider that in an oblique and indirect way, it has subverted the interests of common justice to our Bishops. Our Episcopate has hitherto been territorial — the Bishoprics of Pennsylvania, Ohio or Massachusetts, instead of those of Philadelphia, Cincinnati or Boston. Now suppose that they had been upon the See principle instead of territorial. The

Church in the State of Pennsylvania, we will say, would have constituted the See of Philadelphia. She would have raised an endowment *over the whole State* of Pennsylvania. Of course, naturally the Churchmen of Philadelphia, the See-city, would have given a very large proportion of the endowment, but still, since the power of the See extended over the whole State, contributions would have been raised over its length and breadth. Now suppose the See of Pittsburgh were contemplated, what would have been the case with the endowment from the very nature of the thing? The Trustees would have said, "This endowment is for the 'Bishop of Philadelphia,' not for the Bishop of Pittsburgh. Our Bishopric is still the Bishopric of Philadelphia. The Bishop has no less work to do after Pittsburgh is set off, but just as much, perhaps more. The very terms of the endowment make it belong to the Diocese of Philadelphia, and we do not cease to be that Diocese by your voluntarily setting up another. You are the Diocese of Pittsburgh, not Philadelphia or any part of it. But you may make collections for the endowment of your new See over the whole State, and we have no doubt that the people of Philadelphia will contribute nobly to it." Is not that both just and equitable? We think that it is so.

Now look at the present state of affairs. Here, we will say, is an endowment raised for a Diocese called after a State. The work of the Diocese becomes so large that it must be divided — Wisconsin or New York, into Wisconsin and Northern Wisconsin, New York and Western New York; why, by the very name of the Diocese every one feels that the fund also must be divided. *And so the Bishop may be left with half the income which was pledged to him, by the very fact of his being elected to the entire Diocese.* That is to say, the contract manifestly implied by his election and acceptance, as to his maintenance for life, may be broken by the division of the Diocese. In view of this possibility — the *absolute veto*, the *personal consent without reasons assigned* — assumes an aspect of justice which upon no other principle it could have. The Bishop elected for life, incapable of changing his position, or of being translated to a more affluent See, is thereby enabled to prevent his pledged income from being cut in two, his salary from being diminished by half. In other words, by this proviso he is enabled to keep intact the contract of maintenance upon which he was elected. Any one can see that this element

and basis of justice, as regards the Bishop himself, lie at the foundation of the absolute veto ; even when it is wrong upon Church principle and ruinous as preventing and destroying the growth and propagation of the Church.

The proper method of remedying *the wrong to the Bishop*, and the *wrong to the Church*, is not the Wisconsin method of sweeping away altogether the absolute veto of the Bishop upon the erection of new Sees, but in the first place to enact —

“ That the endowment shall in all cases follow the See, be an endowment of the See of Milwaukee, or Philadelphia, or Boston, or Buffalo, except local arrangements to the contrary have been in existence.

“ Secondly, In case of a new See being about to be erected in any State to permit collections to be raised over the whole State for the erection of the first See.

“ And, thirdly, When it is requisite from local arrangement to have the endowment divided, giving the Bishop in such case only a right to forbid division of the Diocese until the endowment is either given up wholly to the old See, or until it is raised to its original amount.”

We think this is necessary in the way of common justice to the Bishop, but when this one obstacle has been removed we do not see any justice to the Church in the *personal power* given to any man at his will to forbid new Sees, to prevent new centres of Church growth ; no justice in any man's having the canonical power of saying, “ My consent is requisite to the erection of a See in the city, within this State, and you cannot have it. The Church has given me the right of absolute veto, and I shall exercise it.” No man, however good or holy he may be, ought to have the right absolutely, as our Bishops have now, with no more reason assigned than of saying, “ I think of shutting out the Episcopate, our missionary order—the Apostles of the Church of God, from great States larger than European kingdoms, having three or four millions each of inhabitants and eight or ten great cities, in each of which there ought to be a Bishop, his residence, his Cathedral, and also the machinery of his Church work.”

With the enactment of this principle in regard to endowments we think that the division of Dioceses may be safely left to “ the Bishop and Convention,” acting in two consecutive annual sessions, and to the General Convention ; the principle of the See Bishopric being recognized, and that, for the time, no city of less

than twenty thousand inhabitants should be capable of being erected into a See.

ART. VII.—THE FRENCH PULPIT. No. I.

THE Sermon, considered as a religious address to a mixed multitude learned and unlearned, righteous and unrighteous, was carried to a pitch of perfection by the three great orators of the Romish Church, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon; which it has never attained in other hands; a perfection whereby their sermons have been at once profound in theology, powerful in argument, moving in pathos, delightful in style; a perfection, which being itself attained only after a lifelong study of the great models of ancient eloquence, has led all who have studied rhetoric in earnest to turn to them, as they themselves turned to the Great Athenian Orator, that they might learn how the same high character, the same powers of intellect, the same unwearied labor, which succeeded, after a lifetime of toil, in rousing a degenerate people to sacrifice their wealth, their time, their lives in behalf of their country, have, in another age and under another sky, been employed in leading men to sacrifice all this world has to give in behalf of Him whose servants they are, and who has provided for them a better country, even an Heavenly.

It is of these men we would write, knowing that we can count upon the sympathy of our readers as we attempt to unfold with all possible brevity, and the most naked simplicity, a theme which comes home to us, as Scholars and as Christians, and above all, as those who are standing in the Christian Pulpit.

As Epic poetry sprang into sudden completeness in Homer, and as Attic tragedy within the space of hardly more than a generation attained its perfection in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, so the Pulpit Eloquence of France, in the age of Louis the Great, burst upon the world in a resplendence of power and greatness of which the previous century had given no promise, and to which the subsequent produced no likeness.

Bossuet was the first in time as he was in genius. He was born at Dijon in 1627. His career at school and college was brilliant, and prepared the way through the reputation he acquired and the

friends he made for his subsequent rapid promotion in the dignities of the Church. He was thirty-four when he preached his first Lenten course of sermons at Paris, and from that time till his elevation to the Bishopric of Condom, in 1669, removed him from the metropolitan Pulpit, was without an equal at Paris and at Versailles. From that time his life was mainly devoted to the education of the Dauphin, and afterwards to the care of his Diocese.

In this same year, 1669, Bourdaloue preached his first sermon in Paris. He was born in 1632, five years later than Bossuet; spent his youth at a Jesuit College, where he was advanced successively to the Professorships of Rhetoric, Logic, and Moral Philosophy. Then for nearly ten years he preached in the larger provincial towns of France, and at length was called by his superiors to Paris.

All Paris flocked to hear the man whom rumor had dared to compare with Bossuet, and all Paris pronounced the Jesuit the greater preacher.

For twenty years there was no preacher in Paris to be compared with Bourdaloue, until, in the year 1696, when Bourdaloue, now an old man, preached but seldom, and gave himself chiefly to works of active charity, Massillon, a young man of six-and-thirty, came to Paris to take charge of the Seminary of St. Magloire, a school under the control of the Brothers of the Oratory. Massillon, like Bossuet and Bourdaloue, had passed through a brilliant career at school and college, and had held three important Professorships before he gave himself exclusively to the Pulpit. His preaching, as we shall see, differed widely from that of Bourdaloue, but was more attractive, and exerted more power over the hearts of his hearers. After twenty years at Paris he was elevated to the Bishopric of Clermont, in the duties of which he spent the remainder of his life. These are the men of whom I would write. But I shall consider them exclusively as Preachers; of their Theology, of their Ecclesiastical connections, of the circumstances of their life, I shall say nothing except as these affected their preaching.

Their relative excellence as Preachers is still in dispute. France puts Bossuet at the head. The world in general gives that place to Massillon. Saying of Bourdaloue, in the language of D'Alembert, "that it is his highest glory to have called Massillon's supremacy in question."

In this difference of judgment France seems to have been dazzled by the splendor of Bossuet's genius, his varied powers, the great part he played in the politico-religious affairs of the Gallican Church, and to have ascribed to his sermons something of this splendor elsewhere acquired.

He was undoubtedly the greatest man and the brightest genius of the three, and the inferiority of his sermons to theirs is only another illustration of the truth, that long and persistent labor is as necessary for genius as for mere talent, if it would accomplish works of the highest and most enduring character.

But we will not detain you upon an elaborate examination of their relative merits. Each presents elements of power not found in either of the others, so that it will be more for our profit to examine their united works as a whole, in order to draw from them such suggestions as may aid us in our own preparation for the work of preaching God's Truth to the people whom in His Providence He shall entrust to our care.

Suffice it to say, that in Bossuet we find a kingly power which overawes and subdues us; in Bourdaloue the instructions of a grave, learned, and godly man; and in Massillon a man of beautiful genius and tender piety; in Bossuet a Master, in Bourdaloue a Father, in Massillon a Brother.

Considering their works as a whole, I beg you to notice in the first place the character of their subjects, the themes which they selected for the Pulpit. And this is a matter of the first importance, for those of you who have examined the History of the Pulpit with any care have noticed that the power of the Pulpit to move men's hearts lies more in the themes which it presents, than in the men who present them; that in times when faith is low and zeal is cold, and the Church is languishing, the lowered tone of Christian life is seen in the lowered tone of the subjects then chosen for the Pulpit—subjects as far removed as possible from the Cross of Christ, and all the truths which centre in His Incarnation. On the contrary, an examination of the sermons of Chrysostom, Augustine, Bernard, or these masters of the French Pulpit, will show that the secret of their power lay in no small degree in the subjects they selected.

Of the three Bourdaloue exhibits the widest range, because in addition to his Advent and Lenten sermons, there remain many which were preached at other seasons of the year when the day left him the whole extent of Christian truth from which to choose.

The following list of subjects treated both by Bourdaloue and Massillon, and in some cases by Bossuet also, will explain my meaning and show what subjects have been considered by men of learning and genius and piety best fitted to call the ungodly to repentance and provoke the righteous to a holier life.

The Incarnation, the Conception, the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Sending of the Holy Ghost, Penitence, Conversion, Delay of Conversion, Motives to Conversion, Final Impenitence, Death, Final Judgment, Happiness of the Saints, Heaven, Hell, the Holy Communion, its necessity, Motives to its Reception, Unworthy Reception, Prayer, Fasting, Almsgiving, Riches, Forgiveness of Injuries, Lukewarmness, Fear of Men, Small number of the Elect, Falling back into Sin, Duty of Striving for Perfection, the Mildness and Severity of Christian Law, Ambition, Hypocrisy, Scandals, Impurity, Religion, and Uprightness. These subjects and such as these they handled fearlessly and with all the power Christ gives to sustain His Gospel.

To develop these subjects, to illustrate, and to enforce them, they called to their aid a profound knowledge of the Bible, the Fathers, and not least the Human Soul.

They are thoroughly at home in the Bible, in its facts, its doctrines, its very phrases; and, better than any other preachers, they have had the wisdom to use the facts of the Bible, Old Testament and New, to illustrate its deepest spiritual truths. This is peculiarly true of Bourdaloue, whose sermons are as purely doctrinal as were ever preached, and yet the freshness which is thrown over his subjects, by his illustrating those always profound, and often mysterious doctrines, by facts from Sacred History, makes them interesting and intelligible to the meanest capacity. He, and the other Preachers, use these facts also to illustrate other truths which are intelligible, indeed, but which might not else make so deep an impression on the mind, and so permanent a lodgment there.

An instance to the point occurs in Bossuet's sermon on Divine Providence, but as we have given it at length, in a recent paper, and as we desire, so far as possible, to avoid the ground passed over, we omit it now, and take, in its place, an example from Bourdaloue, on the Resurrection.

His text is from Rom. iv. 25. He was delivered for our sins, He was raised for our justification. His theme: Christ's resurrection from the dead, the model we are to follow in our conversion, that is, in our resurrection from sin and death. The manner of His Resurrection is described in these words of the Apostles: "The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared unto Peter." Our conversion then must be a real one. "'The Lord has risen indeed,' it must be manifest to the world, 'and has appeared unto Peter.'"

These constitute the two parts of the Sermon. The second part, on the necessity of making our conversion manifest to others, is as follows: We owe this public confession of our repentance, (1) to God, whom we have outraged; (2) to our neighbor, whom we have scandalized; (3) to ourselves, for our conversion would else be incomplete.

In the second point, a confession of Faith is due, because of the neighbor whom we have offended. He asks, after St. Augustine, —

"Why did Christ appear to men after His Resurrection, or rather, to what persons did He appear? To some, to console their sorrows; to some, to recall them from their estrangement; to some, to remove their incredulity; *i. e.*, to Magdalene, to the scattered disciples, to St. Thomas. So we, at our conversion, should make it manifest, for the consolation of the Just who have longed and prayed for our conversion, for the conversion of sinners, and for the convincing of the incredulous."

A similar instance of Bible facts used to illustrate a Bible truth, is seen in the Introduction to Massillon's Sermon on the Small Number of the Elect: —

"For myself, my brethren, if I were here to alarm, rather than to instruct you, it would suffice if I only set before you the terrible facts recorded in Sacred History concerning this great truth, and, passing from age to age in the History of the Righteous, showed you that, in all ages, the Elect have always been very few. The family of Noah alone upon earth saved from the general inundation; Abraham alone separated from the rest of men, and made the depository of the Covenant; Joshua and Caleb alone, of six hundred thousand Hebrews, brought into the Land of Promise; Job, a righteous man in the land of Uz; Lot in Sodom; the three children in Babylon. To these types succeed the expressions of the Prophets. You have seen in Isaiah the Elect compared to the scattered clusters of grapes when the vintage is done, or the stray stalks of grain which have escaped the sickle of the reaper."

A similar example is found in the Sermon upon Delaying Conversion : —

“Why do you rob God of the fairest portion of your years, in order to consecrate it to the devil and his works? Is life too long to be all employed for the glory of the Lord who gave it, and who, in return for it, promises an Immortal Life? Is youth too precious to be devoted to obtaining the eternal enjoyment of God? Will you reserve for Him nothing but the remnants and refuse of your passions and life? It is as though you said to Him: ‘Oh Lord, so long as I am fit for the world, and its pleasures, do not expect me to come to Thee. So long as the world cares for me, I shall never be able to resolve to seek Thee. When it begins to forget me, to slip from me, and I can use it no longer, then I will turn to Thee. I will say, “Here I am; I will pray Thee to accept a heart which the world throws away,” and which will even then be sad at the harsh necessity which compels it to give itself to Thee. But, till then, expect of me only an entire indifference, and complete forgetfulness. Thou art good to serve only when we can be of no service to ourselves. We are sure we can find Thee always, all seasons are alike to Thee; but the world, after a certain period, we are no longer fit for that, and we must enjoy it before it escapes us, and while it is still time.’ Oh Soul! unworthy of confessing the mercies of a God, whom thou thus treatest with contempt! And dost thou imagine that He will accept adoration so compulsory, so shameful to His Glory, — He who will have none but willing sacrifice? He who has no need of man, and who shows us mercy even when He accepts the purest promises, and sincerest prayers?”

“As the prophet Isaiah in other days reproached those who worshipped Idols, saying to them, ‘You cut you down a cedar of Lebanon; you take of its fairest part to supply your needs, your wants, the adornment of your palaces; and of the remnant you make a worthless idol.’ So you cut off from your life its fairest and brightest years, to satisfy your desires, and unholy lusts, and when you know of no use to make of the rest, and when it is useless for the world, and for pleasure, then you make of it an idol; you devote it to Religion; you make of it a false, superficial, lifeless piety, to which you devote what is left from your passions and your sins.”

We see the use all three of these preachers make of Bible facts, with what ease, in the hands of a master, narrative and description may become oratoric.

It must surprise every man, on first coming to the practical study of Rhetoric, to see how largely narration and description enter into all Oratory, Sacred and Secular. Our boyish notions of Public Speech, are, that it consists mainly of argument, of logical

deduction, and fervid appeal. But at the Bar, in the Senate, and in the Pulpit, narration and description continually enter into the Public Address. It is especially so in the Pulpit. Christianity is a Religion of facts, — the facts underlie the doctrine. The facts, then, must be used to corroborate and illustrate the doctrine, else discourse becomes dry, technical, abstruse, scholastic. He who would hold the ear of the people, as one of the first preachers in America has said, must either tell stories or paint pictures; that is, he must narrate and describe; and the Bible is full of events for narration, and scenes for description. The Preacher of all men least stands in need of foreign materials, and foreign ornament for his discourse; and if he takes others in preference to those from the Bible, he thereby shows his ignorance. The leading Anti-slavery orator of New England once remarked that he had often known a restless audience quieted by a story, and ready then to listen half an hour longer; and that in his own experience, the most effective stories were from the Bible and “*The Pilgrim’s Progress*.”

But narration and description require of the orator other handling than they get from the historian, or the novelist. For progress is the life of the oration. If it hesitates, if it eddies round a thought, a scene, an event, it loses its hold upon the hearer, and the labor is lost. He who writes to be read, may dally with his subject, may amass particulars, may multiply details, but the orator must march straight forward to his object. He must therefore select his details, he must marshal his facts with a view to a resistless and unimpeded advance.

In one word, every man worthy to stand in a Christian pulpit, stands there for an object. He has a purpose to accomplish; he would impress truth, or excite to action. This purpose he has no right to forget, and his narration, his description, must help that object forward. We have all heard descriptions, and that not seldom from the most popular Preachers, in which one forgot everything but the picture. Now the very fact that it was possible to forget ourselves in the picture proves that the speaker did not understand his business, that the picture ran away with him as well as with us. If we allow any hearer to forget our main object in any illustration, it is proof that we forgot the object, and got absorbed in that illustration ourselves. But this mistake the great masters of the art never commit.

If space permitted we would indulge the pleasure of quoting

from Demosthenes on the Crown the description of the consternation at Athens when the news reached the city of the taking of Elatea, a passage which has excited the admiration of scholars and critics and orators for more than sixty generations, as an illustration of my meaning. But the examples furnished by the orators before us are more than we have time to examine, for the funeral orations of Bossuet abound in them, and they are frequent in the sermons of Massillon. Here is one from his sermon before Louis XV. on the Temptations of the Great. He is speaking of the evil wrought by an ambitious Prince.

“His glory, Sire, will be always soiled with blood. Some fool, perhaps, will sing his victories, but the provinces, the cities, the fields will deplore them. Men will erect grand monuments to immortalize his conquests, but the still smoking cinders of so many cities once flourishing, the desolation of so many fields, despoiled of their ancient beauty, the ruins of so many walls under which peaceful citizens have been buried, the many miseries which shall survive him, shall be mournful monuments to immortalize his vanity and folly.”

The following is from his sermon on the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The plan of the discourse is this. The Divinity of Jesus Christ is shown (1) in the prophecies which went before Him, (2) in the miracles He performed, and (3) in the circumstances of His life. It is from the 3d part that the passage is taken.

“He is formed in the womb of a virgin, by the invisible act of the Most High. Immediately after His birth celestial legions make the air reëcho with songs of joy; then a new star calls wise men from the bosom of the East, and these holy men, guided by this miraculous light, come from the ends of the earth to adore this New King of the Jews. Follow the circumstances of His life. If Mary presents Him in the Temple, a just man and a holy woman announce His future greatness, and, filled with joy, die in peace after having seen Him whom they call the Salvation of the World, the Light of the Gentiles and the Glory of Israel. The Doctors are astonished at an infancy wiser than the wisdom of the aged. In proportion as He advances His glory unfolds. John the Baptist, that greatest of those born of woman, bows down before Him and declares himself unworthy to perform the most menial offices for Him. Heaven opens often above His head and proclaims Him the Well Beloved Son. Devils affrighted flee before Him, and confess Him to be the Holy One of God.

“But this is but the prelude of His glory. If He retires to Tabor accompanied by His three disciples, His glory, if I may dare say it, im-

patient at having been till now held captive under the veil of His humanity, breaks forth : He is all resplendent with light.

"What shall I say further, brethren? If from Tabor we pass to Calvary, that place, where the sorrows of the Son of Man were to culminate, becomes the theatre of His Glory and Divinity. All nature in its convulsions recognizes Him as its Author. The sun which is hidden, the dead that rise, the tombs that open, the veil of the Temple that is rent, and even incredulity itself, which confesses by the mouth of the Centurion."

Now what is there peculiar about these passages? How are they made oratoric?

In the first place, the details are selected with care; they are not so numerous as to confuse the mind and prevent its taking in the scene at a glance, yet nothing essential to the perfect picture is omitted.

In the second place, you cannot in the picture forget the truth the picture is intended to enforce.

In the third place, the description nowhere passes into poetry. You forget the speaker, you forget his words; you are intent upon the thought. And this is the highest test of genuine oratory: namely, that while listening to it you are not conscious that it is oratory at all. It is therefore a mistake in art for Sir Walter Scott, in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," to make the Queen say to Argyle, after Jennie Deans has concluded her petition, "This, my lord, is eloquence." Genuine eloquence would have made her say, with all of a woman's earnestness, "My lord, we must save this unhappy woman at once. Make out the pardon without delay."

Fenelon, in his "Dialogues of the Dead," recognizes this truth, when he makes Demosthenes say to Cicero, "You they admired, me they forgot. When you had ended they went away, saying, 'How beautifully Cicero spoke to-day.' When I was through they cried, 'Up, let us fight Philip.'"

The second source from which they drew their materials was the writings of the Fathers, especially Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Augustine; though they also quote Origen, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Leo, Gregory, Salvien, Aquinas, and St. Bernard.

Bourdaloue quotes them the most; Massillon the least.

The benefit they derive from this intimate knowledge of the Fathers strikes you in every sermon. You see it in their subjects, in their profound knowledge and comprehensive grasp of Theology,

in their mode of argument, methodical and yet popular, in their comprehension of the truth they would unfold, and its relations to your dearest interests, your secret convictions, your own experience. You see it in their bold and energetic turns of speech, in their living and suggestive thoughts, in the wonderful clearness with which they set before you the Mysteries of Christianity. After studying them you feel that no man has thoroughly prepared himself for preaching till he has carefully studied some of the Homilies and Sermons of the Fathers—especially Augustine and Chrysostom, but above all Chrysostom, at once the best Biblical interpreter and the greatest Preacher the Eastern Church has produced.

The Bible and the Fathers, we have said, they drew from. But they drew also from the human heart. Here Massillon is preëminent. Bourdaloue, who had been the great Preacher at Paris for thirty years when Massillon came to the city, had built his massive sermons out of the marble quarried from the Fathers; Massillon drew his from the thoughts and emotions of the human soul. Bourdaloue develops doctrine and exhibits commands; Massillon deals rather with the prejudices and passions which hinder the reception of the truth. By this course the hearer is led to examine his own heart and see precisely the attitude which he takes towards God and Truth.

Here is an instance of the mode in which, speaking of Almsgiving, he deals with the common excuse of men, that they haven't the means necessary to give to the poor. The whole sermon, let me remark in passing, is among the greatest productions of human speech, unsurpassed, perhaps, by anything since the Philippics of Cicero, and reminds one constantly of the third Philippic of Demosthenes.

The Preacher has already set forth at great length before his hearers the small demands which God in the Gospel makes upon them for their wealth compared with the wild extravagance with which they squander it upon themselves, their tables, their retinues, their games, and then closes thus:—

“So slight is the demand God makes of you. And is He not right in making it? What! Are you rich enough for evil and too poor for virtue? Shall your revenues suffice for your ruin and be too small to save you and purchase Heaven? And because you push to excess your indulgence of yourself, must God allow you to have no feeling for your brethren?

"But, my brethren, whence comes it that this is the only circumstance in which you yourselves cut down the estimate which the world makes of your wealth? Everywhere else you wish to be thought powerful. You give yourselves out for such; you even conceal at times under a still brilliant exterior affairs already ruined in order to preserve that empty reputation for opulence. This vanity forsakes you, then, only when you are reminded of the duty of showing mercy. Then, not satisfied with acknowledging the mediocrity of your fortune, you exaggerate it. And the hardness of your heart triumphs not only over the truth, but even over vanity."

In the Sermon on Prayer, also, to the excuse men make that they can't pray, for they have nothing they wish to say, he replies: "Does the presence of God, your benefactor, awaken in you no tenderness? You who pride yourselves on never forgetting a favor, and who carry so far your gratitude towards His creatures."

His Sermons on Prayer, on the Dying Sinner and the Dying Saint, on Final Impenitence, his Address to his Clergy on the use of Ecclesiastical Revenues, are crowded with examples like this.

In reading the Sermons of all three of these Preachers, the first contrast you find in them to the great Anglican Preachers is, the freedom with which they employ the grander thoughts of Religion. How they dwell on Death, on the Judgment, on Eternity, Heaven, Hell!

And here Bossuet stands unrivalled; here his lofty genius displays itself, as if nothing but these, the grandest and most awful of all subjects, afforded a theatre equal to his powers. How vividly they bring God before the mind, a living God, personally present; an emotional God, as the Old Testament especially presents Him loving holiness and hating sin; tender as a mother to the righteous, but "angry with the wicked every day!"

A mild and gentle spirit broods over many of the great Anglican Sermons; their authors in their own emotive natures seem hardly stirred, and though the Anglican Church has produced a body of Sermons unequalled for sober learning and weighty thought, yet they address the intellect too exclusively to produce much effect upon the populace. But God has given us in the Bible models of Preaching. In the Prophets, in the Apostles, in our Blessed Lord Himself, we learn that we are not to be satisfied with such a presentation of the

truth as merely instructs the head; that truth must not only satisfy the mind, but through the mind must stir the affections. And the more thoroughly Biblical we are in our Preaching, the more our own souls feed on the Bible for their daily bread, the more perfectly God is present in our souls, not as a Being of whose existence Philosophy informs us, but as He is in the Bible, Old Testament and New, the better Preachers we shall be.

For under the Christian dispensation it proves us poor Theologians if with a loving heart and fervent spirit we are inefficient Preachers. No man with a brain to think and a heart to feel can grasp the idea of the Incarnation and be a feeble Preacher. He may not be eloquent as the world goes, but the people among whom he ministers Sunday after Sunday will feel the power of that great conception affecting all their ideas of Divine Truth and Daily Duty.

I am sure that Protestantism has not preached the Incarnation as plainly or as forcibly as these great men have done, or as the Fathers did before them. Protestantism has for the most part dwelt so much upon the distinction between the Persons of the Father and the Son, and so much upon the Humanity of our Blessed Lord, that it has given to its hearers, unwittingly, I believe, but none the less really, an idea of a Superhuman Saviour merely, and popular Protestantism shrinks from hearing of God the Virgin Born, and God the Crucified.

But herein is the power of the Gospel. It was so with St. Paul, it must be so with us; and you cannot read these great Frenchmen without feeling the power which this one idea gave to their Preaching. Said a layman of my own parish to me not long since, one of the leading lawyers of Massachusetts, "I find in the French Preachers something I miss in South and Barrow and other Englishmen,—an Incarnate God moving among men. He is presented in every light; He is held up in all the varied circumstances of His life; at His Birth, His Circumcision, His Trial, His Sufferings, His Death, His Resurrection, His Presence in His Church; His Presence in His Poor, His Presence in His Sacraments; and this affects me much more than the cold and philosophic reasoning of the English Pulpit."

And here Bourdaloue stands without a rival. No other man ever handled the Mysteries of Christianity with greater power. He uses no pompous epithets; he indulges in no mawkish senti-

ment, but by a gift of speech which seems almost peculiar to himself, he presents the deepest truths of Theology in language so simple that a child can understand him; he draws from them everything which can touch the heart: "The end of each Mystery; the design which God purposes in them; His adorable perfections therein manifested; the dispositions necessary to celebrate them worthily and with profit; and finally, the gracious effects which they work in us. These it is on which the whole discourse turns, but with a strength of reason which convinces, and with a majesty which inspires veneration for our Faith."

But this was possible for him, and will be possible for other men only after profound study of Theology and protracted and concentrated thought upon its central doctrines. They speak but seldom, let me add, concerning the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and yet the Incarnation is so forcibly and in such wise preached that he who hears them conceives the deepest reverence for those Holy Mysteries. And these Preachers in their fearlessness have avoided both the error of the Puritans, who underrate the Sacraments, and the opposite error of those Churchmen who are afraid to talk of the conversion of sinners who had been baptized in infancy lest they seem to be denying Baptismal Grace.

Let us consider now their plans. What first strikes you in the structure of their Sermons is the unity of their plans. The subject is ONE. It can almost always be summed up in a single word, or a single proposition. It would take a long time to explain and illustrate what I mean by this marvelous unity of theirs. It is a unity seen in all the French literature of that period, and resulted largely from their devotion to the study of Greek models. And all of you who have studied Greek Literature and Art, remember "that unity of design, that closeness of texture, that mutual dependence of the parts, that harmony of composition, that exact fitness and proportion which makes of every production of genius a sort of organized body, with nothing superfluous, and nothing defective in it, but a complete whole, answering perfectly the ends of its being, whatever they may be." This, which constitutes the perfection of Greek Art, and which appears in every oration of Demosthenes, — that model of every rhetorical excellence, — appears in these Preachers who, as one has said, enriched the Pulpit with the spoils of ancient eloquence.

You will notice also the fullness of their plans, the abundance of material, the wealth of ideas.

Bossuet is sometimes too crowded, and condensed. Massillon excels in the amplification of details; but Bourdaloue, in all that pertains to solidity, and extent of material, in his inexhaustible fertility of thought, is unrivalled. And, if we may trust Lord Brougham, no mean witness, he surpasses in this respect all other orators, ancient and modern.

In preparing his sermons, he seems to have first gathered together everything relating to his subject, that wide learning, and unwearied industry could collect; then his mind, trained in the Aristotelian logic, would cast his subject into the shape of some methodical plan. Under each head he arranged the material belonging to it, and what was of no use for the present purpose, he reserved until some other time, when a different presentation of the subject called for the thoughts thus laid aside. Hence we have four sermons of his on the Passion, and sometimes two, sometimes three on the other Mysteries, — each complete in itself, and each apparently exhausting the subject.

The custom of the French Pulpit, at the time Bossuet entered it, had long been to divide the sermon into two, or three main divisions; and he took no pains to change it. A few years later, Fenelon argued against, and Boileau laughed at it, but both without effect. All three of the great Preachers continued to follow the custom all their lives. Bossuet, except in his funeral orations, which are not divided, generally gives three divisions; Bourdaloue oftener two, and Massillon varies from two to four. This is no time to discuss the practice, but it certainly had its advantages. In the structure of their plans, Bossuet is the poorest, Massillon next, and Bourdaloue first.

Perhaps it would not be here amiss to give a few of Bourdaloue's plans: —

I.

THE THOUGHT OF DEATH.

1. The thought of death is the sovereign remedy to mortify the fire of our passions.

2. It is the infallible rule to guide us in our deliberations.

3. It is the strongest motive to inspire us with a holy fervor in our actions.

(1.) These passions of ours are vain in their objects, insatiable in their desires, and unrighteous in the presumptuous sentiments which they inspire in respect to ourselves, and to others; but death shows us their

vanity, sets a bound to our cupidity, and teaches us modesty in that equality to which God reduces us all.

(2.) It is an infallible rule, because (A) it frees the mind from all illusions, and enables it to judge in the light of Eternity; (B) it thereby delivers from the regrets or remorse which might else follow our conduct.

(3.) It inspires us with fervor: for it quickens our zeal, to reflect that death is near, at the farthest; it quickens it to remember that death is uncertain, and may come at once.

II.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

"An evil and an adulterous generation seeketh for a sign, but there shall no sign be given unto them, but the sign of the Prophet Jonas."

There are two sorts of prodigies, says St. Augustine.

1. From God.

2. From man.

I. The Conversion of the World, a greater miracle than the Conversion of Nineveh, — from God.

II. The incredulity of the Pharisees — a prodigy of unbelief.

(1.) He begins with a wonderfully graphic account of the success of Christianity; the greatness of the undertaking; the insignificance of the means; — this could only be from God. It is therefore —

1. The greatest of all the miracles.

2. It presupposes all the miracles.

3. It justifies them all.

(1.) The prodigy of unbelief in a man who falls into impiety, and rejects the Faith, not because he has read, but through pride, through self-interest; to save himself from remorse in his sins, — and who does this in spite of unanswerable arguments to the contrary.

(2.) The prodigy of unbelief in those Christians who fall into heresy, from dislike for the Church, from personal enmities, from love of intrigue, from ambition, policy, fear, ostentation, blindness, passion.

(3.) The prodigy of unbelief in a Christian who really believes, and yet gives the lie to this belief in his daily life.

III.

DEATH OF CHRIST.

"Christ crucified, the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God."

1. Power.

2. Wisdom.

I. DIED, —

(1.) After predicting His own Death — God only can foretell the future.

(2.) In the midst of miracles wrought by His own Hand.

(3.) By His own Act.

(4.) Making His Death the means of Victory.

II. He Died to satisfy God, and reform man.

1. 'As in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive.' Adam sinned by pride, disobedience, and from love of pleasure.

2. It reforms man by instructing his mind, and moving his heart.

(1.) Christ redeemed us by humility, by obedience, by self-denial ; instructs us concerning God, and sin, and salvation.

(2.) He moves the affections by overcoming the lust of the eye, *i. e.* the love of riches ; the pride of life, *i. e.* ambition ; the lust of flesh, *i. e.* bodily comforts, and sensuality, — each by its opposite.

These are bare outlines, the sermons themselves requiring nearly an hour and a half each in delivery.

And now, if I have not exhausted patience completely, let me ask attention to a comparison of a few plans of Massillon and Bourdaloue on the same subjects, in order that we may see at a glance the distinctive difference between the men.

Here is a plan of Bourdaloue's, on .

PRAYER.

Divine Grace necessary to enable us to perform any righteous act : this grace God gives freely in answer to prayer. Therefore —

1. We cannot excuse ourselves from doing our duty on the plea of inability, human infirmity, etc., for God, in giving us prayer, gives us means of attaining grace equal to any virtue.

2. It follows also that the greatest of all sins is to cease praying.

3. And the greatest of all misfortunes is to lose the spirit of prayer, *i. e.* respect for prayer, confidence in prayer, inclination to prayer.

Now it will be seen in the plan, taken from Massillon, the characteristic difference between his preaching and Bourdaloue's. Bourdaloue founds his on the Truth, as it is in Theology, and makes that his starting-point. Massillon, considering that his hearers admit, in general terms, their obligation to pray, yet excuse themselves under various pretexts, deals at once, therefore, with their excuses.

After a brief, but very beautiful exordium, he begins : —

1. You say you don't know how to pray, — then you must learn.

2. You say that you have no pleasure in prayer, — then you need to practice it.

(1.) You say you do not know how to pray. But you are wrong in the idea you form of prayer. Prayer is an emotion of the heart, it is the feeling of a heart burdened with sorrow for its sins; it speaks with God, tells God it is sorry. If prayer were some great gift reserved for the few you would have excuse, but it is the common duty of all, and within the power of all.

(2.) You say you do not know how to pray. Then it is because you do not recognize your infinite spiritual necessities. A sick man can ask for healing, a hungry man for bread.

(3.) You do not know how to pray. Then it is because you do not love God. It is easy to talk with those we love.

2. You do not like to pray. But you must not cease for that, for —

(1.) It is your lukewarmness and unbelief that make you dislike prayer.

Again, you must not cease for that, for —

(2.) It is your seldom praying, that makes it disagreeable.

Finally, you must not cease for that, for —

(3.) This absence of pleasure in prayer is often a test by which God would prove our devotion.

Here is Bourdaloue's sermon, on

FORGIVENESS :

I. God has a right to command us to forgive our neighbors.

II. And if we disobey, He has a right to punish us.

1. God has a right to demand this of us —

(1.) As our Master; — and you cannot say that it is a costly sacrifice He asks.

(2.) As our Father; — by His mercies, saying, "Look not at the man who has offended, but at Me who asks the favor. What kindnesses have I not shown thee?"

(3.) As an Example; — God forgives us freely.

(Here he draws a forcible, and beautiful contrast between the greatness of those offenses which God pardons, and the insignificance of any our neighbor can possibly commit against us.)

(4.) As our Judge; — making our own forgiveness at the last day depend on our forgiveness of our neighbor now.

Let us fear, therefore, to disobey, lest we thereby sin —

1. Against God, whose commandment we disobey.

2. Against Christ, whom we renounce, in renouncing this, the essential characteristic of Christianity.

3. Against our neighbor, to whom God has transferred His rights. —
 “Inasmuch as ye did it to one of these, ye did it unto Me.”

4. Against ourselves. — “Forgive us, as we forgive.”

Here is Massillon’s on the same subject : —

Divisions :

I. We are unjust in our enmities.

II. We are false in our reconciliations.

1. Unjust in our enmities, for —

(1.) We dislike men because they offend our tastes ; but they are none the less our brothers ; none the less members of Jesus Christ. Besides, what right have you to demand that every man should suit your tastes ? And again, do your manners suit everybody, and don’t you ask to be excused, because your intentions are good ?

(2.) We dislike men because they interfere with our interests, disappoint us, thwart us, supersede us. But in this, they deprive you only of trifling advantages, advantages which will soon cease, in any case ; but in hating them, you endanger your own immortal soul.

(3.) We dislike men because they wound our vanity by their speeches. But this is unjust ; for you have no right to demand that all men should approve of all you do, and say, and are. Again, what is your conduct towards others ? Are you silent about their faults, indulgent to their failings ? Besides, the report which reached you is probably exaggerated. You know enough of the world to know how stories grow. But your honor ! you say ; and will you dare set up the requisition of a barbarous code of honor against the commandments of your God ?

2. Falseness of our reconciliations. They are false in their causes.

(1.) We are reconciled, to avoid public scandal, to gratify our friends, — that is, for purely human motives.

(2.) False in their accomplishment.

We are reconciled only by the careful management of friends, we insist upon conditions ; we will go only so far, — but Christian charity knows nothing of such things ; it forgives, simply, frankly.

(3.) False in their results. You pardon, but you will not see him. Would you that God should pardon you on the same conditions ?

We had marked particular plans of Bourdaloue, and Massillon for comparison, but, perhaps, it is sufficient to say that they differ in their methods, the one contents himself with a simple exposition of the Truth ; the other grapples with the objections which a sinful heart is always making to it. Now, to make this a practical matter, we see nothing to prevent Clergymen from employing both

these methods, — sometimes drawing our material from the Truth itself, and sometimes trying to deliver our hearers from those prejudices which prevent their listening with candor. By the first method, we shall reach the more intellectual chiefly; by the second, we shall reach all; for while few men can reason, all men can feel; while few have well-trained intellects, all have hearts.

In the plans of these Preachers, how admirable the arrangement of their ideas! Take for instance, Bourdaloue's on Forgiveness, and see how steadily the thought advances, from the beginning to the end, and how from general considerations the hearer is brought gradually, imperceptibly, unconsciously to consider his own case. 1. God our Master. 2. God our Father. 3. God our Example. 4. God our Judge; and the same course is pursued in the second part.

In the arrangement of their plans, Bourdaloue is necessarily more logical than Massillon, because he develops his subject, and so develops it logically; while Massillon often devotes his whole sermon to removing objections, pretexts, and excuses; which from their nature have no logical connection.

But even in the order of subordinate thoughts, Bourdaloue is more logical than Massillon.

For instance, let me ask you to watch the order of thought in this extract from Bourdaloue, on the effect of our sinfulness upon ourselves. You will notice that the order is such as has suggested itself by perceptible laws of association, to a mind trained in Philosophy and Logic.

“From our Fall in Adam, it is that there is no health in us, that our mind is subject to the grossest errors, that our will is given up captive to the most shameful passions, that our imagination is the seat and source of illusion, that our senses are the avenues and instruments of incontinence; that we are born full of infirmities, subject to the inconstancy and vanity of our thoughts, slaves to our dispositions and fancies, tyrannized over by our own desires. Hence comes that difficulty of doing well, that bent and inclination to evil, that repugnance to our duty, that disposition to throw off the yoke of our most legitimate obligations, that hatred for the truth which corrects us and reforms us, that love for the flattery which deceives and corrupts us, that dislike for virtue, that deadly fascination of vice, that wild obstinacy in desiring what the Law forbids because it forbids, and in never wishing what it commands because it commands.”

This is only part of a paragraph in one of his sermons, yet, when

you analyze it, you will see that he speaks of the effect of sin, (1) in ourselves, (2) in our actions.

And in regard to ourselves, he makes the general statement, that there is nothing sound in us ; and then proceeds to specify particulars. 1. Our Reason. 2. Our Wills. 3. Our Imagination. 4. Our Senses. We should find a similar regularity of arrangement running through the whole passage.

And here let me say in passing, that we who are as yet learners, who are striving for the mastery over our English tongue, and for a power to address others convincingly in the highest of all themes, can do nothing more directly subservient to our progress in Rhetoric, than the laborious examination of a few of the masterpieces of Sacred and Secular Eloquence. They are to us, what the Cathedrals of Europe are to the architect, and her Statues to the artist.

Now, if you will, for a passage from Massillon, on this same subject of Original Sin. It is a part of that exordium to the Sermon on Prayer, to which I have already referred : —

“ Yes, my brethren, if the whole world is only one continual temptation, if all the situations in which we find ourselves, and all the objects which surround us, appear in league with our corruption, either to enfeeble or to seduce us ; if riches corrupt us, poverty embitters us, prosperity inflates us, affliction crushes us, business distracts us, repose enfeebles us, knowledge puffs us up, ignorance misleads, society takes us too much out of ourselves, and solitude leaves us too much to ourselves, pleasures seduce, holy works make us proud, health rouses the passions, sickness makes us lukewarm or complaining ; if, in one word, since our Fall, everything is a new source of peril to us, in such a situation what hope, O my God, except in prayer ? ”

In this you will see a certain regularity of antithesis, but the various antitheses follow no regular law, — they are not the result of logical connection, but are the spontaneous production of an affluent genius, as you may see again in this passage from the same sermon : —

“ The Christian is therefore a man of prayer ; his origin (notice, if you will, the order of these words), his origin, his situation, his nature, his necessities, his dwelling-place, all warn him to pray.”

If logically arranged, “ necessities ” would have come last, as resulting from all the others.

Now, if we have geniuses as rich and exuberant as Massillon's,

we can trust to them, as he did ; though he, as you will remember, was so well trained a scholar as to have been placed, at the early age of thirty-four, over one of the most important Theological Seminaries in Europe. But if we are men of moderate abilities, we must be content to cultivate them, as Bourdaloue did, by the assiduous study of Philosophy, — without which, says Cicero, no man can be an orator, — Logic, and Systematic Theology.

In the Rhetorical, as distinguished from the Logical arrangement of their thoughts, in that arrangement which tends to carry the hearer steadily towards the point the speaker has in view, that arrangement in which no thought fails of its proper influence on the mind, and every thought comes in at just that time in the discourse when the mind is best prepared to receive it, Bourdaloue and Massillon are equally great ; but in that supreme power of art, which gives beauty as well as strength, Massillon stands alone. The exordiums of Bourdaloue are often poor, and of all his perorations I remember only one that is strikingly excellent. But Massillon, in his exordiums and perorations, never fails. They have all the perfection of Greek art. Let me read the introduction of his first Lenten Sermon, before Louis the Great. Standing in the Chapel at Versailles, before the most powerful of monarchs, and in the midst of the most magnificent of Courts, the Orator, with downcast eyes, and quiet voice, announced his text : —

“Blessed are they that mourn.”

“SIRE, — If the world were speaking here in place of Jesus Christ, it would, doubtless, hold other language to your majesty. ‘Blessed the prince,’ it would say to you, ‘who has never fought except to conquer, who has seen so many powers arrayed against him, only to grant them more glorious peace ; and who has always been greater than the peril, or than the victory.’

“‘Blessed the prince who, during the course of a long and flourishing reign, enjoys in quiet the fruits of his glory, the love of his people, the esteem of his enemies, the admiration of the world, the advantage of his conquests, the magnificence of his works, the wisdom of his laws, and the august hope of a numerous posterity, and who has nothing more to desire than the long possession of what he now enjoys.’

“Thus the world would speak ; but, Sire, Jesus Christ does not speak like the world.

“‘Blessed,’ He would say to you, ‘not he who is the admiration of his age, but he who makes the world to come his hope, and who lives in

contempt of himself, and of all which passes.' 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.'

"Blessed, not he whose reign and exploits history shall make immortal in the memory of men, but he whose tears have effaced the history of his sins, even from the memory of God. 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.'

"Blessed, not he who has extended through new conquests the bounds of his Empire, but he who shall have restrained his desires and his passions within the limits of the Law of God, for he shall possess a realm more enduring than the empire of the world. 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.'

"Blessed, not he who, raised by the voice of his people above all the princes who have gone before him, enjoys in serenity his grandeur, and his glory; but he who finding nothing in the throne itself worthy of his heart, seeks perfect happiness here below, only in virtue and righteousness. 'Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.'

"Blessed, not he to whom men have given the title of Great, and Invincible, but he to whom the unhappy in the presence of Jesus Christ shall give the title of Father, and Merciful, — for he shall receive mercy. 'Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.'

"Blessed, finally, not he who, always arbiter of the destiny of his enemies, has more than once given peace to the world; but he who has been able to give peace to himself, and to banish from his heart the vices, and inordinate affections which disturb its tranquillity. 'Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.'

"These, Sire, are they whom the Jesus Christ calls blessed, and the Gospel knows no other blessedness on earth than virtue and innocence."

If time permitted, we would enjoy examining this exordium in detail, that we might see how absolutely perfect it is, in every excellence which the exordium should possess; but we must yet speak of his perorations.

It is the custom, we think, among many of our most distinguished American orators, to leave off amid a crash of fire-works, to have the peroration the grandest, most brilliant, most striking passage in all their discourse. Not so with the great master Demosthenes, to whom, as to a standard, all questions of rhetorical use must be referred, and of whom we may say with emphasis, what Quintillian says of Cicero, "*Hunc igitur spectemus; hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum; ille se profecisse sciat — cui Demosthenes valde placebit.*" Not so, we repeat, with Demosthenes; not so either with Massillon, who, more than any other modern, has reproduced

the perfection of form by which the Greek master is distinguished, no less than by his power — that marvelous power, that *admiranda vis*, of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus discourses with such affection, and subtilty, and grace.

His perorations are always as gentle as his exordiums. I would cite one for you, that you might judge for yourselves, if it were possible to judge of a peroration apart from the discourse which it closes, but as its real excellence consists in its adaptation to what has gone before, one can judge of it only in connection with all that has preceded it.

A similar excellence in exordium and peroration is found in the funeral orations of Bossuet ; but in his ordinary sermons, which for the most part were unwritten, he was too careless of the form.

In the transitions from one division of the sermon to another, all these are excellent, but especially Massillon. He who is susceptible to the charms of language, cannot observe Massillon's transitions — one of the most difficult of the minor parts of the sermon — without delight, and wonder at the ease and grace with which they are accomplished.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A JUNE IDYL. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

We remark in the Poems of Mr. Lowell a singular union of contrarieties. Now we find an expression which evinces the sensitiveness and delicacy of a true poet, charming us with a beauty almost exquisite ; and now our taste is shocked by some gross offense against rhythm, some rude violation of metre, some mixture of figures, some unfortunate word, indicating everything but the eye, and ear, and culture of an artist. Mr. Lowell is always clever, always sprightly, always original, always suggestive, but not always polished or poetic. He sometimes writes verses as he writes articles — to meet a demand. There is a want of spontaneity, of glow, of impulse. He exhibits more talent than genius. His poetry is often easily convertible into very respectable prose. Occasionally, indeed, there is a thought or an expression sufficient to redeem an entire volume. But it is rather an exotic — a flower out of its latitude, a gem away from its mine, a bird of Paradise flashing over some prosaic region, far from the brilliant luxuriance of its tropical home.

We find proofs of these remarks in the short Poem which is the subject of the present notice. In the opening sentence, June is a hostess, a gypsy, a pearl. Surely this is what was styled in our youth, a mixing of metaphors.

But, perhaps, the rules of Rhetoric, like the truths of the Gospel, have become antiquated in the apprehension of New England culture.

How beautiful the expression —

“ One great gush of blossoms ! ”

How strange, in the same sentence, these bright and quiet types of lovely June, like the violence of Winter, should be said to

“ Storm the world.”

Can the same writer, guilty of an impropriety so manifest, immediately after, give us a description, in its kind scarcely to be surpassed ?

“ The bluebird, shifting his light load of song,
From post to post, along the cheerless fence.”

These are admirable lines. It is difficult to conceive,

“ The warm, wild breath of the West,
Shepherding his soft droves of fleecy cloud.”

Here is poetry : —

“ Gladness of woods, skies, waters, all in one,
The Bobolink has come, and like the soul
Of the sweet season vocal in a bird,
Gurgles in ecstasy.”

This is a picture complete and beautiful, but absolutely marred by the abominably prosaic addition —

“ We know not what
Sure, June, dear June; now God be praised for June.”

However, there is this excuse for the bird, that, acknowledging the existence of a Deity, its Theology is more correct than that of the Poet, to whom is attributed a certain Article of the “ North American Review,” darkened terribly by Positivism.

We cannot understand why the soul of Mr. Lowell, floating in a cloud, should describe its reflection in the waters below, by the harsh, ugly, unmusical word, “ double,” instead of the soft, and appropriate word, “ image.”

We could point out a multitude of other instances showing these strange peculiarities of Mr. Lowell, making us wonder, how, in the same person, there should be such a union of crudeness and culture, of coarseness and delicacy, of the prosaic and the poetical.

We conclude our notice by remarking that we differ with Mr. Lowell, in regard to appreciation of our ancestry. He permits other men to trace their origin either “ to Ape, or Adam,” intimating that the narration of the Sacred Oracles is a “ whim.” He prefers, himself, however, a *tree* for his father. Will he inform us to what species he inclines to attribute his original ? We would suggest to Harper, for pictorial illustration, the various steps of the process by which a gnarled crab-apple — at once noted for its sharp juices, and bright blossoms — may be converted into a man.

SIENA. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. J. B. Lippincott & Co.
1868. Philadelphia.

In this Poem also seem blended grave faults, and great beauties. The com-

mencing word, "Inside," has a certain infelicity, and indeed the entire first stanza is open to many criticisms. We will not pause to notice the epithet, "naked," as applied to gold, or that singular line, —

"The green-veiled air is full of doves."

How the leaves falling *softly* in "broken kisses," shall "break" like waves, we cannot even imagine, and while a Greek, who represented the orb of day by the image of Apollo crowned with beams, might speak of the "Sun's feet," to us, whom Science teaches to conceive him only as a vast, fiery *globe*, the expression seems awkward, and unwarrantable. Numerous violations of metre and rhythm could easily be exhibited, but it is more agreeable to dwell on beauties than on blemishes. What Mr. Swinburne's Muse wants in delicacy, and elegance, and polish, is often forgotten in the strength and originality of his conceptions. His genius is intense and powerful, rather than refined and creative. Here are some striking lines from the thirteenth stanza, yet strangely marred by the adjectives, "*fresh*" and "*clear*," applied to "*gloom*": —

"You see her in the fresh, clear gloom,
Where walls shut out the flame, and bloom
Of full-breathed summer, and the roof
Keeps the keen, ardent air aloof,
And sweet weight of the violet sky."

Again, —

"She seems as one hearing in tune,
Heaven within Heaven."

The twenty-second stanza presents a vivid picture, where the impression is increased by the sacrifice of the rhythm: —

"For the outer land is sad, and wears
A raiment of a flaming fire,
And the fierce, fruitless mountain stairs
Climb, yet seem wroth, and loth to aspire,
Climb, and break, and are broken down;
And through their clefts and crests the town
Looks west, and sees the dead sun lie —
A *sanguine death* — that stains the sky
With angry dye."

Yet here we can hardly refrain from remarking the words "*fruitless*," and "*wroth*," as describing "*stairs*."

Some of the lines referring to Italy, now glowing with intensity, now breathing in sadness, evince most the genius of the Poet. This is, perhaps, the best: —

"Let there be light, O Italy!
For our feet falter in the night —
O Lamp of living years to be!
O, Light of God, let there be light!
Fill with a love keener than flame,
Men sealed in spirit with Thy Name,
The cities and the Roman skies,
Where men, with other than man's eyes,
Saw the sun rise."

We must notice, in conclusion, a sad characteristic of the Poetry of this age

— a disposition to recoil from Christianity as a system of pain and gloom, and turn for refuge to the free and beautiful life of Greece, where earth was made to glow with forms of grace beneath those brilliant skies, whence genius had part of its inspiration. Is it forgotten that the art and mythology of Greece did not save her from despair? The physical development produced by her climate, and her games, and the genius which filled the world with beauty, could not avert gloom and degradation. Besides, it should be remembered that the Gospel not only appeals to fear, but kindles joy; above its Cross exhibits a Crown; with the frequent contemplation of death also presents bright visions of Eternal Life. From no book more than the Bible, can Poetry catch inspirations of joy and victory.

LUCRETII. By ALFRED TENNYSON, Poet Laureate. 1868.

Perhaps few Poets have ever been more correct in rhyme, in metre, in rhythm, and whatever pertains to the *form* of Poetry, than Mr. Tennyson. A knowledge of these inferior things is so familiar to the Laureate, that he gives them no more attention than a sensible and well-dressed gentleman pays to his garments. You seldom, perhaps never, notice in him the indelicacies, the inaccuracies, the improprieties, so observable in Mr. Lowell and Mr. Swinburne, and so often marring what might be otherwise charming and admirable. Bryant and Longfellow exhibit a similar correctness of ear, and taste, and culture. We do not, however, propose a general discussion of the merits of Mr. Tennyson, now so almost universally recognized in England, in America, and even in Continental Europe. Our attention will be confined solely to his "Lucretius." The hero of the Poem, a devotee to the Muse, "after the morning flush of passion," neglects his Lucilia, who, obtaining a love-potion, seeks to regain her husband's heart. The "philter," however, confuses "the chemic labor of the blood," and brings before his mind "all twisted shapes of lust," "hired animalisms," "prodigies of myriad nakednesses," which stain and defile his golden visions of light, and beauty, and glory, until in the self-loathing of despair he seeks, with the bloody knife of suicide, a life beyond the grave, "centred in eternal calm," where he expects to find the "Passionless Bride, Divine Tranquillity." The situation here seems dramatically unnatural. The speech of Lucilius is evidently rather a mythological discussion, where argument and imagination intermingle, than the passionate ravings which terminate in self-murder. Shakespeare would have given a few wild words, and a quick, sharp blow. You would not so much have heard the man's speech, as seen his death. There would have been more blood than breath. But, passing by this criticism, we have read none of Mr. Tennyson's Poems which show really more creative power, or force of poetical expression. We shall be pardoned for quoting a few lines, in illustration:—

"Storm in the night! for thrice I heard the rain
Rushing, and once, the flash of a thunderbolt —
Struck out the streaming mountain-side, and show'd
A riotous confluence of water-courses,
Blanching and billowing in a hollow of it.
—— And I saw the flaming atoms,
And torrents of her myriad universe,
Ruining along the illimitable main."

When Apollo was the Day-god, here is a picture a Poet might well paint:—

"King of the East, although he seem, and girt
With song, and flame, and fragrance, slowly lifts
His golden feet on those impurpled stairs,
That climb into the windy halls of Heaven."

We presume Mr. Tennyson intended to depict the despair of Heathenism, impelling to suicide. This, in its intellectual aspects, he has done admirably. But could not a Christian Poet, with such resources of genius, without sacrificing his art or his popularity, have gilded the dark cloud shrouding humanity, with some bright beam of that immortal Hope, which is kindled by the Gospel? How inspiring to have seen the sombre picture, illuminated with those rays which, through Christ, stream down over our world from the great Eternity!

THE OLD WORLD IN ITS NEW FACE. 1867-1868. H. W. BELLOW. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 454.

If the Astronomer wearies with constantly surveying the wonders of the Heavens, it is not strange if we become fatigued with the most glowing pages, describing the beauties of the Earth. Had Dr. Bellows expended his genius on palaces and art-galleries, or ruins and battle-fields, on castles and cathedrals, on the charms of the Rhine, and the sublimities of the Alps, not even his affluent pen would have enriched his book with attractions for the public. He who has read from infancy descriptions of the Laocœon and the Apollo, if he cannot be satisfied with the immortal lines of Byron, investing these images with a glory so marvelous, turning from the common-places of inferior writers, demands for himself a view of the inspired marbles, where they exhibit the agony of love in the coils of death, and the ideal of manly beauty, impressed with the calm majesty of Heaven. Dr. Bellows has, therefore, displayed his tact in touching lightly what has been so often attempted, and making the interest of his volume turn on social, political, and religious developments, which, always changing, have always a fresh interest; and although his pen is sprightly, and his descriptive powers are excellent, the field indicated is best suited to his breadth of view, and philosophic habits. Widely as we differ from him in Theology, we have been interested and profited by his book. Who can read without interest his statements, showing that the reaction in Geneva, the home of Calvinism, as in Boston, the centre of Puritanism, has been from that stern system of Predestinarianism to the rationalism of Unitarianism; and who does not fear that in the latter, as in the former, the ultimate tendency will be to Infidelity and Atheism? Who can discover without alarm that in the land of Luther, and the centre of the Reformation, the true Faith is often exiled from the Universities, and feebly proclaimed from the pulpits, to a few listless hearers, while the German people seem abandoned to a mere earthliness, obscuring the Creator, and the Cross, and Eternity? How sad to know that Romish Cathedrals, in the possession of Protestantism, cold and almost deserted, instead of being employed for worship, stand merely as venerable memorials of mediæval art! In the condition of Geneva, and Germany, and New England, is there nothing suggestive? Well may we thank God that in England and America, the Faith has not been severed from the Order of the Church; and clinging to our Articles and our Liturgy, preserve them as the hope and heritage of the world. Here are words from the pen of an Unitarian Minister, which may well arrest our attention: "It is evident that in the deep instinct which makes profoundly religious minds cling, even against the evidence of

unanswerable arguments, to the supernatural authority of the Gospel Faith, there is now a disposition to turn from the purely literary testimony of authentic Gospels to the evidence — always so much valued in the Catholic world — offered by the *living witness of the Church*." "But there is evidence of a reviving sense of the indispensable *importance of this witness*, and if the question of this generation, touching the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels, is answered negatively, there will still remain the deeper question of the *origin of the Christian Church*, and the Faith of that Church." How safe and blessed is that man at once believing in the authenticity and inspiration of the Scripture, and the Divine authority and attestation of the Church! We commend the book of Dr. Bellows as exhibiting, in a most attractive form, that sprightliness of style, and breadth of culture, which are the strongest recommendations of Unitarianism to the more intellectual classes of society.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD: Essays on Questions of the Day in 1868.

By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. ORBEY SHIPLEY, M. A. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer. 1868. 8vo., pp. 662.

The very great majority of American Churchmen occupy the conservative ground of the Anglican Fathers. They believe in the inspired Scriptures as the Standards of Truth. They venerate the Ancient Creeds. They accept the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils, and the Church as the witness to the faith. They think the Sacraments not only signs, but agencies of Grace. They cling to the doctrine of orders as lying at the foundation of our ecclesiastical system. They ascend to the acts and example of the Apostles for precedent and authority against the sects and Rome. With these views they have been liberally disposed to all within the Church, tolerating the defects of one party, and the excesses of the other. They would concede to those disinclined to the æsthetic, the most bald and simple service, excluding a chant, or a flower, or a cross, and allow to persons of taste and fancy the highest and richest ceremonial, which symbolizes pure Christian truth, as opposed to Romish corruptions, and keeps within the limits of law. Nay! multitudes would willingly enlarge our liberty where now it is restricted, and give ecclesiastical sanction to the greatest freedom in worship, so that our Liturgy should exhibit every variety, from those offices suited to the simplicity of frontier life to the splendid Ritualism of the Metropolitan Cathedral. These persons have found in the former volumes entitled the "Church and the World," much which they could approve, and with which they sympathize. They have been even interested, and profited by many of the Essays. Imagine the rude shock to the feelings of these liberal and noble churchmen by finding the first paper in the present volume written by that Dr. Littledale who has lately pronounced the Reformers "unredeemed villains," rightfully executed by Bloody Mary, and placed them in point of moral principle below Danton and Robespierre, at the same time styling Edward the Sixth "a tiger cub." The question arises, What can be intended by giving this man this prominence, who has outraged the most sacred feelings of Christians, dishonored by his scurrility the memories of martyrs, stained the glory of the Church, and sent up his abuse against the very saints of Heaven? Instead of being admitted as a contributor to this volume, he should have been exposed to universal reprobation as a slanderer of the holy dead, who have gone through blood and flame to crowns of glory.

But our surprise is augmented by the paper having for its title "The Invoca-

tion of Saints and Angels." We had supposed that all intelligent Christians regarded the omnipresence, and omniscience, and omnipotence of the Deity as constituting the true foundation of prayer, and that to address any finite being was superstition and idolatry. We had supposed that adoration of saints and angels were relics of heathenish custom, or of mediæval darkness. We had supposed that a clergyman of the Church of England would have considered himself bound by the teachings of the Bible, the example of the Primitive Church, and that Article to which he had subscribed, declaring the " invocation of saints a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God." Our astonishment, then, can only be conceived, not expressed, when we found the Rev. Henry Humble, M. A., Canon of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, advocating the Romish practices, and deliberately proposing for our acceptance the Canon of the Council of Trent. But lest our readers are incredulous, we will let the writer speak in his own words: " What are we to say to this? Is our practice anything like it? Can we say that we reproduce the Catholic Church of the *fourth century*?" " Be it our endeavor then, in God's Holy Name, to make our claim more real than it now is, by restoring first to our private devotions, the Angelic Salutation, and the Litanies of the Saints, and let us have the advocacy of these powerful intercessors for the restoration of the due and fitting honors with which our forefathers sought to do them reverence for a thousand years before the terrible losses of the sixteenth century." " What are we to believe positively? and what are we to do in carrying our belief into practice? Nowhere shall we find a more moderate statement than the Fathers of Trent have put forth." The conclusion of the decree thus approvingly quoted by the author, he himself gives as follows: " But that they think impiously who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked, or who assert, either that they do not pray for us, or that the invocation of them to pray for each of us, even in particular, is idolatry."

Surely such an offense against the Articles, and the practice of the Church of England, calls as loudly for the interposition of her ecclesiastical law as the heresy of Colenso.

The writer of this essay, by conceding that the invocation of saints and angels was not a custom of the Primitive Church, and by referring for precedent to the fourth century, absolutely abandons the whole argument founding our ecclesiastical order on the example and the acts of the Apostles, thus yielding all we prove so clearly to the sects and Rome. That an English clergyman should dare so to teach is simply astounding.

We may remark as Tract No. Ninety arrested the excesses of the Oxford movement, leaving as a residuum whatever was good and pure, so we predict the utterances of Dr. Littledale, and the paper we have just noticed, will check the extremes of Ritualism, and eventually give to the Church an increased liberty, richness, and spirituality in her ceremonial, while at the same time she will be preserved from mere Romish innovations and imitations. The storm which tears away the wild growths of the forest is often necessary to let in the light and air on the vigorous tree.

MAN'S ORIGIN AND DESTINY: Sketched from the Platform of the Sciences, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, in the Winter of 1865-66. By J. P. LESLEY, Member of the National Academy

of the United States, Secretary of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868. 12mo., pp. 381.

In regard to man's origin there are now two antagonistic schools dividing the world of science. On the one hand Darwin maintains, "That animals are derived from each other, and that there is a primitive cell from which all animals may be evoked; that vertebrates are derived from one primitive vertebrate; that articulates are derived from one primitive articulate; that mollusks are derived from one primitive mollusk; that radiates are derived from one primitive radiate; and that these four primitive types are themselves derived from one primitive cell, under the influence of light and electricity acting upon matter."

Agassiz, on the other hand, proclaims the doctrine, "That it was not only one that was started in the beginning, but many; that it was not to one time only that creation has been limited, but that its acts have been going on through all ages; that under its direct influence have been produced all the differences of nature; that man is not the lineal descendant of tadpoles and monkeys, but the chosen production of the Divine Intellect made after the Divine Image."

Differing from these theories, is the Scriptural account as received by the orthodox theologians, and many men of profound science. In support of this view are numerous facts derived from history, ethnology, and language. The differences of race, on the supposition of a single head, are accounted for by a multitude of observations. The lower animals are circumscribed in habitation and uniform in habit. The same beasts eat the same species of food amid the same regions, with the same general modes of life from generation to generation. Man, on the contrary, is a cosmopolitan, having even in the same country, habits almost infinitely different. Compare a denizen of St. Giles with an occupant of Windsor Palace; a cannibal of New Zealand with a clergyman of New York; an Esquimaux in his ice-hut, wrapped in furs and devouring his blubber, with a Hindoo panting beneath his poncha, while eating tropical fruits and dainties. Varieties not only in food, climate, and residence, but also in employment, literature, philosophy, leave their traces on man's physical system, and certainly go far towards explaining differences everywhere visible.

But not only on questions relating to the origin and unity of our race, but on those referring to its antiquity, certainly much has been advanced in favor of the Scriptural narration by men confessedly eminent. Besides, Geology is a science evidently in its youth, at present, rather of facts than of principles.

Now with the scientific world absolutely divided by the opposing schools of Darwin and Agassiz, with the recollection of the numberless opposing theories of the past, for a period dogmatically maintained, and then forever discarded; with the large array of distinguished names on the side of the Biblical view; with all the venerable arguments from every source sustaining the authenticity and credibility of the Scripture; on a subject difficult and obscure, where it is endeavored from scattered stones, and earths, and fossils, covered with the darkness of ages, to build a system of certainty, we might suppose, in every author of candor and culture, both humility of spirit and moderation of statement. Arrogance, extravagance, and abuse are intolerable, and evince either the greatest vanity, or the greatest ignorance. He who displays on such a theme the assurance of the monkey, may be supposed to sympathize with the theory deriving him from the monkey.

Having indulged these general remarks, we proceed by a few quotations, simply to show the aim and spirit of Mr. Lesley's book, first, however, expressing our unfeigned wonder that in the City of Boston could be found an audience who would endure such ignorant and antiquated slanders against our holy Religion, by one who dares speak patronizingly of its Divine Author.

He says of the Books of Moses: "And yet our men of science continue sceptical, and call them, as the Apostles did, 'old wives' fables.' They believe them indeed to be old Jew-legends, so palpably heathenish, and contrary to all we now know, that it is not worth while to try to show their absurdity." Again he styles them, "a hotch-potch of Hebrew legends." Well may a flip-pant New England Lecturer, talking thus elegantly before Boston Infidelity, and glorying in his boasted original, exclaim, "I think I can see around me in society sufficient evidences that man is a developed monkey!"

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE UNITED STATES, especially designed for Students, General and Professional. By JOHN NORTON POMEROY, LL.D., Dean of the Law School, and Griswold Professor of Political Science in the University of New York; author of "An Introduction to Municipal Law." New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1868. 8vo., pp. 549.

We confess to an exalted, perhaps hereditary, admiration of Legal Science. To a mind first liberalized by a generous culture, it imparts a breadth, a directness, a manliness which practice at the Bar still further confirms and develops. Contact with the client, the preparation of the case, the investigation of principles, the examination of witnesses, the address to the jury, the argument to the court, all, call into exercise the highest powers of analysis, and fit the mind to grapple practically with great questions. It is from the ranks of the legal profession must always spring those statesmen who will leave the deepest impress upon our Republic. Therefore it becomes a matter of the greatest consequence that the youth of our country shall have all advantages which can liberalize and ennoble the Counselor and the Advocate. Hence every Law School and every Law Book becomes a national possession. It is with such feelings we have perused the admirable volume which we now approach for notice. In clearness of style, compactness of statement, force of argument, largeness of view, comprehensiveness of arrangement, and fullness of instruction, we believe it will have no superior. The work of Judge Story, so long a standard, abounds in learning, and has been of priceless service to the country, but evinces a prolixity and verbosity seldom found in alliance with such strength of judgment and vastness of erudition. We are almost assured that this volume of Professor Pomeroy will at once be accepted as high authority and long adorn the libraries of scholars and jurists.

SERMONS. By REV. NEWMAN HALL, D. D., of London, with a History of Surrey Chapel, and its Institutions, by Dr. HALL. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1868. 12mo., pp. 309.

The gifted, but eccentric Rowland Hill, unwilling to abandon the Church of England, and desiring more liberty than he could enjoy in a Parish, founded Surrey Chapel. It is a curious combination. On Sundays, the Liturgy of the Establishment is used. The government is a strange mixture of antagonisms — seeking to unite Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. There are Baptist

elders, and Methodist experiences. Then there is a vast apparatus of charitable organizations, supported by large contributions, and doubtless effecting great good among the poor of Southwark. Dr. Hall, the second in succession from Rowland Hill, recently, as is well known, visited this country. The memory of the founder of Surrey Chapel, its own celebrity, and the reputation of its present pastor, attracted vast crowds to his ministry, so that his progress through the country sometimes approached an ovation. He visited our Institutions. He occupied the pulpits of our principal cities. He preached before the assembled wisdom of the Republic, in its National Capitol. He was everywhere lauded in the public prints for his eloquent discourses. We were therefore prepared to find in the volume, sermons, admirable in arrangement, scholarly in style, profound in thought, and original in conception, such as would worthily represent the Non-conformists of England. Possibly Dr. Hall's elocution may have given a charm to his discourses, which has evaporated from the printed page. A musical voice, a graceful gesticulation, an earnest manner will often make interesting and impressive an ordinary sermon. The eye is a cold critic where the ear is an enthusiastic auditor. We certainly cannot err in pronouncing that this volume does not sustain the reputation of the Orator. The discourses are almost entirely hortatory, and really remarkable for nothing but the fact that productions so ordinary should have produced results so surprising. There is scarcely a single passage distinguished for originality, pathos, or eloquence. The style is usually commonplace, the illustrations are familiar, and you look in vain for a flash of genius. An address suited to the capacities of emancipated slaves appears strangely when printed for the culture of the world. Besides, the sermons abound in political allusions and appeals, which give rise to the suspicion that the Preacher was seduced by the bubble popularity, from the plain paths of Scriptural exegesis. The declamation in the Hall of the Capitol, in regard to National and Ecclesiastical Freedom, was scarcely warranted by a text of St. Paul, which had in view, simply and solely, bondage to sin through the condemnation of the Law, and the liberty of filial obedience through faith in the Gospel.

Yet, while we do not think these discourses sustain Mr. Hall's reputation as a polished scholar or a popular preacher, as plain statements of great truths, affectionately urged with a simple, direct, unctious manner, we believe they would accomplish more substantial good, aside from their political appeals, than more elegant or erudite productions. We may add that the verses of Mr. Hall, at the close of the volume, are very much on a level, in point of merit, with the discourses.

PAROCHIAL, AND PLAIN SERMONS. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B. D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. In Eight Volumes. Vol. I. New Edition. Rivington's, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Scribner, Wel-ford, & Co., New York. 1868. 8vo., pp. 349.

We confess that no book has ever cost us more grief or astonishment than this volume of John Henry Newman's Sermons. Their unpretentious character provokes no such spirit of criticism as is excited by the discourses of Dr. Hall, everywhere extolled through our papers for their popular eloquence. Indeed, to the closest inspection they scarcely reveal a single cause for censure. Written by a man of genius, whose powers were improved by the highest classic

culture, they aim at nothing but plain, simple, pointed statement. Yet, you always feel, there is behind a reserve of intellect, of imagination, of learning, which could exhibit itself in the brightest wit, and most brilliant imagery, with dazzling eloquence, but which, preferring edification to popularity, and eternity to time—the salvation of the soul rather than the praise of the lip,—willingly represses its impulses, and seeks with pointed words to impress everlasting Truths. Here you find, what shrewd English common sense, what resistless argument, what searching appeals, what affectionate exhortations, what unction, what sincerity, what saintliness! Surely you exclaim, “This man walked with God, and lived for Eternity!” We have been able in these discourses to notice scarcely an indication of Mr. Newman’s subsequent career, and we ask who is responsible for his lapse? What a transition from the light and purity of such a Gospel, to the darkness and corruption of Romanism! We can better conceive that a popular preacher, like Newman Hall, should be seduced to subscribe the Creed of Pius the Fourth, than that a spiritual preacher, like John Henry Newman, should be bound in the fetters and midnight of Papal superstitions. We may well be astounded when a genius so saintly, and so brilliant, is condemned through life to the agonizing tortures of a cultivated intellect in rebellion against Papal assumptions. Every sincere Christian will find profit in these remarkable discourses.

HYMNS OF FAITH AND HOPE. By HORATIUS BONAR, D. D. Third Series. New York: Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 16mo., pp. 324.

Here is a volume of religious poems, written by a man of talent and piety, containing many excellent lines and pious sentiments; but which seem rather the result of a literary habit, painfully formed, than the free, impulsive, glowing inspirations of the genius of song. It will accomplish much good, find an echo in many hearts, and contribute everywhere to kindle and sustain the flame of Christian devotion. Sacred poetry does not often exhibit the polish and fire of Pope, the unctuous energy of Wesley, the subduing sweetness of Watts, the touching truthfulness of Cowper, the exquisite pathos and graceful versification of Moore, the tenderness, the beauty, the condensed power of Montgomery, or the magic inspiration of Byron, who, without piety, by the mere intuitions of his wonderful genius, caught both the thought and the sentiment of the Psalmist, and reproduced them in strains so musical and so matchless, that compared with them the pious deliverances of Sternhold and Hopkins seem like the cawing of the crow after the song of the nightingale.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE GREEK POETS. By W. S. TYLER, Williston Professor of Greek in Amherst College. Boston: Draper & Halliday, Nos. 58 and 60 Cornhill. 1867. 12mo., pp. 365.

It is refreshing, in this volume from a New England pen, to find united the culture of the scholar and the faith of the Christian. Professor Tyler’s admiration for Greek genius does not diminish his confidence in Hebrew inspiration. His book is both solid and elegant, and we have risen from its perusal, pleased and profited. The arguments he arrays in favor of Homeric unity are, in our apprehension, absolutely invincible. May we be permitted here a suggestion? It strikes us, the first and greatest of Epic poets is more characterized by his *pathos* than even by his sublimity. True, Heaven, Earth, and Hell furnish to

his genius all images of terror and of majesty. Yet, in vastness and grandeur of conception, Milton is at least his equal. In that exquisite beauty of description which is the perfection of *art*, Virgil is his rival, where he paints the venerable Priam perishing at his altars, or Æneas flying with his family from the flames of Troy. But out of the Scriptures, there is nothing which moves the heart and moistens the eye like the parting of Hector and Andromache, or the aged monarch, begging from the conquering Achilles the body of his slaughtered son. These descriptions are in widely different parts of the *Iliad*, and if the many ages of which we have knowledge produced no other genius who could sketch such scenes, it is impossible that, in *contiguous* periods, there should exist two Homers. Unity is everywhere as much impressed on the Grecian Epic as on the figures of the Last Judgment, the image of the Apollo, or the plan of the Parthenon.

We have been delighted with the scholarly manner in which Professor Tyler exhibits the Theology of Homer, Æschylus, and Sophocles; and if our reason cannot perceive in their writings anything foreshadowing a Saviour, we are at least in sympathy with the piety which seeks everywhere his prophetic traces.

LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL. By CHARLES ADAMS, D. D. Four illustrations. New York: Published by Carlton & Porter, Sunday-school Union, 200 Mulberry Street. 16mo., pp. 268.

This book, apparently a compilation from a few standard authors, can, of course, have little of that freshness or authority imparted chiefly by familiarity with the original sources of historical information. There is nothing peculiarly attractive in its style or arrangement, and yet it invests itself with an interest incident to its subject. We think it will be profitable to American youth, not as presenting an example of heroic piety, but as inspiring a detestation of cant, even where united with courage and ability. Cromwell, we confess, to us seems a moral monstrosity — an instrument of heaven, as was an Alexander, or a Napoleon — a light, but that of a volcano, destroying while it blazes. Where a man is constantly obtruding on us the language of religion, and yet rather injures than promotes his interest, we overlook the fault as proceeding from a species of verdant ignorance; but suspect deceit if his cant is his advancement. Now Cromwell fights under a divine direction, kills in answer to prayer, exults in the blood of his enemies as if they were the foes of heaven, violates the laws of his country by the command of his God, destroys by one inspiration the Parliament which has been created by another, with the Church of England, and all the Presbyterians of the kingdom against him, he approves a High Court of Justice formed by arbitrary power for the trial of the King, and having thus made absolutely certain the result, he betakes himself to fasting and supplication to ascertain the will of the Almighty, soon to be revealed in the blood of the beheaded monarch. When we see Cromwell governing parliaments by the sword, where Charles only dissolved them by prerogative, and erecting on the ruins of the hereditary throne a dynasty which received the *sceptre*, and only refused the crown, it is difficult to believe that his advancement to royal honor and power was secured from Heaven by prayer, and on his part proceeded from a pure Christian patriotism. On the other hand, the whole policy of Charles was weak and tortuous. Whatever the fault of Laud, his King should have perished on the scaffold rather than sign the warrant for the death of his devoted subject. We must confess, therefore, that we have as

little admiration for the martyred monarch of England, as we have confidence in the piety of the canting Protector. How beautiful in contrast with his career, shines the example of our own meek and majestic Washington !

THE AMERICAN ANNUAL CYCLOPÆDIA AND REGISTER OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1867, embracing Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs ; Public Documents, Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry. Vol. VII. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 90, 92, and 94 Grand Street. 1868. 4to., pp. 799.

We well remember how the gilded backs of the *Encyclopædia Americana* shone through the glass of an old family book-case, and with what joy and profit boyhood consulted its pages in search of treasures then deemed boundless. But how much more favored are the youth of the present generation ! We never contemplate the enterprise of the Messrs. Appleton without delight. It accords with the want and the greatness of the nation. Besides, the *American Cyclopædia* having first gathered for our instruction the contributions of universal knowledge, as the ocean receives all the waters of the earth, afterwards becomes for us a fountain of annual refreshment. The amount of information embraced in this volume is absolutely marvelous. It is the world's photograph for the past year. The account of the proceedings in Congress is exceedingly full and satisfactory. The description of the great Paris Exposition is by far the most minute and instructive we have anywhere perused. The biographies are indispensable. Nowhere in the same compass can we obtain the same information in regard to the inventions of art, the discoveries of science, the achievements of enterprise, the improvements in agriculture, the publications of the press, the traffic of commerce, and the annual advancement of the world in every department of industry and of knowledge. We hope this work will be continued by its present enterprising publishers, and perpetuated by worthy successors through every year of the existence of our Great Republic.

A COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, CRITICAL, DOCTRINAL, AND HOMILETICAL, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D. D., in connection with a number of European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D., in connection with American Divines of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. VI. of the New Testament, containing the two Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians. New York : Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1868. 4to., pp. 584.

It was fitting that the Epistle to the Romans, the crown and glory of all St. Paul's writings, should have been addressed to the Christians of the Imperial city. It was also suitable that those discourses should be directed to the Hebrews, showing that the temporary priesthood of Aaron was succeeded by the eternal Priesthood of our Lord, who having made his one sacrifice on earth, was forever to intercede in Heaven. The same species of propriety is also observable in those most interesting Epistles which are the subjects of the present volume of the Commentary of Dr. Lange. It was to the sensualized Corinthians, famous throughout the world for their dissolute luxury, and whose

Church was now rent by factious discord, that the Apostle unfolds most fully those truths touching the resurrection of the body to its promised immortality, and that love of the soul, which surviving faith and hope, was to be its joy and glory forever in Heaven. The opening part of the second epistle so beautifully displaying St. Paul's mingled tenderness and authority, the succeeding contrast between the two dispensations, with the wonderful verses closing the fifth, and beginning the sixth chapter, make it, to the Christian, of scarcely less interest than the first of these inspired productions. It is not, therefore, surprising that we should turn with some solicitude to this volume of the Commentary of Dr. Lange, proceeding from a country where German rationalism has so contemptuously attempted the destruction of the supernatural in the Gospel. We need only say that we are pleased to find the Lutheran learning of the original author having an endorsement in the orthodoxy of the Presbyterian translators. Would that so much piety and erudition were enlisted not only on the side of Christian faith, but also of Church order! Had this been the case in the past, Germany would not now be the stronghold of Rationalism, nor Geneva on the broad road to Unitarianism. Although we cannot sympathize with every particular opinion of this volume, we admire its learning, and bear testimony to its worth.

AMERICAN EDITION OF DR. WILLIAM SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.

Revised and edited by Professor H. B. HACKETT, with the Coöperation of EZRA ABBOT, A. M., A. A. S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Parts X. and XI. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

Amid the wealth of learning contained in these two parts of Dr. Smith's celebrated dictionary, we can only pause to notice a few of the more prominent and attractive topics. We would first call attention to the dissertation on the Epistle to the Hebrews, as both exhaustive in treatment, and felicitous in style. It is, we believe, from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Bullock, Assistant Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He shows with admirable clearness both the canonicity and the authorship of the Epistle. It was most probably addressed to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, oppressed with apprehensions of the destruction of their yet beloved temple, for the purpose of directing their faith to the completed sacrifice of the Cross, and the perpetual intercessions of their eternal Priest, whose office was now transferred from earth to Heaven. Just in proportion as you approach the metropolis of Israel, in the first ages of the Church, was it considered as canonical, and ascribed to St. Paul. Clement refers to it frequently. It was received by Justin Martyr. It was admitted by the compilers of the Peshito Version. The North African Church first called it in question. In the fourth century its authority revived. It was then approved by Hilary, of Poitiers; Lucifer and Faustinus, of Cagliari; Fabius and Victorinus of Rome; Ambrose, of Milan; and Gaudentius, of Brescia. Jerome, in his learned dissertation, above the prevailing view of the Latins, placed the opinions of the Greek and Oriental churches. The mighty Augustine concurred in this judgment. Finally the Latin churches united with the Eastern in receiving the Epistle, and the Third Council of Carthage confirmed their decision. Independently of this external evidence, it bears internal marks of inspiration, and notwithstanding some peculiarities of style is everywhere impressed with the genius of St. Paul.

Before concluding this notice we cannot forbear speaking of the excellent essay under the title of "James," from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Meyrick, late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. He gives many most interesting and striking proofs to show that all the seemingly different persons called by this name are really reduceable to two — James the son of Zebedee, and James the son of Alphæus, also called the brother of our Lord. It will not diminish the estimation of churchmen for this work to find the latter Apostle distinctly proven to have been the first Bishop of Jerusalem.

THE WORD OF GOD OPENED : Its Inspiration, Canon, and Interpretation Considered and Illustrated. By Rev. BEADFORD K. PIERCE. New York : Published by Carlton & Porter, Sunday-school Union, 200 Mulberry Street. 12mo., pp. 223.

This is an unpretending volume, neatly printed and bound, and designed to diffuse more widely knowledge in regard to the Scriptures. Its title fully indicates its purpose. Of course the very design of the work precludes originality. That part relating to the canon of the Scripture seems to us wanting in force. There are many excellent quotations, and we do not doubt the book will be useful.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION : Literally translated from the Original Latin with the most important Additions of the German text incorporated, together with the General Creeds, and an Introduction, Notes, and Analytical Index. By CHARLES P. KRAUTH, D. D., Norton Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia : Tract and Book Society of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lutheran Bookstore, 807 Vine Street. 1868. 12mo., pp. 91.

It is very clearly proved by Dr. Krauth, in this learned and valuable little treatise, that Luther gave to the Augsburg Confession its substance, and Melancthon, its form. To the Theology of the great Reformer it unites the elegance of his accomplished coadjutor. Its declaration of Justification by Faith is not more distinct than its denomination of the Sacraments as instruments of grace. "Concerning confession," it teaches, "that private absolution be retained in all the churches." While intended as a protest against Romish error, the language of the twenty-fourth article reminds us of the present terminology of the English Ritualists. It says, "Our churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the Mass; for the Mass is retained still among us, and celebrated with great reverence, yea, and almost all the ceremonies that are in use; for therefore alone we have need of ceremonies that they may teach the unlearned." The doctrine of presence in the Holy Eucharist, as explained in this volume, and supported by many authorities, is almost identical with that inculcated by the English Tractarians, and not at all the dogma of Consubstantiation usually ascribed to Luther. Hear the authorities! *Osiander* says: "The expressions 'in,' and 'with,' and 'under' are used, first, in order to proscribe the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation; and secondly, to assert a TRUE PRESENCE over against the doctrine that the Lord's Supper is a mere sign." *Mentzer* says: "Far from us be it that any believer should regard Christ's Body as present in a physical or natural sense. The eating and drinking are not natural, and Capernaïtish, but mystical or sacramental."

John Gerhard says: "The heavenly thing, and the earthly thing are not present in the Lord's Supper, *physically and naturally*." *Carpzov* says: "The charge that we hold a local inclusion, or consubstantiation, is a calumny. The eating and drinking are not physical, but *mystical and sacramental*." *Baier* says: "Alike the presence and eating of the Body and Blood of Christ are insensible, supernatural, unknown to the human mind, and incomprehensible." In this view the learned *Leibnitz* agrees. *Buddæus* pronounces Consubstantiation the grossest absurdity, and "the taking, the eating, the drinking, to be done in sublime mystery." *Cotta*, and many of the most distinguished Lutheran Divines, indignantly deny that their great master ever held the error with which he is charged, and only teach a *real* but Spiritual, Sacramental, ineffable Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist.

SABBATH CHIMES, OR MEDITATIONS IN VERSE FOR THE SUNDAYS OF THE YEAR. By W. MORLEY PUNSHON, M. A. New York: Published by Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry Street. 1868. 12mo., pp. 223.

A volume elegantly bound, beautifully illustrated, and printed on peculiarly soft and attractive paper, from the pen of a distinguished English Preacher, will, of course, excite attention. Churchmen will expect from the names of our Holy-days a conformity to the plan of the Prayer-Book. In this they will be disappointed; for while there is often a near approach to thoughts and arrangements they deem so sacred, there is much more frequently a painful, and even tantalizing departure. We miss, also, through the entire volume, the simplicity, the spirituality, the unction which characterize the offices of our Liturgy on all the Fasts and Feasts of the Church, and whose meaning and spirit are so well preserved in the sweet verses of the saintly Keble. While there are in Mr. Punshon's book, many musical lines, many poetical thoughts, many striking descriptions, many stanzas indicating culture and intellect, if not genius, there is a painful want of that directness, and depth, and solemnity, we expect in Poems designed to express the heart of the Church on days which connect themselves with the Cross of the Saviour, the office of the Holy Spirit, the majesty of the universal Father — with the experiences of believers, the sufferings of martyrs, and the victories of saints — with the struggles of earth, the fires of judgment, and the joys of heaven, — with all that is most affecting in time, and most important through eternity.

THE PRODIGAL SON. Four Discourses by the Rev. W. MORLEY PUNSHON, M. A. New York. Published by Carlton & Lanahan. 1868. 12mo., pp. 87.

Mr. Punshon exhibits in these Discourses grasp, culture, descriptive power, and much intellectual vigor. While the thoughts are seldom original, the language is often terse, and frequently elegant. We can conceive that these Sermons, properly delivered, might hold an audience breathless. Yet, there is in them a painful attention to form, rather than substance, and an absence of that *unction*, that *power*, that *spiritual eloquence*, which infinitely more than their learning and genius, made Wesley and Whitfield, in our apprehension, the greatest popular preachers since the days of the Apostles. It is hard for us to forget that the chief instruments of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and of the Revival in the eighteenth, were men ordained by Bishops, in the Apostolic succession.

THE FIVE BOOKS OF QUINTUS SEPT' FLOR' TERTULLIANUS AGAINST MARCION. Translated by PETER HOLMES, D. D., F. R. A. S., Domestic Chaplain to The Right Hon. The Countess of Rothes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. MDCCCLXVIII. 8vo., pp. 496. From Scribner & Co., New York.

Tertullian was probably born at Carthage, in the latter part of the second century. His father was a centurion in that city. He was first an advocate, or rhetorician. His conversion to Christianity did not occur until he had reached manhood. If Jerome's account is correct, either at Carthage or Rome, he became a Presbyter. He is remarkable for extensive learning, a keen wit, a resistless satire, and an eloquence whose fire reminds us of the African sun, beneath which he was born. Peculiar interest attaches to his career from his final alienation into the wild delusions of a most fascinating heresy, whose effort was to make the supernatural in the Gospel, not a temporary condition for the purposes of proof, but a permanent element always to abide in the Church. Montanus, the author of this celebrated delusion, sprung from the mountains of Phrygia, was inclined to fanaticism, to visions, to magic, to ecstatic transports. He taught that he was the Paraclete, and that above the regular order of the Church was to be a prophetic class — especially illuminated by the Holy Ghost — who should constantly have new revelations of truth, not, indeed, contradicting the old, but forever enlarging their circle. Inspiration was to be in them a resistless power, conducting to a nobler development, and a higher religious life. They inclined to asceticism, and especially favored celibacy. While, in this treatise against Marcion, Tertullian scathes the heretic with all his burning satire, for depreciating the marriage state, yet, in embracing Montanism, he rushed into the error he had previously so unsparingly condemned. Indeed, this volume is specially interesting, because, in the very arguments employed against the heretic who maintained that the God of the Law was not the God of the Gospel, he himself exhibits all those tendencies, which at last impelled him to delusions almost equal to those he had denounced. Perhaps in none of his other works are more forcibly seen his erudition, his penetration, his unfairness, his prejudice, his withering invective, his power to pile epithet on epithet, until his antagonist was absolutely crushed beneath a mountain of abuse. Yet, the soul of Tertullian, with all his faults and errors, was imbued with a genuine love of his Saviour. He resembles an Alpine torrent, rushing from a pure fountain, whose waters, by the very impetuosity of their flow, become dark and turbid. We are to hope, that, like such a stream made calm and clear amid the flowery plains, and at last lost in the infinite ocean, the spirit of this erring Father found its final repose in the Eternal Love of Heaven.

THE WRITINGS OF CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage. Translated by Rev. ROBERT ERNEST WALLIS, Ph. D., Senior Priest Vicar of Wells Cathedral, and Incumbent of Christ Church, Coxley, Somerset. Vol. I. Containing the Epistles, and some of the Treatises. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. MDCCCLXVIII. 8vo., pp. 468. From Scribner & Co., New York.

Perhaps none of the Fathers excelled Cyprian either in piety, culture, or

genius. He had a most lively fancy, taking from nature its images of beauty, and always under that control of reason which discipline alone imparts. Capable of mastering abstract principles, and distinguished for the largeness of his views, he was at the same time gifted with the power of descending to details, and managing practical affairs. His devotion to his Saviour was shown by the sale of his estates, and the distribution of their proceeds among the poor. The flame of love thus kindled in the breast of the ardent disciple burned continually brighter, until his age experienced the fires of martyrdom. With a consecration to his Master so genuine, we are ready to pardon in his writings the finished eloquence of the rhetorician. In his Epistle to Donatus, there is a concentrated power of expression, a largeness of soul, a polished elegance, an eloquence springing from the heart, yet exhibiting perfect culture, which is scarcely surpassed in its brilliance by the most glowing pages of Cicero. All the letters of this collection are invaluable, both as giving a portrait of the man, and of his age. Here are opened to us the springs of his conduct during the most interesting period of his career; and a translation of these delightful epistles is a work for which we can be scarcely too grateful.

Upon Churchmen, the life of St. Cyprian has a special claim. He is a complete representative of their views. He is an embodied Episcopacy. He, more than any other man, carried the Church through its contest with Presbyterianism. His boundless popularity, and rapid elevation to his Bishopric, originated an antagonism which terminated in warfare. Novatus, a restless Presbyter, ordained Felicissimus. This gave intensity to the battle, constantly aggravated by the bold and noble refusal of St. Cyprian to admit the lapsed to the Holy Communion, merely on the warrant of loose recommendations, signed by Confessors, and without evidence of personal penitence and reformation. Finally, the schism of Novatianus in the Imperial City, uniting the Bishops of Carthage and of Rome, enabled them to establish in the Church that Episcopal authority, transmitted from the Apostles, and which, in England and America, has stood unshaken during eighteen centuries, and will remain until the millennial glory is lost in the brighter coming of our Lord.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF EDUCATION : Demonstrated by an Analysis of the Temperaments, and of Phrenological Facts in Connection with Mental Phenomena, and the Office of the Holy Spirit in the Processes of the Mind. In a Series of Letters to the Department of Public Instruction, in the City of New York. Second Edition. By JOHN HECKER. A. S. Barnes & Co., 111 and 113 William Street, New York. 1868. 8vo., pp. 227.

Everything connected with Education is so important to the individual, and the Nation, that we feel it will be necessary to defer the notice of a volume containing novel views, until we have leisure for that minute and careful examination which the subject deserves and demands.

THE HISTORY OF A MOUTHFUL OF BREAD ; and its Effect on the Organization of Men and Animals. By JEAN MACE. Translated from the Eighth French edition, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty. First American edition. Reprinted from the above. Carefully revised, and compared with the Seventeenth French edition. New York : Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1868. 12mo., pp. 398.

THE SERVANTS OF THE STOMACH. By JEAN MACE. Reprinted from the London translation. Revised and Corrected. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 311.

Nothing can be more striking than the difference of interest excited in youth by particular facts, and abstract classifications. Exhibit a flower in a recitation room! Instantly every eye is riveted. Form, color, fragrance, combine to wake attention! The senses become sentinels to the intellect, and like faithful warders, immediately arouse the citadel. In this state of mind, how easily to impress the understanding and the memory with the peculiarities of the flower — to explain its functions, its relations, its parts, its organism; and then, proceeding to species, and genera, to assign its place in the classifications of Botany. How dull the lecture on a star in the recitation room! How interesting the lesson on the Observatory, when the telescope is directed to Jupiter surrounded with his moons, or Saturn encircled by his rings! It is by observing this very obvious and familiar principle, that the youthful mind is enlisted in passing from particular facts to abstract generalizations, the Author of these most fascinating volumes has gained a popularity at once so deserved and so extensive. He proceeds, from a mouthful of bread, to all the varied and wonderful functions of the body, — describing the hand which prepares the food, the mouth which receives it, the taste which tests it, the teeth which masticate it, — then, in a manner graphic and vivid, unfolding the processes of digestion, nutrition, inspiration — making almost palpable, lungs, heart, stomach, liver, veins, blood, bones, brain; with the relations of the physical being to the surrounding atmosphere. By such a method all the French *naivete*, and vivacity are exhibited to the greatest possible advantage.

The Book presents to youth the body, as in a picture. The old is made new, and the new is made fascinating. In this way thousands of readers will have another revelation of themselves, and be astonished to reflect, that for years they have been experiencing the effects of growth, and yet never acquainted themselves with the methods of the miracle.

We hope these volumes will refresh, with the healthful truths of Science, many youthful minds which have heretofore been stimulated by the exciting draughts of fiction.

THE WEAVER BOY, WHO BECAME A MISSIONARY. Being the Story of the Life and Labors of DAVID LIVINGSTONE. By H. G. ADAMS. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 384.

It is marvelous how much knowledge can be made interesting and intelligible to children. Not only the facts, but even many principles of Science, as we have just seen, can be presented in forms most entertaining. Nearly the whole of History may be taught them by means of particular biographies. We have thus springing into notice a new world of literature, boundless in importance. Mere children are introduced to fields of knowledge, once only explored by mature minds. This unpretending memoir of Dr. Livingstone, for instance, compiled principally from the larger volume of his *Travels*, will give the young all the principal events of his interesting life, and kindle in many minds the fires of that energy, which burned in the breast of the great Missionary Explorer. How thrilling to trace the history of Dr. Livingstone from the period when his eye glanced to his book amid the clatter of the factory, to that proud

moment, when it first rested on the broad expanse of the stormy Nyanza, or saw the Zambesi thundering into its rocky abyss, while the earth shook, and the frantic spray was dashed into the very heavens! We commend this book, as presenting many glowing pictures of brilliant tropical scenery, and a truthful account of what is most important in the career of the African Traveller whose fame now fills the whole world.

LIVING JEWELS. Diversities of Christian Character, suggested by Precious Stones; with Biographical Examples. By A. L. O. E. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 16mo., pp. 167.

DONALD FRAZER. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway, 1868. 16mo., pp. 224.

A SEQUEL TO "PEEP OF DAY." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 16mo., pp. 255.

ROBERT LINTON; AND WHAT LIFE TAUGHT HIM. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 16mo., pp. 395.

SQUIRE DOWNING'S HEIRS. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 358.

BESSIE AT THE SEASIDE. By JOANNA H. MATHEWS. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 357.

BESSIE IN THE CITY. By JOANNA H. MATHEWS. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 395.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE CHURCH SERVICE; or a Series of Thoughts on the Lessons, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, for Young Readers. With Questions for the use of Sunday-schools. By A. J. New York: H. B. Durand, 11 Bible House. 1868. 16mo., pp. 388.

While books of instruction for schools are produced abundantly as spring yields her leaves; while the shelves of Parish libraries are so indiscriminately loaded; while volumes of History, Biography, Science, for children, are deluging our country, it is marvelous that so little attention has been given to the Prayer Book. We welcome this neat and timely volume, and hope it will be largely useful in making our noble service intelligible, and attractive to the young. It seems thoughtfully prepared, and breathes that spirit of affectionateness experienced by a Christian teacher for pupils, in whose behalf prayer and labor have together excited a tender sympathy. We would suggest, that the events connected with the formation of the Prayer Book, are so striking, and often thrilling, that a brief sketch of its history would render the volume at once more useful, and more interesting.

BIBLE HOURS. Being Leaves from the Note-Book of the late MARY B. M. DUNCAN. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 12mo., pp. 319.

How lovely in woman is sanctified genius! There is in its perceptions a delicacy, peculiarly sensitive, which invests nature and life with beauty and

glory! We find in this volume of the gifted Mrs. Duncan, not only the fruits of the intellect, but the fragrance of the affections. The heart of the woman softens an understanding, which otherwise might seem masculine. Then, every page of the Book is inspired with that faith and love toward the Saviour, which kindle in the reader the glow of an Immortal Life. Many of the reflections on passages of the Scripture evince unusual strength and penetration, and are admirably practical and suggestive, while the style exhibits that chastened vivacity, and charming imagery, only possible to those gifted with the poetic vision and temperament. Every wife and mother should possess this sweet volume, sparkling with so many gems of pious genius.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST IN AMERICA, and its Relations to the History of Slavery, and to the Government of Colonies. By ARTHUR HELPS. Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1868. 8vo., pp. 456.

Nothing in history is more astonishing and dazzling than the achievements of Cortés and Pizarro. The conquest of Mexico was a miracle of valor, and the defense of Cusco by a little band of Spaniards against the swarming thousands of Peru, exhibited a daring, and an endurance never surpassed. The men of that period, standing between the mediæval and modern epochs, seemed to unite the chivalrous courage of the one with the powers of destruction wielded by the other. It was the age both of dagger and pistol, spear and musket, corselet and cannon, in which the clang of armor yet mingled with the thunder of artillery. Amid such scenes of peril and heroism, History cannot be dull. Mr. Helps, without any peculiar merit of arrangement, or attraction of style, has compiled an interesting and useful work, seeming at once unpretending and reliable. It is hard, however, to forget that the magic pencil of Prescott has touched the same pictures. There is in his style a fascinating, yet chastened brilliancy, in harmony with the glowing scenery of the tropics, which invests his narrations with a charm not surpassed in ancient or modern History. A glory rests upon his pages, resembling the morning on a landscape, and it is a perilous task to approach a theme which his genius has illuminated.

ANCIENT CITIES AND EMPIRES: Their Prophetic Doom read in the Light of History and Modern Research. By E. H. GILLETT, Author of the "Life and Times of John Huss," etc. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut Street. New York: A. D. T. Randolph, 770 Broadway.

The Bible challenges attack from every department of knowledge. The fossils of the earth, and the worlds of Heaven have alike been questioned for proofs against its claims to the inspirations of infallible truth. Every coin, utensil, medal, picture, statue, sculpture, amid the ruins of palaces and temples in Bashan, Nineveh, Babylon, Petra, Tyre, Egypt, has been scrutinized by the foes and friends of the Scripture. How wonderful that amid this crucial test of ages, not a relic of antiquity, not a fact of history, not a principle of science has been discovered overthrowing its title to our faith and love, and obedience! Nay! as the present sheds back light upon the past, Prophecy, by a thousand minute coincidences, is shown to be the Divine Omniscience, and a perpetual miracle. Mr. Gillett has prepared, to illustrate its claims, a volume enriched

by the discoveries opened to modern research in those ancient cities and empires against which Hebrew seers hurled the anathemas of Heaven. The work is popular in its character, and deserves a wide circulation. Its perusal suggests that the time has arrived when the vast material so recently accumulated could be wrought into a book of much ampler scope and learning.

HARPER'S PICTORAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION. New York : Nos. 29, 30, 31, and 32. Folio pp. 92.

This gigantic work with the mighty struggle it records, is steadily approaching its completion. The admirable pictures of cities, fortifications, marches, navies, armies, battles, with the sketches of generals and statesmen, give a most striking animation to its pages. It is at once a storehouse of facts, and a gallery of illustrations. After lingering, as we have just done, amid the stupendous ruins of oriental Empires, how interesting to trace the career of this youthful Republic, on a distant Continent, which is to witness the Christian manhood of our race as Asia beheld its infancy !

MARGARET : A Story of Life in a Prairie Home. By LYNDON. New York : Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. 8vo., pp. 360.

ISRAEL'S JUDICIAL BLINDNESS, AND THE PUBLIC AND UNEXPLAINED PARABLES OF OUR LORD : Their Place in Inspired Prophecy. By JOSEPH L. LORD, M. A., of the Boston Bar, author of "Briefs on Prophetic Themes," etc. Philadelphia : Charles W. Quick. For sale at the Protestant Episcopal Book Store, 1224 Chestnut Street ; also, by E. P. Dutton & Co., 135 Washington Street, Boston, and 762 Broadway, New York. 1868. 16mo., pp. 88.

ON THE WAY, OR PLACES PASSED BY PILGRIMS. By A. L. O. E., author of "The Shepherd of Bethlehem," "Exiles in Babylon," "Rescued from Egypt." New York : Gen. Prot. Epis. S. S. Union and Ch. Book Society. 762 Broadway, New York. 1868. 16mo., pp. 268.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY. By HIRAM MATTISON, D. D. New York : Published by Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry Street. 1868. 12mo., pp. 96.

DOLLY'S CHRISTMAS CHICKENS. By the author of "Little Kitty's Library," etc. New York : Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 16mo., pp. 180.

MAGGIE AND THE SPARROWS. New York : Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1868. 16mo., pp. 180.

LIBRARY OF SELECT NOVELS, LOVE OR MARRIAGE : a Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers, No. 316.

LIBRARY OF SELECT NOVELS, DEAD SEA FRUIT : a Novel. By M. E. BRADDON. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers, No. 317.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY, AND PRINCETON REVIEW. Edited by CHARLES HODGE, D. D. July, 1868.

THE NEW ENGLANDER. Edited by Prof. GEORGE P. FISHER, Prof. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, and WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY. July, 1868.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY. July, 1868. Philadelphia. American Baptist Publication Society.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. July, 1868. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. April, 1868. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. April, 1868. The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street, New York.

THE GALAXY. June, 1868. Sheldon & Co., 498 & 500 Broadway, New York.

THE FAMILY TREASURE. An Illustrated Monthly. August, 1868. Rev. W. T. FINDLAY, Rev. C. E. BABB, and Rev. A. RITCHIE, Editors.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — Diocese of Ohio. Journal of the Annual Convention, held in Trinity Church, Newark, June 3d–5th, 1868.

DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT. Journal of the Eighty-fourth Annual Convention. 1868.

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS of the Seventy-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Rhode Island, held in Grace Church, Providence, 9th and 10th of June, 1868.

JOURNALS OF SPECIAL CONVENTION, March 11th, to elect a Bishop, held in St. Paul's Church, Burlington; and of the Seventy-eighth Annual Convention, held in Christ Church, Montpelier. 1868. Diocese of Vermont.

JOURNAL of the Eighty-fifth Annual Convention, in the Diocese of Maryland, held in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, May 27th, 28th, and 29th. 1868.

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. Presented May 14, 1868.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, at their adjourned meeting, June 23, 1868, and at their Annual Meeting, June 25, 1868.

THE THIRD CHARGE TO THE CLERGY of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Iowa. By the Right Rev. HENRY W. LEE, D. D., LL. D. 1868.

BISHOP EASTBURN'S FOURTH CHARGE. Delivered in Trinity Church, Boston, May 2, 1868.

JOURNAL OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, May 6th and 7th, 1868.

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY SERMON, and Report of the Parish of the Advent. Boston, Mass. By the Rev. JAMES A. BOLLES, D. D., Rector. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1868.

ADDRESS TO THE SEVERAL DIOCESES of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, on the subject of the Division of Dioceses. By a Committee appointed by the Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina, May, 1868.

PROCESSIONAL SINGING BY SURPLICED CHOIRS. A part of Bishop McIlvaine's Address to the Diocese of Ohio, June 3, 1868. Together with the Report of the Committee on Canons, on the same subject.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER. August, 1868.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. A Charge to the Clergy of Arkansas, assembled in Convocation, in Christ Church, Little Rock, May 1, 1868, by Rt. Rev. HENRY C. LAY, D. D., LL.D.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. A Record of Diocesan Missions in Pennsylvania. July, 1868.

HISTORY, AND ITS PHILOSOPHY. The Address at the Sixty-third Anniversary of the New York Historical Society, December 19, 1868. By C. S. HENRY, D. D.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. July and August, 1868.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE. June 1, and July 1, 1868. Rivington's, London, Oxford and Cambridge.

SPEECH OF STEPHEN P. NASH, Esq., for the Prosecution, in the Trial of Rev. S. H. Tyng, jr. Published by Am. Ch. Union.

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. Substance of a Sermon preached at the English Church of the Holy Trinity, Florence, Italy, April 26, 1868. By Rev. WM. CHAUNCEY LANGDON, A. M.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE. An Article reprinted from the "American Quarterly Church Review," for April, 1868.

THE BOOK BUYER. A Summary of American and Foreign Literature. July 15, 1868.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1868.

THE DUTY OF CONSTANT COMMUNION. By Rev. JOHN WESLEY. Cincinnati. Republished by St. Paul's Church. 1868.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS Published by Joseph Masters, Aldersgate St., and New Bond St., London. Sold Wholesale and Retail, by POTT & AMERY, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, New York.

PRACTICAL WISDOM IN THE PLANTING OF A CHURCH. A Sermon preached at the Consecration of the Second Bishop of Vermont, Whitsun Week, June 3, 1868; in Christ Church, Montpelier. By A. CLEVELAND COXE, Bishop of Western New York. Published by request of the Diocesan Convention of New York. 1868.

HARPER'S BAZAR. New York, August 15, 1868.

HARPER'S WEEKLY. New York. August 15, 1868.

THE SHELTERING ARMS. August, 1868.

CONGREGATIONAL CHANT SERVICES. Edited by J. P. CORNELL. New York: American Church Press Company, Nos. 5 and 18 Cooper Union.

THE CHURCH PENNY MAGAZINE. New Haven. August, 1868.

THE HOME FRIEND. New York. July, 1868.

THE CRETAN. Boston. July, 1868.

BIBLE SOCIETY RECORD. New York. July, 1868.

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK. Edited by Mrs. SARAH J. HALE. L. A. Godey. September, 1868. Philadelphia.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS. No. 45. September, 1868. Ticknor & Fields. Boston.

THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE. Hurd & Houghton. September, 1868.

EDINBURGH REVIEW. July, 1868. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton Street.

We would call especial attention to an Article in this excellent number, entitled, "The National Church."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. July, 1868. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Anderson, Daniel G.	Lee, of Del.	May 21,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia.
Anderson, Augustus Peyton,	Kip,	April 29,	Ch. of the Adv., San Fran., Cal.
Adams, Chester,	Kemper,	June 13,	St. Sylvanus, Nashotah, Wis.
Barnard, J. H.	Lee, of Del.	May 21,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia.
Binney, John,	Williams,	June 6,	Holy Trinity, Middletown, Ct.
Buck, George,	"	"	"
Brookes, Theodore J.	Lee, of Iowa,	June 7,	Bishop's Ch., Davenport, Iowa.
Blackledge, William J.	Payne,	March 22,	Grace Ch., Ashland, Africa.
Bolmer, William B.	Kemper,	June 13,	St. Sylvanus, Nashotah, Wis.
Balcom, Royal,	Bedell,	June 24,	Ross Chapel, Gambier, O.
Bosley, George,	"	"	"
Beckwith, Sidney,	McClosky,	"	"
Boone, William Jones,	Beckwith,	July 26,	St. Paul's, Petersburg, Va.
Clark, James Walter,	Williams,	June 6,	Holy Trinity, Middletown, Ct.
Converse, John Holmes,	"	"	"
Capers, William Henry,	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Coffin, Charles Bouton,	"	"	"
Cruger, Gouverneur,	"	"	"
Coggeshall, George H.	Clark,	"	St. Stephens, Providence, R. I.
Chase, March,	Whitehouse,	Chapel of	St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Mo.
Church, Bentley S.	Smith,	Aug. 4,	Ascension Church, Frankfort, Ky.
Davis, F. B.	Davis,	July 12,	Camden, S. C.
Earp, Samuel,	Stevens,	July 5,	Christ Church, Danville, Pa.
Elliott, Robert U. B.	Quintard,	Aug. 4,	St. Peter's, Rome, Ga.
Edgerton E.	Davis,	July 12,	Camden, S. C.
Foot, Henry L.	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Flynn, William F.	Smith,	June 17,	St. John's in Wilderness, near Frankfort, Ky.
Gardner, Coffin Edward,	Williams,	June 6,	Holy Trinity, Middletown, Ct.
Howe, R. H.	Lee, of Del.	May 21,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia.
Heffernan, John M.	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Hoyt, R. J.	Lee, of Iowa,	"	Bishop's Church, Davenport, Ia.
Hyde, Mortimer A.	"	"	"
Hobby, Mr.	Whittingham,	June 7,	St. Paul's, Baltimore, Md.
Hyde, Frederick S.	Coxe,	July 19,	St. Peter's, Cazenovia, N. Y.
Jones, J. G.	Bedell,	June 24,	Ross Chapel, Gambier, O.
Kiung-Young, Ngan,	Williams,	May 17,	Christ Church, Shanghai, China.
Lewis, William T.	Whittingham,	June 7,	St. Paul's, Baltimore, Md.
Moore, Samuel B.	Williams,	June 6,	Holy Trinity, Middletown, Ct.
McIlvain, Robert C.	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Miller, Franklin,	"	"	"
Mead, Samuel,	Stevens,	July 5,	Christ Church, Danville, Pa.
Miller, Enoch K.	Lay,	May 23,	Little Rock, Ark. [myra, Mo.
Martin, Isaac,	Whitehouse,	July	Chapel St. Paul's College, Pal-
Martin, H. B. Stuart,	Talbot,	May 3,	St. James, Vincennes, Ind.
Mazakuti, Paul,	Clarkson,	May 31,	Chapel of Merciful Saviour, San-
Newville, Edward,	Payne,	April 26,	Epiphany, Cape Palmas, Africa.
Nickerson, Charles M.	Coxe,	May 7,	St. Paul's, Oxford, N. Y.
Paine, Robert H.	Clark,	June 7,	St. Stephen's, Providence, R. I.
Pratt, G. B.	Lee, of Iowa,	"	Bishop's Church, Davenport, Ia.
Saunders, E. H.	Potter,	"	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Smith, George Henry,	"	"	"

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Shearman, William D. N.	Clark,	June 7,	St. Stephen's Ch., Providence, R. I.
Thorne, Robert Townsend,	Williams,	June 6,	Holy Trinity, Middletown, Ct.
Ten Broeck, Henry B.	Kemper,	June 13,	St. Sylvanus, Nashotah, Wis.
Walker, William Bogart,	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
Wallace, George,	Kemper,	June 13,	St. Sylvanus, Nashotah, Wis.
Woodruff, Montgomery S.	Clarkeon,	May 24,	Christ Church, Yankton, Dacotah.
Young, H. S. G.	Whipple,	July 12,	Trinity Cathedral, Dacotah.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Allen, George B.	Lee, of Del.	May 21,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia.
" Bush, Franklin L.	Williams,	June 23,	St. John Evang., Yalesville, Ct.
" Betts, Thomas,	Clarkson,	July 12,	Trinity Church, Omaha.
" Clarke, Rufus W.	Clark,	June 30,	Ch. of the Saviour, Providence, R. I.
" Dudley, T. W.	Whittle,	June 26,	Chap. Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
" Duyckinck, Henry,	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
" Ferguson, D. S.	Payne,	M'ch 15,	Trinity Church, Monrovia, Africa.
" Green, D. H.	Whittle,	June 26,	Chap. Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
" Griffith, C. E. D.	Vail,	" 17,	Trinity Church, Lawrence, Kans.
" Hill, James Warren,	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
" Hullihen, W. Q.	Whittle,	" 26,	Chap. Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
" Harnden, Horace C.	"	Aug. 7,	St. Paul's, Alexandria, Va.
" Kelly, Samuel P.	Clark,	June 30,	Ch. of Ascension, Providence, R. I.
" Latrobe, Benjamin,	Whittingham,	" 7,	St. Paul's, Baltimore, Md.
" McGlathery, William,	Lee, of Del.	May 21,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia.
" Plummer, George T.	Coxe,	" 7,	St. Paul's, Oxford, N. Y.
" Pitts, T. D.	Whittingham,	June 7,	St. Paul's, Baltimore, Md.
" Seton, Samuel W.	Payne,	April 19,	St. Mark's, Cape Palmas, Africa.
" Skeele, Amos,	Clark,	June 30,	Ch. of the Saviour, Providence, R. I.
" Searce, Stephen A.	Smith,	July 21,	Trinity Ch., Louisville, Ky.
" Weyman, Charles Aldis,	Potter,	June 7,	Trinity Chapel, N. Y. City.
" Winslow, F. W.	Randall,	Aug. 2,	St. Mary's, Blackhawk.
" Whitehead, Cortlandt,	"	"	"

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishops.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rt. Rev. W. H. A. Bissel, D. D.	{ Potter, Coxe, Williams, McClosky, Neely,	June 3,	Christ Church, Montpelier, Vt.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishops.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Holy Comforter,	Potter,	June 6,	Eltingtonwood, L. I.
Trinity Chapel,	Williams,	May 10,	Thomaston, Ct.
Christ Church,	"	June 20,	Montpelier, Vt.
St. James, Memorial,	Odenheimer,	" 19,	Eatontown, N. J.
St. Mary's Church,	Coxe,	"	Indian Reservation, N. Y.
Trinity Church,	Cummins,	" 7,	Louisville, Ky.
Church of the Redeemer,	Beckwith,	July 14,	Greensboro, Ga.
" " Epiphany,	Coxe,	June 29,	Suspension Bridge, N. Y.
Christ Church,	Clarkson,	July 26,	Brownsville, Nebraska.
St. James Church,	McClosky,	July 13,	Grosse Island, Mich.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CHURCH.

ENOCH K. MILLER, formerly a U. S. Presbyterian Minister.

NOTE.

Ample material had been prepared for summaries of interesting events, at home and abroad, but the unusual accumulation of books on the table of the Editor, and the length of

several Articles in this number, have compelled a contraction of this department of the Review. He is not certain that occasional Philosophical Articles, deducing principles from constantly occurring facts, will not be more interesting and profitable than the previous selections of Domestic and Foreign Intelligence, so often anticipated in the weeklies. But in this formative period, so pregnant with important results in Great Britain, on Continental Europe, in the distant Orient, in our own Republic, it will be the aim of the Editor, in some way, to keep before his readers all the great developments of Church and State, in their relations to the Past, the Present, and the Future.

OBITUARIES.

Rev. RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, died May 21, 1868, at Williamsport, Pa. He was a clergyman amiable in character, saintly in humility, earnest in piety, entirely devoted to the service of his Divine Master.

Died at Jackson, Michigan, June 2, the Rev. DANIEL T. GRINNELL, D. D. rector of St. Paul's Church in that city, of congestion of the brain. Dr. Grinnell was born in Columbia County, N. Y., and was aged fifty-five years and five months. He was a graduate from Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. After his ordination to the ministry, he was engaged for some years, with great success, in teaching — an occupation in which he always felt a lively interest. He accepted an invitation to take charge of St. Paul's Church, Jackson, in the summer of 1847. This was his first and only charge, and grew from a feeble parish to its present strong and prosperous condition. Dr. Grinnell has been a deputy from this Diocese to the General Convention for nearly twenty years, and had acquired an influential position as an active working member. His death is an irreparable loss to his parish, and causes inexpressible sorrow throughout the city. There are few in the community or the country surrounding who cannot recall some act of kindness or of charity on the part of this considerate, refined, and broad-minded gentleman.

The Rev. JOHN WORTHINGTON, D. D., died at Pittsfield, Illinois, June 16, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

The Rev. Dr. Worthington, one of the oldest clergymen in the Diocese, was born in Danville, Mercer County, Ky., in 1802; removed thence to Rushville, Schuyler County, Ill., in 1833; was for some years Rector of Trinity Church Jacksonville; afterwards became Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield; removed from there to Louisiana, Mo., and was Rector of the Church there, and performed Missionary duty at different points. While residing at Louisiana, he was elected Chaplain of the Missouri Legislature, which position he held two years. He afterwards returned to Pittsfield, and made it his permanent home. He was a man gifted with fine intellectual powers, which he had cultivated by hard study, and which caused him, in whatever community located, to be highly esteemed. His moral life was blameless, and his walk before men that of the sincere Christian.

The Rev. LAWSON CARTER departed this life on Saturday evening, July 11, at his residence in Cleveland. He being one of the oldest of the Presbyters, of the Church, and his career being one of unusual prominence and usefulness his decease demands more than a passing notice.

Mr. Carter was born in Worcester County, Mass., in 1793; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1816; and was ordered Deacon in 1821, and Priest in 1822, by Bishop Hobart. His first cure was in Ogdensburg, N. Y., where his

ministry as rector and missionary is still remembered with honor. After this he passed a ministry of several years in Westchester County, which was resigned on account of ill health. Subsequently he lived in New York city, rendering temporary ministrations in Calvary Church and elsewhere. In 1850, his son having become the rector of Grace Church, Cleveland, Mr. Carter removed to that city, and after that son's death, he himself accepted the rectorship in 1852. Here his work was of remarkable importance, in edifying and beautifying the House of God, in sacrifices for the welfare of the then struggling parish, in resisting the intrigues of those who would work its ruin, in good deeds and kind acts to all who were in difficulty or need, in a most faithful ministration of all the Sacraments and Offices of the Church, the fragrance of which still lingers. Though his active ministry was resigned in 1860, his career of usefulness and honor did not end till ended by the messenger of death.

The close of this life was worthy of its course. For on the day before his decease he humbly and faithfully received the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of his Lord; then, like the patriarch, he blessed his family, pronouncing distinctly, "The Peace and Blessing," and seeming conscious that his work was done, he sunk away; and, like the patriarch, yielded up the ghost and was gathered unto his fathers.

The Rev. C. H. ALBERT, Missionary at Batesville, Arkansas, was injured by a fall from his carriage, and during an interval of suffering, fell asleep on the morning of the 17th of July.

He was a man of gentle spirit, and of genial temper; a preacher of more than usual merit; an assiduous and discreet pastor. We deeply deplore his loss from our little company of Missionaries.

For many years past my spirit has been weighed down by anxiety in behalf of the clergy and their families, so little have they to live on, and nothing to bequeath their families when they die. Hence I have earnestly advised them (assisting them too when it was in my power) to buy a piece of ground and to erect on it an inexpensive house, so that in the event of a casualty, the family might at least have a roof to shelter them.

Mr. Albert adopted this suggestion. He came to us with \$500 of his own. He purchased a stone house, unfinished within, for \$1,900. His people gave some lumber, and such assistance as they could. With his own hands he finished the house and made it habitable. When I was in Batesville, his right arm was disabled and in a sling by reason of the unusual toil.

A few hundred dollars are still due on that house. I would fain save it for his family. These facts are too eloquent to mar them with excess of words. Surely there are those in the Church whose hearts God hath touched with tender compassion for afflicted saints, who deem it a privilege to minister to the wife and children of a faithful prophet. For such alone is this appeal intended.

Contributions may be sent to

HENRY C. LAY,
Missionary Bishop of Arkansas.

Box 88, Little Rock, Arkansas.

CHRIST CHURCH, LITTLE ROCK, July 17, 1868.

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ART. 1. — RENAN, AND THE SUPERNATURAL.

The Life of Jesus. — By ERNEST RENAN, Membre De L'Institut. Translated from the original French, by Charles Edwin Wilbour, Translator of *Les Misérables*. New York: Carleton, Publisher, 413 Broadway. Paris: Michael Levy Frères. 1867.

The Apostles. — By ERNEST RENAN, Membre De L'Institut. Author of the "Life of Jesus."

Saint Paul. — By ERNEST RENAN. In Press. Its theory stated in the last named work.

HAVING previously discussed the Atheism of Comte, we now approach the Infidelity of Renan. In each we behold the culmination of Unbelief. The Nineteenth Century has been shown the deepest abysses of spiritual darkness. Never can the Human Intellect, in its denial of the Creator, and of the Redeemer, advance beyond the speculations of those illustrious Frenchmen, whose theories have agitated the world. Hence assaults upon these last strongholds of Skepticism, must not cease, until they are absolutely demolished.

The Infidels of the first centuries, admitting the miracles of the

Gospels, referred them to Satanic agency. During the Middle Ages, the Supernatural was not only conceded, but exaggerated, even to grotesqueness. After the Reformation, the assaults on the Scriptures were sneers and libels, neither ascribing excellence to the system of Moses, or beauty to the life of Jesus. Then came the critical speculations of Germany, assisted by the Philosophy of Kant, and of Hegel, and made weighty by the learning of Universities, which, first undermining the faith of Scholars, soon depraved the morals of the people, and having startled the world by the myths of Strauss, attained a final development in the theories of Renan. Now, it is the fashion, while rejecting the Supernatural with contempt, to extol with an almost painful, because seemingly affected persistence, the moral precepts of Christianity, and the career of its admired Author.

Here, then, is the last position of Infidelity ! It, indeed, rejects with disdain the Prophecies and Miracles of Scripture as the lingering relics of a Superstition made absurd by the advance of Science. But it not only concedes, it even boasts the purity of our Religion. Nay ! the chairs of Universities, and the Pulpits of Churches are filled with persons supported by the very endowments of Christianity, who, while openly ridiculing the Supernatural, claim title to the name, and emoluments of Christian Teachers, because they enforce the commandments of the Decalogue, and admire the precepts of the Gospel. No men with such flowery eloquence extol the career of Jesus Christ.

Examine, however, the logical consistency of such a course ! Let us approach the subject more closely ! Where do you find this perfect morality, these holy incentives, this inimitable example, this system which confessedly purifies the heart and improves the life, this code of virtue superior to all the conceptions of ancient and modern Sages, this Universal Religion, the heritage, and glory of Humanity, having Christ for its author, and God for its object ? Remember this glow of eulogy is not our own, but kindles everywhere on the pages of that Infidelity which marks our age. Do the commands and precepts of the Bible, enjoining and promoting Holiness, stand alone ? Do they simply ask Reason to perceive their beauty and adaptation ? Are they recommended only by their own intrinsic simplicity and truth and majesty ? Nay ! the morality of the Bible is everywhere connected with miracles, and mysteries. They are closely related

as shells to their rock, fibres to a leaf, the nerves to the body. Every attempt to sever them is an unnatural violence. The efforts of even genius have often provoked laughter, and disgust. Must not the Skeptic be startled when he finds the perfection of both theoretical and practical virtue thus intimately and forever interwoven with the Supernatural? Consider, for instance, the Decalogue! It professes to have been transcribed by a man who relates that he heard the voice of Jehovah giving his commission from a bush, burning, but unconsumed; that his rod, having been turned to a serpent, resumed its original shape; that his hand, by thrusting into his bosom, was both made leprous and healed; that he converted the Nile into blood; that he scourged the earth by plagues from Heaven; that he veiled the sun in darkness; that he caused the first-born in every house to die; that he divided the sea, and overthrew an army. He describes himself, and his people, as guided to the very place, witnessing the announcement of the Law by a pillar of cloud and of fire, and as supplied on the way by water from the rock, and bread from the skies, while the mountain, where the Commandments were proclaimed, shook with an earthquake, and was crowned with flames, and the whole subsequent history, during forty years, to the passage of the Jordan, is represented as a perpetual exhibition of the Supernatural. That part of the narration occupied by the Decalogue bears but an insignificant proportion to that part describing the call on Horeb, the plagues of Egypt, the deliverances of the Red Sea, and the wonders of the wilderness. Now, without pausing, at present, to consider the frivolous and childish attempts to explain by natural causes so many events, during so long a period, before so great a multitude, and all constantly ascribed to the direct and visible interference of God, I ask, by what right can men ignore and deride so large a portion of a book, and yet profess a Religion, resting on it as an entirety for a foundation? Surely there is an inseparable connection between the Law, and every circumstance preceding, accompanying, and following its promulgation. How unfair to extol its provisions, and close our eyes to those impressive scenes of terror, and of majesty interwoven with the entire record of its communication, and so well adapted to strike the senses of a rude nation, and awe them into a reverential obedience! Indeed, to publicly avow belief in a volume, when we really receive as true, perhaps, even the smaller portion, and deride and decry the remain-

der, seems a mockery. Where the inconsistency is openly displayed by the salaried, and ordained ministers of our Religion, it is at once an insult to Conscience and to Common Sense.

Nor will we be less disposed to credit that the displays attending the annunciation of the Law, were designed to be considered miraculous, when we remember that they form parts of a continuous history, by the same writer, beginning with the Creation referred to an immediate exertion of Omnipotence, recording a Divine malediction blasting our race and our earth, narrating the punishment of a world by a universal deluge, and describing, during centuries, visible manifestations of the Deity.

And now let us turn to the Gospel! Its moral precepts bear a relation to those of the Law, similar to that of the flower to its bud, or the noon to the twilight. The maxims of Jesus extend to all the motives of the mind, and embrace all the circumstances of the life. How minute, how comprehensive, how tender, how wise, how beautiful! What simplicity, what sublimity, what majesty! What a summary of duty in Time! What themes for meditation through Eternity! Then, what a marvelous commentary have the teachings of Jesus in His own matchless example! It is now conceded that in the light of His discourses, the moral systems of all ages darken into obscurity. They unfold a perfect rule of conduct to Humanity forever. Had they emanated from a Confucius, or a Socrates, they could but have commanded our reverence and obedience, since they recommend themselves to reason without a supernatural attestation. How strange then, that they too, are so inseparably connected with Prophecies, and Miracles, and Mysteries, that to sever them, is like resolving by the battery, into their original elements, those cohesive particles of matter, which, for ages, have been united by Omnipotence!

How large too the space which the Supernatural occupies in the History of the Saviour! One Gospel begins with the appearance of an angel announcing the Baptist; another exhibits a star guiding over earth, and celestial beings rejoicing in the Heavens. Another hastens to record the descent of the Holy Ghost in a visible form, and the voice of Jehovah audible from the skies. Another opens with the sublime introduction of the Incarnate Word as the Universal Creator. Next pass before our view thronging crowds of maimed, halt, dumb, deaf, blind, diseased, demoniac, following Jesus, to be healed by a command of His lips, a touch of His finger,

an exertion of His will. Spirits of the dead are described as brought from their realms to reanimate restored bodies. Demons are represented as exorcised. A cloud is depicted as brightening around the mountain of Transfiguration. Creation shakes, and darkens before the Cross. Angels visit the tomb. Jesus is recorded as returning to life. He ascends into Heaven. He affirms He will appear on the clouds to summon men from their graves to Judgment, after which the whole visible creation is to be dissolved in flames. In the mean time, the Holy Ghost is to abide in the Church, a perpetual miracle, a Divine power, a continual fulfillment of the Pentecostal emblems of storm, and tongue, and fire. Now remember that it is the narration of these supernatural events which composes the greater part of the New Testament Histories. With these are blended assertions of the Incarnation and the Trinity. Remove the Miracles and the Mysteries, and you destroy all that is peculiar to Christianity, leaving a comparatively small collection of precepts, which, except in the superiority of their wisdom, no more characterize Christianity than they would the Legislation of Solon, or the Philosophy of Plato. Moreover, each particular precept of Jesus, with its corresponding illustration in His example, stands in connection with some supernatural display. Does He preach on the mountain to the multitude? It is related immediately before, "they brought unto Him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and possessed with devils, and that had the palsy, and were lunatic, and He healed them," while it is related immediately after, that He said to the leper, "I will: be thou clean!" Would He recommend the practice of benevolence as consistent with the sanctity of the Sabbath? It is by curing a withered hand. Does he sum all duty in the love of God, and our neighbor? Just preceding is an illustration of the resurrection of the dead. Would He show the beauty of human sympathy? He weeps near the tomb to be penetrated by His voice commanding from the darkness its temporary captive. Would He afford an example of active Charity? It is by the tireless exertions of what He describes as Omnipotence in the relief of suffering. Would He exhibit the tenderness of filial affection, and the duty of forgiveness to enemies? It is while hanging on a cross amid a Universe shuddering before His Presence. Would He leave His disciples a crowning proof of His solicitude? It is by stretching over them hands of blessing in a passage from earth to Heaven.

Would he impress most deeply all mighty lessons of virtue? It is by reference to the awful scenes of a universal Resurrection, and a final Judgment.

Thus the Miracles and Mysteries of Jesus not only compose a large portion of His History, but are so intimately mingled with all true conceptions of His Character, that they form as essential a part of the Scripture as the principal elements revealed by Chemistry do of the material Universe.

So let the men professing belief in our Holy Religion because they admire St. Paul's immortal description of Charity, remember, that its writer narrates that he heard a Divine voice, and saw a Divine light, and was converted by a Divine power, while he claimed to possess the gift of Miracles, and, in all his Epistles, inculcates the great Mysteries of the Faith.

Thus the Bible, commencing with the Creation of the Universe by Jehovah, recording during thousands of years His innumerable visible, audible, and tangible manifestations, and displaying the termination of man's probation by a revolution in the whole scheme of nature, under the most terrible images of a conflagration, to be succeeded by a new world of holiness, and bliss emerging from the chaos of fire, certainly seems to reveal a Religion, supernatural in its origin, supernatural in its development, supernatural in its evidences, supernatural in its most characteristic truths, supernatural in its individual experiences, supernatural in the Renovation it describes, and the Eternity it unfolds.

Now it is clear, that if it simply taught a complete and beautiful moral system, intelligible to Reason, attestations beyond Nature would be unnecessary and confusing. It is only when you admit Mysteries of Redemption, unknown to mere human intellection, that you can perceive any explicable use for the exertion of Omniscience in the Prophecy, or of Omnipotence in the Miracle. These alone could require a Divine Proof. These alone demand signs from Heaven. These alone impart consistency to the Scriptures. These make their entire system a harmony. Admit but the Moral Precepts, and you are confounded by the perpetual and useless recurrence of Mysteries and Miracles. In addition to the Moral Precepts, concede the Mysteries, and you at once create a necessity for the Miracles. It is only by an unnatural severance of Moral Precepts, Mysteries, and Miracles, you are compelled into absurd, and laughable, and even contemptible endeavors to eliminate the Supernatural from the Scriptures

Having thus written in general terms, we proceed to consider the particular methods by which Renan, in his Biographies, would expose one part of Christianity to contempt, while extolling the other to the Heavens. The German efforts in this direction, commencing with Semler, terminated with Strauss. For France was reserved the culmination of both Atheism, and Infidelity. Comte, and Renan represent the final phases of Unbelief. It is a relief to know that Skepticism can advance no further into darkness. Hereafter, any great movement of our Humanity must be towards the Universal Light.

And here it may be remarked that we need not be detained by any discussion, such as was excited by the celebrated argument of Hume, in regard to the possibility of the Supernatural. M. Renan only denies that miracles have ever been established by sufficient proof. Philosophers, he asserts, might pronounce upon their performance. Men, untrained to habits of scientific analysis, however shrewd, and honest, can never rely on the testimony of their eyes, and ears, and hands, to plain matters of fact. Place a dead body before Savans! They *only* can decide that its corruption has become offensive to the nostril. They *only* can judge whether decomposition has blackened the limbs, and discolored the features. They *only* are competent to prove that, by a word, the heart again beats, the eye again sees, the ear again hears, the man again moves, talks, understands. "A commission of physiologists, physicians, chemists," might forever settle questions appealing simply to their senses, but, thousands of unprofessional men, however intelligent, and cool, and observant, could never, by their united testimony, even against their interests, and sealed by their death, establish the fact of a Resurrection. Such is the logical consistency of M. Renan! The interesting, and accomplished Frenchman is certainly distinguished for lively fancy, and extensive learning, but not for the accuracy of severe argumentation.

Moreover, the general authenticity of the New Testament Histories is admitted. Being full of the supernatural, they are indeed styled in part legendary. They have, therefore, no claims to divine inspiration, or infallible truth. The Synoptics are marked by many weaknesses, and inconsistencies. John is often vain, stiff, awkward, moralizing, artificial, and unreliable. In all the narrations are flagrant contradictions in regard to times, places, persons,

sometimes corrected by Josephus. Still, upon the whole, M. Renan accepts "the four canonical Gospels as authentic." They are not indeed the works of Scholars or Philosophers. They proceed from simple, uncultured men, and bear the marks of ignorance, and prejudice, while yet, in their general statements, apart from their superstitious records of the Supernatural, they may be accepted as containing a credible History of the chief events in the life of Jesus Christ.

Having thus conceded to us the *possibility of miracles*, and the *authenticity* of the Histories, we are prepared more minutely to analyze the positions of M. Renan.

Before the Jewish people had been, for centuries, "a gigantic dream." Crushed by the armies of the surrounding idolatrous nations, Israel aspired to "a limitless future." From the coming ages burst upon their vision the splendors of a Jerusalem whose sway shall be universal, and eternal. When Jesus appeared, the nation had been prepared by the hopes of centuries for their Messiah. He sprang from the people. He had no Hellenic culture. His education was strictly Jewish. His person was attractive, his conversation charming, his genius admirable. Passing beyond the narrow circle of Moses, embracing Altar, and Sacrifice, and Priest, and Temple, the intuitions of his soul penetrated to the truth of a Universal Religion, founded on the Brotherhood of Humanity, and the Fatherhood of God, which he expected finally to absorb all other forms of belief, and prevail over the world. This is the characteristic of Christianity. This is the sufficient morality. This is the true Worship. This is the glory of Jesus. This Supernatural is sometimes an expedient, sometimes a necessity, sometimes an imposture, but always a weakness, a blot, an illusion, — something secondary, and temporary. To establish the Universal Religion, embracing Humanity in its Love, and God for its Worship, was the principal, the sublime, the enduring part of the mission of Jesus. The career of this inimitable genius was commenced amid the simple peasants of a charming region. The lake of Galilee sparkled amid encircling hills. Its flowers were incomparable in color, and fragrance. Bluebirds, turtle-doves, crested larks, and modest storks, give gentle attractions to the scene, while mountains inspire loftier ideas. The tamarind and the oleander stand gracefully on the promontories. There are "intoxicating parterres where the waves

die away amid clumps of grass and flowers." There is "a little estuary full of pretty shell-fish. Clouds of swimming birds cover the lake. The horizon is sparkling with light. The water, of a celestial azure, deeply encased between frowning rocks, seems, when viewed, from the summit of the mountains of Safed, to be in the bottom of a cup of gold. In the north, the snowy ravines of Hermon stand out in white lines against the sky; on the east, the high undulating plains of Gaulonitis, and of Peræa, completely arid, and clothed by the sun in a species of velvety atmosphere." Amid the brilliancy of flowers beneath and stars above, life is a dream, an intoxication, an ecstasy. Jesus passes amid these inspiring scenes on an ass, "whose large black eye, shaded with long lashes, is full of gentleness." Often there is rustic pomp. Children cry hosannas. Women anoint his feet and perfume his head. There are "little ovations." Garments are spread in the way. Jesus rides along amid shouts, and joy, a species of conqueror. Thus he sows for years in the minds of these simple people the seeds of the Universal Religion which is to prove the Kingdom of God. His disciples, however, expect the Supernatural. They have been educated to believe in signs, and wonders. Without miracles, the system of Jesus will be confined to his own age and country — with miracles, it will prevail over the world, and endure forever. A temptation is presented. At first there is hesitation. Finally, to an inferior evil is preferred a good which will be universal, and eternal. M. Renan sometimes seems to describe Jesus as simply permitting the people to remain in a delusion which will ensure and enlarge his own authority. Sometimes he appears to represent Him as even imposing upon Himself. Sometimes he obscures his meaning under a cloud of confusing doubt. It is only after a long preparation of the reader — after approaching the subject, and then receding from it — after delays, and hesitations, and embarrassments, he at last ventures to maintain, especially in the case of Lazarus, that our Saviour was party to deliberate imposture. Having reached this point, there is more boldness. Jesus, abandoning the brilliant and intoxicating scenes of his native region, has entered the gloomy precincts of Jerusalem. He is soon betrayed. He is arrested. He is crucified. The disciples are at first utterly crushed, and hopeless. But soon their courage revives. Love conquers all difficulties. Love recalls Him from the tomb. Love sees Him, talks with Him, handles

Him, hears Him. Love creates innumerable illusions. Love fills the air with phantoms. Love beholds Him rising into Heaven. All His fancied appearances are apparitions. The sounds of Pentecost were the roarings of a storm. The flames of Pentecost were flashes of lightning. The tongues of Pentecost were the jargon of excited ignorance. Paul, on his journey to Damascus, suffering from ophthalmia, and overcome by the sun, encounters a sudden tempest, in which a flash of lightning blinds him, and a peal of thunder produces "cerebral commotion," and then, seized by a delirious fever, he imagines in his madness that he had seen a light, and heard the voice of Jesus.

Such, in substance, are the theories of M. Renan accounting for the alleged Supernatural in those New Testament Histories, recording the career of Him who is extolled as the author of the Universal Religion. There is certainly, we may passingly remark, a most singular difference between the simple, direct, manly narrations of the Gospel, never for an instant pausing to depict natural scenes, and the dreamy sentimentalism of the Parisian literary voluptuary, whose soul seems to revel in descriptions where flowers, birds, waves, hills, trees, clouds, stars, combine in a picture, much better fitted for the pages of a modern novel, than the discussions of a man who seeks by learning and argument to overthrow the foundations of a system dearer than life to the hearts of millions, made sacred by the blood of martyrs, and venerable by the authority of the Church, and which, connected with every interest of time, professes to unfold the Mysteries of Eternity.

When the volumes of M. Renan are analyzed, amid their numberless references, their brilliant colorings, their startling assumptions, we discover just two suppositions which would eliminate the Supernatural from the New Testament narrations. Either Jesus, and his witnesses, were themselves deceived, or they deceived others. There can be no other possible theories. We will proceed briefly to their examination upon the admission of M. Renan, that, apart from its alleged legends, the System of Christ is the Religion of Humanity.

And we begin by asking, what is involved in this concession of our author? We might indeed contend, that if, according to M. Renan, Jesus was neither an inspired man, or an Incarnate God, it would be impossible for the unaided, and uneducated Teacher, left to all the infirmity and ignorance of corrupted human nature,

amid the obscurity of Galilee, to flash, by any force of Genius, into a region of pure, and practical, and perfect ethics, unattained by the acute intellect of Aristotle, the sublime cogitations of Plato, or the marvelous intuitions of Socrates, and bring, as from Heaven to earth, a code of morality, and a system of Worship popularly, and authoritatively expressed, which should constitute a Universal Religion. But passing this argument, to discover such a Religion, which had escaped previous Philosophers and Legislators, by simple force of reason, and to impress it, for every future age, upon the world, supposes in its Author the highest conceivable mental endowment. To supersede all past errors, to spread the truth over the earth, to announce Laws, which, amid all nations, and during all generations, shall command the reverence, and obedience of Humanity, is not a work of fanaticism. M. Renan therefore attributes to Jesus the noblest gifts of Genius. And were His disciples, who were the witnesses of His career, who were commissioned to preach the Word, who, by their energy, their heroism, their sufferings, shook the Empire of Rome, and the foundations of Idolatry, the wandering, foolish, simple children, represented by our Author, sauntering amid the brilliant vegetation, and beneath the inspiring skies of Judea, in a dream of intoxicating joy, just such as we may suppose absorbed the fanciful Frenchman, when he gazed on the waves of Tiberias, or the snows of Lebanon? Nothing makes more against the theories of these volumes than their absolute caricature of the Apostles. M. Renan rather delineates himself, in this refined sentimentalism, than John, or Peter. Were the witnesses of Jesus, children, enthusiasts, fanatics? True they professed to have seen appearances clearly above ordinary nature. But then how wise their words! How practical their teachings! How beautiful their morality! They lived under the shadow of an infamous tyranny. Rome had seized their Holy City; had planted round their Temple the spears of her legions, and fastened on its wall her desecrating eagle. Rome had nailed their master to a Cross of ignominy. Rome had persecuted their brethren with the scourge, the sword, the chain, the dungeon, the fagot — threw them to wild beasts, cast them with serpents into the sea, chained them to the fatal corpse. Stung with wrong, we might suppose they would have hurled anathemas at their tyrants. But no! with a strength of mind absolutely marvelous, they write, — “Let every soul be subject to the higher

powers ; whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." Or we might imagine that deprived of life's comforts ; despised, and execrated ; elevated to a divine communion ; teaching incomprehensible mysteries ; expecting a general judgment and a universal conflagration, looking for an eternal perfection in the presence of the Deity, they would have been so lifted into the regions of an ethereal rapture, as to cast contempt on the ordinary duties of life. This is the characteristic of enthusiasts. So far from this, the New Testament Writers insist that Christians shall be "not slothful in business," and give the most minute practical directions controlling all the relations of life. Besides, their sturdiness of understanding, and simplicity of heart, everywhere appear in their unaffected records of their faults, and the unadorned beauty of their style, while their honesty, their courage, their manliness, are seen in that they never shrank from the dungeon or the fire, where it was necessary to maintain the truth by suffering, or by death. Had they been the weak children, the aimless dreamers, the excited fanatics described by M. Renan, they would never, against such opposing forces, have laid the foundations of Christianity, they would never have spread over the world its most perfect system of Morals and of Worship, they would never have received the homage and veneration of all subsequent ages. Now, we inquire, how it was possible for Jesus who conceived the Religion of Humanity, or for the Apostles who were the instruments of its diffusion, to have imposed on themselves in the plainest matters of fact ? Let any man try to fancy that, followed by thronging multitudes for years, he has made the lame walk, the deaf hear, the blind see ! Let him endeavor to persuade himself that he beholds repeatedly the form of a departed friend, whom he himself placed in the grave, that he touches his body, that he listens to his conversations, that he remembers his words, that he gazes at him ascending into Heaven ! Let him try to people the air with the phantoms of love ! That it is possible for deranged persons to have such visions and delusions we will not deny. But if Peter, in a state of hallucination, had been mistaking for realities the fabrications of an excited brain ; if John, in the intoxication of an excessive affection, had dreamingly imagined that he frequently saw Jesus arisen from the dead ; if St. Paul, in a delirium produced by the fatigues of a journey, and the blaze of the sun, had in his frenzy imagined that from a dazzling light there

proceeded a divine voice, all the subsequent writings and conduct of these Apostles would have borne the impress of their wild fanaticism, whereas, while sacrificing life in testimony of the Supernatural, they are remarkable, not for childishness and enthusiasm, but plain, manly, practical wisdom. That a phantom should appear to such persons, and so many persons, during days, and weeks, converse intelligibly and connectedly, and in harmony with an entire system of previous truth, be manifested so variously, and be described so minutely, by men who during years proclaimed the apparition a fact, and then died in proof of their sincerity, is, in our apprehension, the most puerile and absurd attempt to explain the Supernatural from the Scripture which the world has yet witnessed. M. Renan, by asserting that Jesus discovered the true Religion of Humanity, and that the Apostles were instruments in its successful propagation over the earth, forever precludes himself from attributing to them either the silliness of children or the folly of fanatics. Every eulogy he indulges recoils upon his theory. He resembles a man who employs one hand in placing, and the other in removing the stones of his foundation. The gifted Frenchman is far better fitted to describe a landscape than pursue an argument; to revel in a gallery of art than thread the intricacies of logic; to soar above the clouds amid the stars on the wings of fancy, than explore those marvelous *facts* which, like eternal mountains, sustain the fabric of the Scripture.

But now let us consider the other supposition! From its very mention we feel a recoil in every Christian sensibility. We will, however, with a painful effort, for a moment, indulge a horrible, an impossible imagination, with which even M. Renan hesitates to darken his graphic pages. Let it be granted, that to spread his Religion, Jesus stained the purity of his nature, and condescended to an imposture. The theory is that at first, amid the exhilarating beauties of his native plains and mountains, along the sparkling lake, and beneath bright skies, he proclaimed his system to charmed children, and fascinated women, and credulous men, following him in a species of ecstasy. Seeing however, that his doctrine to be diffused, must be accompanied by miracles, he at first, simply permitted deception, but forsaking scenes of rural loveliness, and entering the gloomy precincts of Jerusalem, surrounded by deadly enemies, his moral sense became imperceptibly weakened

and at last, in vindication of himself, and for the diffusion of truth, especially in the case of Lazarus, He lent himself to deliberate falsehood, and artifice. For although M. Renan, to relieve the odiousness of the imputation, when he arrives at the application of his theory, represents Jesus as not permitted to enter Bethany, and thus left ignorant of the fraud, yet, what was plainly in his mind is indicated by the words preceding his descriptions of the scenes at the tomb. He says of our Saviour, "We must recollect in this impure, and oppressive city of Jerusalem, he was no longer himself. His conscience, by the fault of men, and not his own, had lost something of its primitive clearness. Desperate, pushed to extremities, he no longer retained possession of himself. His mission imposed itself upon him, and he obeyed the torrent." The whole transaction of the resurrection was a trick. Martha and Mary, the intimate disciples of the Master, and probably discerning his real wishes, were base deceivers. Lazarus, the friend of his bosom, first assuming the ghastly habiliments of the grave, enters its awful precincts, to become a crouching liar, simulating death to promote imposture, and coming forth to the light of the sun, and the presence of his countrymen, a conscious, hateful, contemptible hypocrite. The whole transaction is a plot, a sham, a cheat. The voice of Jesus, instead of majestically commanding life from death, is as hollow as the tomb it penetrates. Here, then, is this unrivaled being, this genius whose intuitions were truth, this author of that moral system which is to control the world, this originator of the Religion of Humanity, the sum of all the past, and the glory of all the future, this example to mankind of a consummate Holiness, this noblest ideal of the most perfect manhood, deteriorating in goodness as He approaches the close of His career, and becoming partly the tool of deceivers, and partly the victim of His own corrupted conscience! To such an extremity is M. Renan driven by his own contradictory theories. If Jesus possessed an Intellect, which discovered for all men, and for all time, those rules of Life, and Worship embracing the eternal verities of our nature, it is impossible by the supposition, either that He could, by a weak credulity, have imposed the Supernatural on himself, or by a base artifice, imposed it upon others. The position of modern Infidelity, with all its affected admiration for the precepts of Christianity, and the career of our Saviour, is far more insidious, and dangerous, and far less logical, and respectable,

than that old, boisterous, abusive Skepticism, which treated the entire Scriptures with denunciation, and contempt.

And here we may remark, in regard to this whole subject, that the positions of Butler are having a fearful, and perhaps bloody verification in this age of universal strife. He truly maintained that every argument against Revealed Religion was in reality an argument against Natural Religion. What induces a rejection of the Redeemer, logically induces a rejection of the Creator. The last result of Infidelity is Atheism. Do I deny Christianity on account of its mysteries? Then I should deny Science on account of its mysteries. It is no more wonderful that there should be Three Divine Persons in one Nature, or Two Natures, a Divine and Human, in one Person, than that in one Person we should discover united two Natures, the one physical, and the other spiritual. The difficulty in reconciling free Agency and Predetermination does not originate in the Bible, but in the Omniscience of the Deity. The Scriptural doctrine of depravity is no more startling than the plain *fact* of human corruption. The suffering of an infant for an hour is a problem darker than the pangs of a transgressor during an Eternity. All questions which perplex us exist independently of Christianity. They arise from the unexplained mysteries of Life. They resolve themselves into the *fact* that sin and misery are in the Universe. They will forever darken the soul where there is a rebellious will and a proud intellect. And we now see, what the Analogy suggested as a speculation, becoming terribly true as a History. Those critical theories, emanating from Orthodox Universities, and seeking to explain the Supernatural from the Scriptures, are everywhere terminating in a gloomy, passionate, frightful Atheism, which, no longer contented with a bloodless war of words, now seems willing to grasp the sword, and employ the cannon in its last battles with Christianity.

And in taking, perhaps, a final farewell of this subject, we may be permitted to suggest, that the evidences of Science and Scripture rest, finally, on the same foundation. There is an analogy which seems to have been overlooked. It may be a question, whether these boastful, and contemptuous enemies of the Supernatural, are not falling into the great error of the Ancients, and undervaluing the very basis supporting the superstructure of our Modern Science.

Consider the Classic Ages! Here we discover, what treasures

of genius! Yet, while the ancients were giants in intellect, they were pigmies in knowledge. Now what has unlocked the secrets of nature and conferred our immense superiority? Our achievements are not the results of greater mental gifts. The theme of Milton is more lofty and comprehensive than that of Homer, but his genius is neither richer nor more sublime. It was not owing to higher natural endowment that Copernicus discovered the solar system by his reasoning, or Galileo confirmed it by his telescope, or Newton demonstrated by his mathematics, rather than Pythagoras, or Euclid, or Archimedes. Socrates had as much practical wisdom as Franklin, with much greater delicacy of thought and aptitude of illustration, and while there is more truth in the massive Johnson, there is greater wealth of soul in the felicitous Plato. It may be doubted whether the tragic power of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* is inferior to that of *Shakespeare*. The Pyramids of Egypt look down in scorn on our pigmy productions; and Paris and London seem dazzled before the greatness and magnificence of Babylon and Rome.

The disparity indicated is traceable not to the men, but the system. Notwithstanding the shrewd suggestions of Aristotle, and his frequent approaches to the inductive methods, the Ancients, in practice, followed the imaginations of Plato. He thought, as will be seen in his *Phædon*, that Truth must be sought by suppressing the *senses*, and looking for her pure image in the depths of the soul. Thus man was converted into a philosophical abstraction. The physical part of his nature was unduly depreciated, in order to exalt the intellectual. Diverting attention from sober *facts*, the effort was to ascertain in the mind itself some universal principle which would solve the mysteries of Creation. Hence arose dreamy generalities of reason, made wild by the imagination.

Modern Science secures her triumphs by regarding man as he is in practical life. She does not despise — she *employs* the senses. She climbs the painful paths of difficult investigation to attain her lofty eminence. She bases on *facts* that structure which all men now see is gilded with light of Eternal Truth.

It is difficult to conceive the revolution achieved. Yet the subject admits easy illustration. Copernicus establishes his system by reasoning. Is Science satisfied? Galileo says, "If this be true, Venus should show phases like the moon." The telescope is invented, and the Philosopher, turning it to the evening star look-

ing from the clear Italian sky, *sees* the crescent, and establishes by the *eye*, the discovery of the intellect. Sir Isaac Newton observes an apple drop from a limb. Rising to the moon, the planets, the stars, he proceeds from a *fact* in an orchard to a law of the Universe. How silly the speculations of Plato in regard to the body! Now, the functions of the heart in sending the purple streams of life through the arteries, and returning them by the veins, are made bare by the surgeon's knife to *inspection*. Is it surmised that the atmosphere by its pressure, causes water to rise in an exhausted tube? It is inferred that mercury should exhibit an inferior height in proportion to its superior weight, and that ascent in the air by removing a part of its gravity, should cause a descent in the fluid. Both conclusions are demonstrated to the *eye* by experiment. Does Le Verrier show by calculation the existence of a new planet? The glass must be directed to the Heavens, and the bright little stranger be *seen* to pour over creation his revealed radiance. Does Chemistry unveil the hidden law of atoms, as Astronomy of masses? Not only the eye, but the finger, the nostril, the ear, the tongue are her ministers. Thus Science bears into the midnight of Nature the lamp of the *senses*, that Reason by *their* light may be guided to her deepest secrets. Here is the explanation of all those achievements revolutionizing the world.

And now we ask, does not Revelation, by introducing the Supernatural, simply follow the analogy of Creation? Science and Scripture both rest their ultimate claims to our belief on the testimony of the *senses*.

While the illustration will be more clear in regard to Miracles, yet, in a certain sense, it can be applied even to Prophecy. Its proofs do not depend on abstract processes, or metaphysical deductions, or difficult speculations, but on *facts revealed to the vision*. Turn to the record! Unroll the vivid but awful page as you stand amid the remains of cities and empires! Venerable Nineveh is a buried ruin. Golden Babylon is a den of beasts. Purple Tyre is a naked rock. Jerusalem is a solitary widow. Are not the records of Moses, and Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, *facts*? And what, I ask, but *facts*, are the mournful spectacles which meet your gaze? The *eye* reads the prophecy on the page of Revelation, and the *eye* reads the fulfillment on the page of Providence. This is also, to some extent true, in regard to the graphic and beautiful delineations of the Messiah abounding in the Old Testa-

ment, and the simple, but majestic history of Jesus corresponding in the New. Thus the whole scheme of PROPHECY, from the utterance of Eden to the trump of Judgment, embracing individuals, cities, provinces, nations, kingdoms, empires, races — so minute, so vast, so protracted — not only satisfying, but overwhelming with its cumulative and immortal proofs, is, like Science, finally, an appeal to the eye.

But the illustration is far more complete and satisfactory when we consider MIRACLES. Would the great Creator evince to a rude people His Supreme Divinity? He breaks that noiseless uniformity of Nature which sometimes lulls the soul into the stupidity of Atheism. He perceptibly interferes with those mighty laws governing the mechanism of the Universe, the very perfection of whose silent operation begets a regularity which would argue its author out of his existence. He comes forth from his majestic repose and darkness to convince man of his being, and supremacy, not by arguments slowly apprehended by his infant Reason, but by events at once striking upon his *senses*. His attributes are no more abstract virtues hid in the unfathomable Godhead, but are acting, living, intelligible *facts* — *seen, heard, felt* — made palpable to the world — incorporated with its very History, by a Power, and a Wisdom manifestly, and undeniably Infinite. Is an ideal of Virtue to be exhibited? It does not appear in the songs of the poet, the dreams of the philosopher, or the delineations of the orator. It lives, it breathes, it groans, it blesses, it suffers, it dies. Is a perfect Wisdom to be displayed? It is not an abstract system, but a *visible* History, enshrining its Divinity in a human body, that it may be made palpable in an actual life. Is Immortality to be revealed? It is not manifested in the uncertain reasonings of Socrates, or the airy dreams of Plato, or the eloquent disquisitions of Cicero. God makes it a *fact*. He reaches down his hand, and plants Enoch in the skies. He sends a chariot for Elijah, that Elisha may *behold* his pathway into glory. He commissions his angel to scatter lightnings, and roll away the stone, that Jesus may step forth in the calm majesty of Life, to be *seen, and heard, and handled*, during forty days, until taken into Heaven before adoring witnesses. He proves to the *eye* that man may conquer death, and inherit joy eternal. Thus our Immortality becomes not an argument, but an incarnation; not a speculation, but a fact; not an expectation, but a history.

Let the enemies of Christianity then pause, and consider, whether even its supernatural evidences, appealing to the *senses*, are not in analogy with those inductive methods which are now changing the world. Ancient Philosophy scorned this part of man's nature, as vulgar, contemptible, and beneath her notice. Hence Humanity was in a prison of darkness. A ray penetrates the gloom. Science, leaping into the light, blesses our race with her discoveries and inventions. Through the organs of the body she marries the soul to the external universe, and is now realizing the benefits of the union in her universal triumphs. Making the *senses* her servants, they in turn make Reason their Lord. But while Science was thus excluded from the sun, our Religion, with a steady hand, during ages, laid the foundation of her holy Temple in the testimonies of the *eye*, and of the *ear*, not disregarding any portion of our nature, but leading our race from visible, and audible, and tangible manifestations, suitable to its infancy, to those spiritual truths which shall prove an eternal joy and sustenance.

ART. II. — EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN NEW YORK CITY.

It must always be a matter of interest to Churchmen to know the history of the first planting of their Faith in their own country. While themselves in the free and full enjoyment of the blessings of an Apostolic Ministry, they surely cannot be indifferent to the history of those who first bore that ministry to the shores of this new world. The hardships and perils of their lot, the zeal and faith required for such an enterprise, must ever invest their names with the liveliest interest to us, who even at this distant day enter into their labors.

And yet with this interest very little has been done by the American Church to preserve the names and deeds of her "pioneers" from entire oblivion. But as we look hopefully to coming generations for great improvements in the practical workings of the Church in this country, so we may anticipate for them more energetic and successful efforts to record the early history of their own communion.

Dr. Humphries in his "Historical Account of the Society for

the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," says of the state of Religion in the "New York Government," — "The Dutch had some teachers before the English came; but the English were taken up at first, in settling their new plantations; and so much divided in their sentiments in Religion, *that there was no face of the Church of England here, till about the year 1693.*" And again, speaking of the induction of Mr. Vesey into the Rectorship of Trinity Church in 1697, he says — "This was the first setting up the Church Service in this Government." This statement is clearly a mistake, and it is to the times prior to those of Mr. Vesey and Trinity Church, that our attention is at present turned.

It happens in the history of some of the earlier voyages of discovery to this country, that we can trace the use of the services of the Church in immediate connection with these undertakings. Such is the case with the expeditions of Frobisher, who doubtless brought with him in the year 1578, the first Clergyman of the Church of England who ever celebrated the Ordinances of Christ's Institution on the American Continent. Frobisher's journal of a voyage undertaken one year earlier still (in 1577), says: "On Monday morning, the 27th of May, aboard the Ayde, we received *all* the communion, by the Minister of Gravesend, and prepared us as good Christians toward God, and resolute for all fortunes." And this is perhaps the earliest use of the Prayer Book that can be discovered; in *any way* connected with the history of this country. When the same bold navigator landed the expedition of 1578, among the "moss-grown barrens of the Esquimaux," near the inlet to Hudson's Bay, his journal informs us that on the 30th of August, "Master Wolfall preached a godly sermon, and celebrated also a Communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof were many gentlemen, soldiers, mariners, and miners with him." To which he further adds, "This celebration of the Divine Mystery was the first sign, seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion, ever known in these quarters."

So also in the case of the Popham Colony, in 1607. One of the first acts recorded is that on the 9th of August (Sunday), they landed on an island which they called St. George's, when a sermon was delivered to them by their preacher, Mr. Richard Seymour.

It would certainly be a matter of no little interest to us, if we could discover any traces of a similar service, when Henry Hudson anchored the Half Moon within Sandy Hook, on the evening

of the 3d of September, 1609. We are grateful for the heritage God has given His Church on the noble river which is to bear the name of this hardy mariner to the end of time; but it would add to our interest and gratitude to have known that, like Frobisher, he had borne with him some Apostolic Minister, who should thus early have consecrated these shores by the ministrations of our Holy Religion; or that on setting forth on the voyage which brought him into this "excellent harbor for all winds," he and his companions had prepared themselves in the Holy Communion, "as good Christians toward God, and resolute men for all fortunes." And yet we are not without a similar incident in the history of Henry Hudson, that must ever be of interest to American Churchmen. Few characters are so well known to history, whose early years are covered in such oblivion as his. We may confidently state that he was an Englishman, but as to where or when he was born, what were the scenes and circumstances of his boyhood and early manhood, we have no knowledge whatever. He first appears on the stage of action as a captain, in the employ of the Muscovy Company, and the earliest line of his history that has come down to us concerns just such a service as that of Frobisher's "on board the Ayde." This we have in the following extract from his own journal: "Anno, 1607, *April the nineteenth*, at St. Ethelburga, in Bishop's Gate Street, did communicate with the rest of the parishioners these persons, seamen, purposing to goe to sea four days after to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson, master," and so on the number of eleven others.

The first trace of Henry Hudson's history, that the most zealous searcher into the records of past times has been able to discover, is this entry in his own journal which records his reception of the Holy Communion in the Church of St. Ethelburga, on the eve of his departure "to discover the pole."¹ While we know that it was a voyage undertaken two years later, and in the interest of the Dutch East India Company, that brought Hudson into New York Bay, this circumstance will always be remembered with interest by American Churchmen, that he did not set out on his first discoveries in this new world, till he and his adventurous companions had "communicated" in the Sacrament of their Lord's death; and that the world's first knowledge of this bold, but ill-fated mariner, connects him with this act of faith and devotion.

¹ See Mr. Reed's Address before the Delaware Historical Society, 1861.

Though New York Bay and the Hudson River were made known to the civilized world by one who was doubtless a member of the Church of England, still there were few of that Communion that at first followed his adventurous lead. The Colony at Jamestown, under the auspices of the "London Company," would naturally present more attractions to Churchmen, than "New Netherland," under the government of the Dutch. Denton in his description of New York in 1670, says, "There was little encouragement for the English to settle in this Province, by reason of the Indians, of whom the Dutch were almost always in danger; by reason of the bad titles to lands given by the Dutch, together with that general dislike the English have of living under another government. But," he adds, "since the reducement of it, there are several towns of a considerable greatness begun and settled by people out of New England, and every day more and more come to view it." Still there were but few of the Church of England that made their home in New Netherland, in its earliest days. In 1686, sixteen years later than Denton, Governor Dougan says in his report of the state of the Province: "Heer bee not many of the Church of England, few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quakers, preachers men and women especially; Singing Quakers; Ranting Quakers; Sabbitarians, Anti-Sabbitarians, some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinion there are *some*, and the most part of none at all. The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists."

Dougan, as we know, was a Romanist, and did not look with much favor upon this heterogeneous sort of Christianity. He seems also to have thought that there were some (in certain localities) among those who claimed to belong to the Church of England, who did not come up to the full measure of their duty, for he adds: "As for the King's natural born subjects, that live on Long Island, and other parts of the government, I find it a hard task to make *them* pay their minister."¹

By whom the first Divine Services were celebrated for these "few of the Church of England," in the New York government, is by no means easy to determine. It is well known that New Netherland passed from the power of the Dutch to that of the English in the year 1664. Colonel Nicolls then became Governor, and thenceforth the conquered Province was named New York,

¹ Col. Doc. 3,415.

and "Fort Amsterdam," at the Battery, became "Fort James." In this fort the Dutch had, up to this time, their only Church, known by the name of "St. Nicholas," in honor of the tutelary saint of New Amsterdam. When the English substituted new names for the city and fort, they also called this "King's Chapel," in place of its former name of St. Nicholas. We could hardly suppose we are without any evidence on the point, that such an expedition as Governor Nicolls brought out, consisting of six hundred men, came without its Chaplain; and all the probabilities are that the first services of the Church of England, ever held on Manhattan Island, were in the month of September, 1664, when the forces of Charles II. took possession of this conquered Province. And yet history has preserved no record by which we can learn the name of such Chaplain, nor the exact time or circumstances of such early services. The forces of Governor Nicolls marched into the fort, and ran up the English flag, on Monday morning the twenty-ninth of August, or the eighth of September (new style), and we may naturally conclude that the offices of the Chaplain were not dispensed with on such an important occasion.

That there was provision for a Chaplain to accompany Governor Nicolls is clearly shown, from the king's instructions to him concerning Religion, etc. Among these are the following: "We do suppose and think it fit that you carry with you some learned and discreet Chaplain, orthodox in his judgment, and practice, who in your own families will read the book of Common Prayer, and perform your devotion according to the form established in the Church of England, excepting only in wearing the surplice, which having never been seen in those countries, may conveniently be forborne at this time, when the principal business is, by all good expedients to unite and reconcile persons of very different judgments and practice in all things."

While we are without any contemporaneous testimony to assure us that there was no failure of this provision for a Chaplain, and to give us his name and the particulars of this first service, we are not without that of a later date, which will be considered conclusive as to his presence here with the British troops when they occupied this city in 1664.

The Documentary History of New York, Vol. 3, p. 265, contains a copy of an "Address of Governor Hunter's friends to the Bishop of London," written about 1714, in which the following

statement occurs, — “ When this Province was taken by the English in 1664, there was left in it a small garrison of soldiers, who had a Chaplain allowed upon the establishment. In the Fort at New York was a large Church, wherein the Dutch inhabitants, in their own way and language performed their worship; that ended, the Chaplain read Divine Service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the Governor and Garrison in the same place, and this was all the footing that the Church of England, as by Law established, had in this Province until 1693.” We may therefore confidently conclude from this history, that with the establishment of the name and power of England in the Province of New York in 1664 there began the ministrations of her Catholic and Apostolic Church. The *name* of the first clergyman now known to us, who came here bearing the orders of the Mother Church, belongs to a period just ten years later, 1674, and was *Nicholas Van Rensselear*, whose curious history is not without interest in this connection. After the recapture of the Colony by the Dutch in 1673, it was, as is well known, restored to the English the following year, by a peaceful surrender to Governor Edmund Andros. The same ship which bore Governor Andros to America, brought also a Clergyman who had been ordained in both the Dutch and English Churches, Dominie Nicholas Van Rensselear, — a younger son of the first patroon of Rensselaerswyck, — a gentleman who had become acquainted with King Charles the Second while the latter was in exile in Brussels, predicted the restoration of that Monarch, and received from him, as a memento of friendship, a snuff-box, which is said to be still preserved in the Van Rensselear family at Albany. When King Charles was restored to his throne in 1660, Dominie Van Rensselear accompanied the Dutch Ambassador to London, as his Chaplain, and subsequently served the Dutch Congregation at Westminster as its preacher and was also for some time Lecturer at St. Margaret’s, Loathbury, London. The Dutch Dominie was afterwards reordained, agreeably to the requirements of the Church of England, by John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, and when Governor Andros sailed for America, Van Rensselear accompanied him, under the patronage of the Duke of York, who specially recommended him “ to be minister of one of the Dutch Churches in New York or New Albany, when a vacancy shall happen.” The Duke had provided for a Chaplain to the garrison of the Fort in New York, and as in

the case of Governor Nicolls, all the probabilities are that a Chaplain accompanied Governor Andros. But we have no record of any such person or his services. If there were no such person, Dominie Van Rensselear, bearing now the orders of the English Church, would doubtless have acted in that capacity, while he remained with Governor Andros. So that between him and the supposed Chaplain of the Governor, the probabilities become very strong for the renewal of the services of the Church of England here in 1674. The subsequent history of this Dominie with double orders, is very curious, and may be briefly introduced here. He appears to have remained only a short time in the City of New York, but proceeded soon to his father's Colony at Albany, where, by order of Governor Andros, in pursuance of the Duke of York's recommendation, he was subsequently inducted into the Ministry of the Reformed Dutch Church in that city, as Associate Pastor with Dominie Schaats. This was in direct violation of the rules of the Dutch Church, according to which the Classis of Amsterdam had sole authority to make such induction. And when Van Rensselear came down to New York on a visit, he was forbidden to baptize children in the Metropolitan Church, by its Pastor Dominie Van Nieuwenhuysen, who declared that he did not look upon him to be a lawful Minister, nor his admittance at Albany to be lawful. In consequence of this, Dominie Van Rensselear complained to Governor Andros, that the Church of England, and the recommendations of the King and the Duke of York had been disrespectfully treated in his person. Upon this complaint, Dominie Van Nieuwenhuysen was cited to appear before the Council to answer for this affront. In his defense, he took the ground that Dominie Van Rensselear should have promised to conform to the Catechism, Confession and Government of the Reformed Dutch Church, before he assumed the duties of the pastorate at Albany, and that he must yet do so before he could be recognized as a regularly ordained Minister of the Church of Holland. At the same time he admits that "a Minister according to the Church of England lawfully called, is sufficiently qualified to be admitted to the serving and administering of the Sacraments in a Dutch Congregation, belonging under his Majesty's dominions, having promised to conduct himself in his service according to the Constitution of the Reformed Church of Holland." Dominie Van Rensselear having subsequently subscribed such a declaration, was duly restored to his ministrations

at Albany, and the controversy ended. He does not appear afterwards however to have had a very quiet or happy history.

In the following year he was imprisoned by the magistrates at Albany, on account of "some dubious words" in one of his sermons. The case was examined at Fort James before the Governor and Council, the Aldermen, and the "*Ministers of the City of New York*," and was referred back to the local authorities at Albany, to settle matters between all parties. Dominie Schaats, who had made the charge against Van Rensselear, accordingly declared that he was reconciled, and perpetual forbearance was enjoined on each.

There is a tradition that the people of Albany, knowing of his prophecy concerning the restoration of Charles II., held Van Rensselear's prophetic pretensions in high estimation, out of which proceeded many strange stories.

After the death of his brother he acted as one of the managers of the Colony. He was married soon after his arrival here, to a daughter of Philip Schuyler of Albany. But in 1677, Governor Andros, who had so unwisely placed him in the Church there, was obliged to depose this troublesome protégé of the Duke of York from his ministry "on account of his bad and scandalous life." He survived his degradation but a short time, and died in November, 1678. His widow subsequently married Robert Livingston, who, by a curious coincidence, was the son of a Scotch clergyman who had died at Rotterdam.

I am indebted for the particulars of this history of Van Rensselear to the researches of the Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, of this city, embodied in an essay delivered before the New York Historical Society, in October, 1865, and subsequently published in the "*Christian Intelligencer*" of the 2d of November of that year, as well as the "*Historical Magazine*."

The details of the controversy between these "associate" but inharmonious "Dominies" may also be found in the New York Colonial Documents, Vol. 3, p. 225, and in the Documentary History of New York, Vol. 3, p. 526. Infelicitous as his history appears to have been, Nicholas Van Rensselear, in the anomalous position of Minister to a Dutch Reformed Congregation, is the first Clergyman bearing the Orders of the Church of England in the Province of New York, whose name is now certainly known to us. The fact of his having been reordained, in order to officiate in the

services of the English Church, is not without interest and significance.

Though by the articles of the capitulation of 1664, "the Dutch were to enjoy the liberty of their consciences in Divine Worship, and Church Discipline," the establishment of the Church of England also dates from the conquest. The "Duke's Laws" promulgated in that same year, directed: "1. The erection of a Church in each Parish. 2. Eight Overseers to be chosen by the householders of the Parish, who with their constable were to choose two as Church-wardens. 3. Ministers to produce to the Governor proof of ordination by some Protestant Bishop or Minister in some part of his Majesty's dominions, or the dominions of some foreign prince of the Reformed Religion." Subsequent laws directed churches to be built in three years, reduced the number of Overseers to four, and at last imposed a double rate in towns that had not made a sufficient maintenance for their ministers.

New York from this time was deemed a part of the Diocese of London, or a dependency on the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. In 1674, the year of its reoccupation by the English, James, by order of July 1, established a regiment at New York, with a Chaplain, who was to receive a salary of £121 6s. 8d., "to commence from ye time ye soldiers come on board, and to be paid in New York." Still we have the name of no such Chaplain, till three years later, when we find that of the Rev. Charles Wolley, who is the first Clergyman of the Church of England, in this Province, of whose labors we have any certain record.

Mr. Wolley was a graduate of Cambridge University, and came to New York in the month of August, 1678, as Chaplain to the King's forces in Fort James, which is described as "seated upon a point of the towne, on a plot of ground containing about two acres, between Hudson River and ye Sound; it was a square with stone walls, four bastions almost regular, and in it forty-six guns mounted, and stores for service accordingly." The garrison at the Fort consisted of one hundred men with their officers, and the services were held in the Chapel within the Fort, of which we shall yet speak more particularly. After spending two years here, Mr. Wolley returned to England bearing Governor Andros' certificate that he had "comported himself unblamable in his life and conversation." Our interest in him is increased from the circumstance of his having written a "Journal" of his residence here, which

was first published in London in 1701, and reprinted by Mr. Gowans of this city in 1860. Did time allow here, many interesting extracts might be made from this journal. Its author was well pleased with his sojourn here, and says of New York, it is "a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the inhabitants, both English and Dutch, very civil and courteous as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished myself and family." Mr. Gowans says in the introduction to Wolley's Journal, that from its perusal he is led to conclude that its author "was a gentleman of learning and observation; social of habit, and charitable in feeling." The following extract will confirm this opinion. "There were," he says, "in the City of New York where I was Minister to the English, two other Ministers, or Dominies as they were called there, the one a Lutheran, a German or High Dutch, the other a Calvinist, an Hollander or Low Dutchman, who behaved themselves, one towards another, so shily and uncharitably, as if Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigoted spirits upon them and their heirs forever. They had not visited or spoke to each other with any respect for six years together, before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both with their vrows to a supper one night, unknown to each other, with an obligation that they should not speak one word in Dutch, under the penalty of a bottle of Medera, alleging I was so imperfect in that language that we could not manage a sociable discourse. So accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appalled as if the ghosts of Luther and Calvin had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with a *salve tu quoque*, and a bottle of wine, of which the Calvinist Dominie was a true carouser, and so we continued our *Mensalia* the whole meeting in Latin, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blushed at myself with a passionate regret, that I could not keep pace with them; and at the same time could not forbear reflecting upon our English Schools and Universities, who indeed write Latin elegantly, but speak it as if they were confined to mood and figure, forms and phrases, whereas it should be their common talk in their Seats and Halls as well as in their School Disputations and Themes. This with all deference to these repositories of Learning. . . . The name of the Calvinist was Newenhouse, of the Lutheran Bernhardus Frazius, who was of a Gentile Personage, and a very agreeable behaviour and conversation." (Wolley's

Journal, p. 55). Dominie Van Newenhouse is the same who had the controversy with Van Rensselaar, a few years previous, concerning his English Orders. Though this represents a scene in social clerical life, somewhat different from the stricter habits of the present day, it was doubtless no violation of the recognized proprieties of the best society of New Amsterdam, and justifies the opinion that Mr. Wolley was of "social habit and charitable feeling." His pleasant ruse to reconcile two estranged brothers may have resulted in important and lasting benefits to both, and not have been fruitless to him in the blessings that attend the peacemaker. We learn from Gov. Andros' certificate that Mr. Wolley returned to England in 1680 "in order to some promotion in the church to which hee was presented." He settled in Alford in Lincolnshire, but Mr. Gowan's diligent researches could discover nothing further concerning his subsequent life. If he enjoyed this "promotion" no history of it has as yet come to light. It has been conjectured that from the pleasing impressions his sojourn in this country left on his mind, and from the name of Charles Wolley appearing among the freemen of New York in 1702, that he possibly returned to this city, where he had "so often wished himself and family." But for this we have nothing but conjecture, and the close of his career is shrouded in obscurity. We surely should be glad to learn more of one, who, so far as is certainly known to us, was the "Pioneer" of the Church in New York City.

Before proceeding to any further history of these early services of the Church, this perhaps will be the proper time to speak of the *place* in which they were held. It is not entirely an idle sentiment for a Churchman to have a special interest in the very house and locality, where — in such a great city as this now is — those venerable forms were first used, to which he holds himself indebted for the preservation of the purity of the Faith, as at first delivered to the saints. It would be a pardonable curiosity were we to labor to discover every circumstance concerning such early services, and we might be excusable if we had as much regard for the very house and spot where an Apostolic Minister first used the creeds and songs, and ministered the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, in this city, as others have for the fragment of a rock supposed to lie somewhere near the landing of those whose children say they sought to place themselves as far *from* that Church as the winds and waves would carry them.

The first place in which the *Dutch* are known to have held *their* religious services was in the "loft of the horse mill," and their first Church was built of wood on the shore of the East River in Pearl Street between Whitehall and Broad Streets. (Booth 65.) This is represented to have been but a "mean barn" at the best, and in 1642 Gov. Kieft caused a new stone Church to be built within the Fort.

Though the necessity for a new Church was acknowledged by all, and the Dutch confessed themselves greatly behind the English in the matter of their Churches, still it was not so easy to devise a plan for raising the necessary means. Governor Kieft, however, we are told, promised to advance a few thousand guilders out of the public chest, and devised the following expedient for obtaining the remainder by private subscriptions. It happened that a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Bogardus was about to be married. So when the wedding party was in the height of good humor, and mellow with the host's good cheer, the Director-General called on the guests to subscribe. The disposition to be generous was not wanting at such a time. Each guest emulated his neighbor, and a handsome list was made out. When the morning came a few were found desirous of reconsidering the transaction of the wedding feast. But Director Kief would allow no such second thought. They must all pay without exception.¹

The building thus erected is frequently spoken of as a "large Church," and was doubtless so considered at that time. It was built of "rock stone" seventy-two feet long and fifty-two feet wide. The walls were sixteen feet high, and it was covered with "split oak shingles" called "wooden slates." A description of New Amsterdam in 1671 thus speaks of the Fort, and Church of St. Nicholas. "Within the Fort and on the outermost bastion toward the River, stand a windmill, and a very high staff, on which a flag is hoisted whenever any vessel is seen in Godyn's Bay. The Church rises with a double roof between which a square tower looms aloft. On one side is the prison, on the other side of the Church the Governor's house. On the River side stand the gallows and whipping-post. A handsome public tavern adorns the farthest point." Such were the varied surroundings of the first "great Church," where the New Amsterdamers worshipped. Many of the worthy citizens objected to its being built *within* the Fort, as

¹ Ocallg., Vol. 1, 261.

that was already crowded, and it would be likely to obstruct the gales needed for the "windmill." The Governor however thought otherwise, and determined to have the Church where it and the worshippers would be safe from the attacks of the Indians, and where it would not be inconvenient to his own house. The town bell was put in the Church, at the ringing of which all laborers began and ended their work ; courts assembled, and deaths and funerals were announced by its toll. A view of New Amsterdam in 1671 represents the Church still with its double roof and tower, but in Dr. Simețier's sketch of 1673, from which Moulton's Map is taken, it appears with a single roof and gable, surrounded *with a plain Latin cross*. By whatever authority this cross was placed there, it shows us that Trinity was not the first Protestant Church in New York thus to lift up this symbol of the Christian Faith, and that it was familiar to the eyes of good Dutch *Reformed* Christians a hundred and seventy years before this bold example of our mother Parish.

When the Fort was demolished in 1787 the inscription slab of marble placed in the front of the Church by Governor Kieft was discovered, and removed to the belfry of the Old Dutch Church in Garden Street, where it remained until both were destroyed by fire in 1835. This Church in the Fort was therefore the building in which the first services of the English Church were held, as we have supposed, by Governor Nicoll's Chaplain in 1664. The Dutch continued to occupy it also, but at an earlier hour, until their new Church was built in Garden Street, in 1693. The journal of *Dankers* and *Sluyter*, who came on a tour of observation in the interest of the *Labadists*, a community of Dutch Quietists, in 1679, has the following account of a service in this Church, which by the date we suppose to have been conducted by Mr. Wolley: "October 15, Sunday, We went at noon to-day to hear the English Minister, whose services took place after the Dutch Church was out. There were about twenty-five or thirty people in the Church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the Prayer Book, as is done in *all* Episcopal Churches. A young man then went into the pulpit, and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders ; but he had a little book in his hand, out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour, or half an hour long. With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished." (Journal, p. 148.) This

we may safely conclude is the earliest description of a church service in New York City, known to any of the present day. The criticism, when compared with that made upon other services and preachers, is quite mild and favorable. They thus give their views of the preaching of the Albany Minister with whom Van Rensselaer had been so unhappily associated: "We heard a minister preach who had come from the up-river country, from Fort Orange, an old man named Dominie Schaats. He had a defect in the left eye, and used such strange gestures and language that I think I never in all my life heard anything so miserable. As it is not strange in these countries to have ministers who drink, we could imagine nothing else than that he had been drinking a little this morning. He was so rough, that even the roughest and most godless of our sailors were astonished." (Dankers' Journal, p. 112.)

In the afternoon of the same day Dankers went again to hear the "usual Minister," our former acquaintance, Dominie Van Nieuwenhuysen, who seems to have made no more favorable impression than his brother from Fort Orange. He describes him as "a thick, corpulent person, with a red and bloated face, and of a very slabbering speech." Indeed these travellers, while attending constantly upon the religious services wherever they went, did not find much to praise. They tried the Quakers at Burlington, N. Y., who "went to their work very unceremoniously and loosely. What they uttered was mostly in one tone, and the same thing, and so it continued until they were tired out, and went away."

At Newcastle, Del., they were equally unfortunate. There they found the Dutch Minister away, and in his place "a poor, limping clerk, a cripple and poor in body. He read from a book a sermon, a short explanation, and sung and made a prayer, if it may be called such, and then the people went home." The services of the young English Chaplain at the Fort, compares quite favorably we think with any of these.

As we have seen, Mr. Wolley returned to England in 1680, and we hear of no successor in the Chaplaincy till the Rev. Dr. John Gordon was commissioned in 1683. There was probably no one between these dates. Dominie Selyns, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, in October, 1682, says, — "We and the English inhabitants use the same Church. They perform their service at the conclusion of ours by reading the Common Prayer. They have a Clerk but no Minister, except one who marries and

baptizes in private houses, but does not preach." (Murphy's *Memoirs of Selyns*, p. 94.)

What sort of a Minister is referred to here, we can hardly conjecture.

Dr. Gordon remained here but one year, returning in 1688. We have no further particulars concerning his history. The Rev. Josias Clarke was commissioned in 1684, and remained for two years. The Rev. Alexander Innis succeeded Mr. Clarke in 1686, and remained till 1689. We have a few particulars of his history, but nothing that throws light upon the religious condition of the Province. He was sent out by the Bishop of London, and his passage money of £20 was paid by the Crown. He was here during the usurpation of Leisler, and was as we suppose *unjustly* suspected by him of Romish sympathies. Leisler writes to King William in August, 1689, — "Mast. Ennis, the late English Minister, lately departed from this place with a testimony of the Dutch and French Minister, has since been known to be of an opinion contrary to our Religion." (Du Semitier's MSS.) He returned however to this country again, and was for many years a respected and laborious Missionary in New Jersey, officiating chiefly in Monmouth County. He held services at Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Toponemis, as well as in other places. Talbot, in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1704, says, — "There is here one Mr. Alexander Innis, a man of great piety and probity, who by his life and doctrine preached the Gospel, and rightly and duly administered the Holy Sacraments."

The Rev. Mr. Brooke, a Missionary of the Propagation Society, at Elizabethtown in 1705, also writes, — "Shrewsbury, Freehold, and Middletown are already supplied by Dr. Innis, a very good man." (Clark's *History of St. Johns*, p. 16.) These testimonies assure us that he was a worthy and faithful Missionary of the Church, notwithstanding Leisler's suspicions, who was apt to consider every one a Papist who was opposed to him and his schemes. Mr. Innis is said to have died in 1717.

The next Chaplain was the Rev. John Miller, who was here from 1692 to 1695. On his return to England he committed to writing a "Description of the Province and City of New York," a most valuable contribution to its early history. His book is addressed to the Bishop of London, and with a history of the Colony contains plans of the City, and several Forts, as they existed in

1695. Mr. Miller was a graduate of one of the English universities, a gentleman of observation, and evidently of studious and laborious habits. He obtained much information concerning the Indians, and had taken draughts of all the cities, towns, forts, and churches of any note in the Province, but on his return voyage to England his ship was overtaken by a French privateer, and he was made prisoner, and obliged to throw all his papers overboard lest he should give information to the enemy. He employed the time of a long imprisonment in retrieving a portion of his loss, and produced the interesting book, which was a few years since given to American readers in Mr. Gowan's reprint. We can only refer briefly to some of its most interesting topics. Among the "evils and inconveniences" of the country he places prominently the want of a sufficient Ministry. He says "of the settled and established Religion of the nation, there is oftentimes not one Minister in the whole Province; nor at any time except the Chaplain to his Majesty's forces in New York, that does discharge the duty of a Minister, and he being but one, cannot do it everywhere; nay, but in a very few places but New York itself: and being necessitated sometimes to go to England, it happens that both the garrison and the City are without a Minister a year together." (p. 46.) This brings out the interesting fact that there were a "few places" beside New York to which these chaplains carried the services of the Church, at this early day. Where these places were, we have at present no means of knowing. We have good reason to conclude that *Jamaica* and *Newtown* may have been among them. There is evidence that *Newtown* as also "*Sopus*," were spoken of as early as 1680, in the proposal of the Bishop of London to send chaplains to New York, as "having earnestly desired to have ministers sent to them." (Hist. Mag. N. Series, Vol. 1, p. 333, note.)

At the time of Miller's residence here, there were ninety families belonging to the Church of England, and connected with the congregation worshipping at the Fort. And it is evident that he did not content himself with the simple routine duties of Chaplain to the garrison, but considered himself charged with the spiritual oversight of others of his countrymen, who had made their home in this Province. He proposes, and elaborates a plan, in his book for the establishment of a Bishop, "who, if duly qualified, impowered and settled, may by God's grace and blessing be the author of great blessing not only to New York in particular, but to all the

English plantations on that part of the continent of America in general." He gives a minute and detailed plan for the establishment of an American Episcopate, and shows how impossible it is for a Bishop residing 3,000 miles away, properly to administer the affairs of the Church; and also introduces a plan for the instruction and conversion of the Indians, under the charge of at least three well qualified ministers, which he trusts "shall tend to the glory of God, and the eternal felicity of immortal souls." Miller's plan for establishing the Episcopacy, has many features, growing out of the relations of the Church to the State, which in the light of past and present history would not seem altogether the best to us, but it indicates a thoughtful and earnest mind, with strong convictions of the necessity of establishing the Church in its integrity, on this new Continent. Had this been done, how different, humanly speaking, would have been our condition this day! But zealous as New York Churchmen may now be, for the growth of the Church and the reduction of the size of Dioceses, they should not forget that this worthy Chaplain anticipated them in this good work, here in their own City, by a period of one hundred and seventy-five years!

His views of what was required for the conversion and instruction of the Indians, may also differ somewhat from the views of those who have now had more experience with these children of the forest. He is very particular in his directions, as to the manner in which they shall be taught; and says of the duty of the Minister to be appointed over them: "On Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, the third Sunday in September, and on Christmas Day, after Common Prayer read in the morning, and a Psalm sung, he shall read to the people *the thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, and every other Sunday one portion of 'The Whole Duty of Man,' as they shall fall in order, and, when the whole is read out, shall begin again." After a few years of such a course as this, we should be almost disposed to believe that these native Christians would have been ready for some such sentiment as that of a celebrated American Doctor of Divinity, that "It is through the *Articles that the voice of our Church is heard speaking in its most authoritative and majestic tones!*" Miller arrived here in 1693, the same year in which an Act was passed by the Assembly for settling a Ministry, and in February, 1694, he claimed a right to be inducted, but the Council decided against his claim, and no

Minister was settled under that Act, till Mr. Vesey was inducted into the Rectorship of Trinity Church, in 1697. We hear nothing of Mr. Miller after his return to England, beyond the publication of his journal. He was followed in the chaplaincy at the Fort by Symon Smith in 1699, and by a Mr. Brisac, in 1701. We have no particulars of either of these, except that Mr. Smith was brought into some legal difficulties for having performed the marriage ceremony in a case where one of the parties was already married. We are without the date of Mr. Brisac's leaving, but find that Mr. Edmund Mott was Chaplain in 1705. He died in the month of July of the same year, and all we know of him is the account given after his death of his "effects." We are told he left "some books, a very few clothes, not worth in all six pounds, a silver seal, a silver-headed cane, and some other trifles," from which it would appear that he was no better supplied with worldly wealth than the Ministers and Missionaries of our own day.

Mr. Mott was succeeded by Dr. John Sharp, who had previously been settled in Maryland, but was at the time of his appointment associated with the Rev. Mr. Talbot, at Burlington, N. J. Dr. Sharp was an active Missionary, of whom Mr. Talbot writes in 1705 to the Secretary of the Propagation Society, — "Mr. Sharp and I have gone the rounds several times from Burlington to Amboy, to Hopewell, to Elizabeth Town, to Staten Island, in our turns, with good success, God be blessed, in all places. He has gathered a church himself at Cheesquaks, now Woodbridge, where he preached several times and baptized about forty persons. Now I am alone, for my Lord Cornbury has preferred him to be Chaplain of her Majesty's Fort and forces at New York. I saw his commission signed this day in the room of Mr. Mott, who died about three months ago. I was loath to part with my good friend and companion in travel, but considering how he had been disappointed at home, I would not hinder his preferment abroad, hoping that the good providence of God, and the venerable Society, will supply his place." (P. E. Hist. Coll., Vol. 1, p. 56.)

Mr. Sharp was subsequently made Assistant Minister in Trinity Church, and we find him still in the chaplaincy in the year 1712. By order of Governor Hunter, he inducted the Rev. Mr. Poyer into the Jamaica Church on the 18th of July, 1710.

The oldest, if not the richest Library of this City owes its be-

ginning and foundation to the liberality of Dr. Sharp. When he returned to England, he gave his own books as the beginning and nucleus of that which is now the "Society Library of New York," and any one curious in his history will find now on all its highest and dustiest alcoves, *shelves* of Latin and English folios, with the name of "John Sharp" in a clear, bold hand, as black and fresh looking as if written but yesterday. There these tomes of Anglican and Patristic lore have lain for a *hundred and fifty years*, hardly more unconscious of the life and growth of this great city, than its busy inhabitants are of the memory and deeds of this one of its earliest and most enlightened benefactors.

Dr. Sharp's name is also worthy of honorable mention here for his agency in procuring the printing of the first Book of Common Prayer that came from the American Press. He was security to Trinity Church for forty pounds loaned to Wm. Bradford to purchase paper for that purpose; the bond for which was promptly cancelled by the Church-wardens when they learned of the great loss that Bradford had sustained by this undertaking. In 1706 Dr. Sharp preached a sermon in Trinity Church on the death of Lady Cornbury, wife of the Governor of the Province, which was printed by Bradford, and a copy of which was exhibited by Mr. Wallace, at the delivery of his address at the Bradford celebration in New York in 1868. (See Mr. Wallace's Address, p. 81.) Dr. Sharp is said to have returned to England in 1717. We certainly should be glad to know something more of this early Missionary of the Church in these regions, but are unable to give any other particulars of his history. He was evidently a man of ability and attainments, and all the records of his labors that remain to us, show him to have been earnest and faithful in his high calling.

How long the services were continued at the Chapel in the Fort, we have, so far, no means of knowing. In 1716 the Rev. Robert Fenney became assistant to Mr. Vesey, in Trinity Church, and was also Chaplain to the garrison. He was afterwards Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. In 1720 the Rev. Mr. Orem, then in Bristol, R. I., was appointed Chaplain by the Governor of New York, and seems to have held the place at least till about 1727, as he preached the funeral sermon of Governor Burnet's wife, who died in that year. A manuscript copy of this sermon is still in existence, though without date. Governor Burnet, in his will dated 1727, and proved in 1729, requests to be buried "near his wife

Mary, and one of his children, at the Chapel of the Fort at New York." (*Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 9, p. 129.)

It will be perceived by this review, that the services of the Church of England had been maintained by this succession of Chaplains at the Fort for a period of more than sixty years. In the mean time the old Church built by the Dutch had disappeared and "King's Chapel" taken its place. We find the following account of the building of this Chapel, in the address of Governor Hunter's friends to the Bishop of London, in 1714: — "After Col. Fletcher had obtained of the Dutch to build themselves a Church in the Town, he pulled down the old one in the Fort, and in its room built a Chapel for the use of the garrison and his own family, which Chapel, after his removal from the government, remained at some times neglected, and at others converted into a store-house for fire-wood, till the arrival of his Excellency Brigadier Hunter, who soon repaired it and beautified it, and caused Divine service constantly to be performed in it by the Rev. Mr. Sharp, Chaplain to the forces, who gave great satisfaction to many of the Church of England, and especially such who wanted accommodation in Trinity Church (where pews are not to be purchased but at a very high rate), and were forced sometimes to absent themselves from Divine service, which now they need not do, having now a place of worship to resort unto, where all degrees are seated without price or reward." (*Doc. Hist.*, Vol. 3, p. 411.)

This was clearly the first movement among New York Churchmen in favor of "Free Pews." It is evident that there was a want of harmony between Governor Hunter and the Rector of Trinity Church, in reference to the services at King's Chapel, as other matters. The Chapel began to have something of the character of a Parish Church.

The Queen had bestowed "Plate, Books, and other furniture for its use, and the Lord's Supper was frequently administered there to the Governor and garrison, which Governor Hunter represents as being displeasing to Mr. Vesey. He writes very severe things of him to the Propagation Society, and to the Bishop of London, but Mr. Vesey seems never to have lost the confidence of the authorities of the Church in England, nor of his own people. Mr. Keith had written of him and his Parish a few years before the controversy with Governor Hunter, — "There is a brave congregation of people belonging to the Church here, as well as a

very fine fabric of a church, and the Rev. Mr. Vesey very much esteemed and loved both for his ministry and good life." (Doc. Hist., Vol. 3, p. 414.)

As is well known, Mr. Vesey conformed to the Church of England immediately preceding his appointment to Trinity Parish. Though a dissenting Minister on Long Island, there is evidence that when he was a youth, he and his parents were communicants of the Church of England, and there is no reason to doubt that he embraced the doctrines and polity of the Church from conscientious motives. As a candid and impartial writer has recently said, "It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There were not wanting in his lifetime, those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interests, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the Independents of New England: but a generous spirit cannot fail to sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices, and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged subsequent ministry." (Mr. G. H. Moore, Hist. Mag., Vol. 2, second series, p. 12.)

Our researches throw but little light upon the subsequent history of King's Chapel, or "*Queen's Chapel*," as it was called at this period. It was built, as we have seen by Governor Fletcher, about 1693, and subsequently repaired and beautified by Governor Hunter in 1710. It stood somewhere within the Fort, as the original Church of St. Nicholas had done, but of the character and size of the building we have now no knowledge. Some portion of the ground near it, or more probably *that within its walls*, must have been used as a burying-place, as Governor Bellamont is said to have been "buried with funeral honors in the Chapel of the Fort" (Booth, 1, 264), in the year 1700, and Governor Burnet in 1727, requests to be buried "near his wife Mary, and one of his children, at the *Chapel of the Fort at New York*."

No history of any such burying-place, however, is now known. The Fort was demolished, and the high ground upon which it stood leveled down in 1790. It was directly south of Bowling Green, and the site of the first church, according to Miller's plan, must have been very near to the present intersection of Whitehall and Bridge Streets. The front was toward the west, and all the

probabilities are that when Governor Fletcher built King's Chapel he placed it on the same site. This, the first House of Prayer ever built in this City *intended* for the services of the Church of England, was burned down, with the Governor's house adjoining, on the 18th of March, 1741, and nothing further remains of its history. Not only have its walls and foundations disappeared but its very site is unknown. The holy vessels given by the bounty of the Queen no longer remain, the ashes of the dead committed to its keeping have been scattered, and that such a House of God ever existed is known to but very few of the present generation. So pass away all the material works of man.

" We turn to dust, and all our mightiest works
Die too; the deep foundations that we lay,
Time ploughs them up, and not a trace remains.
We build with what we deem eternal rock;
A distant age asks where the fabric stood;
And in the dust, sifted and searched in vain,
The undiscoverable secret sleeps."

But we have been tracing a history that we trust concerns something more than material things. It will be deemed by many but a humble record, and hardly worthy the labor bestowed upon its preparation, or the time spent in its recital. It did little, perhaps, to shape the destinies of this great State, and has left but few monuments by which we are to judge of its character or influence. But even these ought not to be forgotten. The contributions of Wolley and Miller to the early history of this Province, will ever keep their memories alive with the student of American History, and the bounty of Dr. Sharp in founding the first public Library of this great City, ought to save his name from oblivion in all after times.

But over and above these things, we are not willing to believe that this was a vain effort, thus early to establish here the ministrations of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church. It was *not* lost labor for the Church of England to follow those of her children who came to these unknown and distant shores, with the safeguards and consolations of their Holy Religion. That efforts *more* worthy a Catholic and Apostolic Church were not made for the spiritual welfare of this great nation, we are willing to believe, was not from the want of faith or charity, but because that Church was in bondage with her children.

Not wishing to unsay what our fathers have said concerning our indebtedness for " a long continuance of nursing care and protec-

tion," we cannot repress the conviction that that nursing too often bound and restrained the energies of her children, instead of generously developing and enlarging them. We are not ungrateful for our heritage, or for the loving care extended to us, in spite of our mother's bonds, but we do bless God that *we* are "free born," and pray that the Church of our day and generation may be guided by what we are constrained to believe a wiser, more generous, and Catholic policy, and that no timid counsels will restrain Her energies, till She has planted Herself in Her full integrity in all borders of our land. Never since the days of Constantine, did any branch of the Church enjoy such an inheritance as God has given to us, in our free and unfettered state. Not one thing is wanting of power or gifts to make this Church the very joy of the earth. How unworthy then shall we be of our stewardship, if we withhold from our brethren or our children aught of the trust committed to us, if we have any other spirit than that which shall enable us to say, "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth!"

ART. III.—SOTERIOLOGY OF THE LATER CHURCH FATHERS.—No. II.

IN the early ages of Christianity, the city of Alexandria in Egypt, then so renowned for the learning of its inhabitants, for its magnificent library, and incomparable works of Art, was the great centre of Literature and Philosophy. "It was the congenial home of Gnostic and Platonic dreams; the centre of a liberal and spiritual, though mystic Judaism. Heathen myths and Scripture verities, by a process of allegorizing, fanciful in some respects, but not without a tincture of earnest religious feeling, had been blended, as it were, in a richly colored, though bewildering and deceptive light." In the first century, Philo, the learned Jew, had flourished there. Towards the end of the second century, Ammonius Saccas, who had been a Christian, and was more or less imbued with elements of Christian truth, opened a fresh vein of thought in the Neo-Platonic system. Plotinus and others followed in his steps. The school thus founded, claimed to be a

Religion as well as a Philosophy. It pretended to intuitions of truth, or immediate revelations. It admitted a place for Christ as among the greatest of Teachers and Theurgists. On the same principle it did not reject, but spiritualized and so labored to justify, the fables of the Greek Polytheism. It even endeavored to find a reasonable and religious basis for the generally reprobated, but much practiced arts of magic and divination.

"It was amid such influences that the Catechetical School, founded by S. Mark, and carried forward, it is said, by the labors of Athenagoras (A. D. 177), attained its first celebrity under the auspices of the famous 'Sicilian bee,' the eclectic Philosopher, Pantœnus, A. D. 180."

But far more famous in the annals of Christianity were the names of its later teachers, S. Clement and Origen. If the School of Alexandria accomplished much for Christianity, it was by no means free from speculative error. While its teachers were attempting to combat Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism with their own philosophical weapons, they unconsciously imbibed some of their erroneous tenets. The cumbrous armor of Saul is not the best fitted for an encounter with Goliath. Such too often has been the fate of over-speculative theologians. Forsaking the clear teachings of Holy Writ for the uncertain light of human Philosophy, they have in the end lost themselves in the mazes of mysticism or infidelity. But human reason, rightly directed, is the ally, not the foe of our Holy Religion. It is only the "oppositions of science *falsely* so called," which would set themselves in array against the Eternal Truth of God, and arrogate to themselves the infallible right of private judgment in things sacred and divine.

The Alexandrine Theologians held to less discriminating views of the Atonement, than were taught by earlier Christian writers. As has been already remarked, they were too much under the influence of Gnosticism. The Gnostic denied the *expiatory* work of Christ. To him there was no such thing as *guilt*, or the need of deliverance by means of a Saviour. Man could justify himself, for sin was neither guilt nor crime; but merely *evil*, a bondage, a disharmony in nature. All suffering was *disciplinary*, not penal; designed to reform, not to punish the sufferer. The schools of Basilides and Valentinus both agree in this. Ptolemæus held in addition, that Justice was not an attribute of the supreme God, but only of the Demiurge. Marcion looked on God as pure

Love, and utterly destitute of the attribute of Justice. This Gnostic view can be traced in heretical writers down to the present day. It is the very essence of "Liberal Christianity" in its various ramifications of Unitarianism, Universalism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, Free-love, etc., etc. It is alike the glory of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley and Brigham Young.

The ground of this heresy was the fatal defect of Gnosticism, viz.: that it held, not that man was created out of nothing by the absolute fiat of the Almighty, but that he sprang from God by a mere natural development. This of course destroyed man's accountability for evil, since he was but an emanation from Deity — not a free moral agent, but simply "a spark of the divine fire." There was a series of emanations from Deity of interminable length, extending down to man the last link and refuse of the series. Hence man needs no expiation for *sin*, but only a separation from inevitable evil.

S. Titus Flavius Clemens, called *Alexandrinus* to distinguish him from the Roman Clement, was originally a pagan Philosopher. He succeeded his master, Pantœnus, in the Catechetical School somewhere about A. D. 189, and taught till A. D. 202. He is supposed to have died about A. D. 220.

S. Clement held to a loose view of the sterner attributes of God, which led him to think that the punishment of the wicked *would not be eternal* in its duration. He says, — "Christ is the great High-Priest, through whose mediatorial work *all* are exalted to unity with God. The only good Almighty works Redemption from eternity through the Son; but in evil He has no part. Everything is subordinate to the Redemption by the Lord of all. Hence it is the object of redeeming righteousness to conduct each being, so far as is possible, to what is better and more perfect."

Here the Alexandrine School diverges manifestly from orthodoxy. All the earlier fathers (*e. g.* S. Clem. Rom., S. Justin Martyr, Minucius Felix, Tertullian) insist in the strongest terms on the *eternal duration* of future punishment for the finally impenitent. It is but fair to say that, with this drawback, the writings of the Alexandrian Clement can be accepted as orthodox. The Catholic Church recognizes him as one of her saints. He teaches clearly and distinctly the eternal Godhead of Christ, and the atoning Merits of His Death. In his writings we find the famous phrase, which all good Catholics are wont to employ, — "The Blood of

God" (*Αἷμα Θεοῦ Παιδὸς, not Παιδὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Quis dives salv. 34*). S. Clement is rich in passages, which declare the power of the Death of Christ. "He hath changed sunset into sunrise, and through the Cross brought death to Life." . . . "By His Blood, and by the Word, He has gathered the bloodless host of peace, and assigned to them the Kingdom of Heaven." (Cohort. c. 11.) "Generous, therefore, is He who gives for us the greatest of all gifts, His own Life; and beneficent exceedingly, and loving to men, in that, when He might have been Lord, He wished to be a brother Man; and so good was He that He died for us." (Pædag. B. I. c. 9.) "For the blood of the grape — that is, the Word — desired to be mixed with water, as His Blood is mingled with Salvation. And the Blood of the Lord is twofold. For there is the Blood of His Flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption; and the spiritual, that by which we are anointed. And to drink the Blood of Jesus, is to become partaker of the Lord's Immortality." (P. II. c. 2.) And, speaking of the crown of thorns, he says, — "It is a symbol of the Lord's successful work, He having borne on His Head, the princely part of His body, all our iniquities by which we were pierced. For He by His own Passion rescued us from offenses and sins, and such like thorns; and having destroyed the devil, deservedly said in triumph, 'O Death, where is thy sting?' " (II. c. 8.)

Origen, surnamed "The Adamantine" (*ἀδαμάντινος, χαλκέντερος*), was born at Alexandria (185), and was a pupil of S. Clement, to whose office he succeeded. His was a mind of wonderful fertility. He was the author of at least six thousand different works, and wrote, as S. Jerome says, more than another man could read. He was condemned (A. D. 231) by the Alexandrine Church for false doctrine and violation of the canons, though the sentence seems afterwards to have been remitted. He died at the city of Tyre, (254) in the communion of the Catholic Church. The title of "Saint" was never bestowed on him by the Church, owing to his heterodoxy.

The Soteriology of Origen is very fanciful, and differs widely from the orthodox view. In it we note three great and dangerous errors.

1. That there is a fixed and definite number of rational beings, existing from all eternity.
2. That punishment is never judicial, but always disciplinary.

3. That there is no such thing as eternal, endless punishment.

1. Origen's first error was with regard to the number of God's creatures. He says, "God could not create an infinite number of rational beings, for His providence could not extend to so many beings, as boundless in number as He Himself is boundless in Essence."

His theory is substantially this. "All rational beings were created together at the beginning of the Universe. They were alike endowed with freedom and power to increase virtue, or to lose it. But since intelligent beings made a different use of their freedom, and some lost more or less of their inherent holiness: there arose a great moral difference between them, so that Divine Justice was obliged to change their external circumstances. For this reason God created the world that all might have a position appropriate to their characters. Some were made angels — others, men — the worst condemned to the position of evil spirits. Such was the distinction between heavenly, earthly, and infernal beings.

"But all these creatures still preserved their free will, and could by turning to good raise themselves from the lower ranks to the higher stages of existence. Nay, even the devil himself was capable of reformation, and would, if he saw fit to amend his behavior, return to a happy condition! God created this world to give habitations to rational beings fitted to their capacity and calculated to improve their morals. When it has accomplished this end, it will be destroyed."

In this way Origen thought that he could account for the differing conditions in which men are born. It led him to maintain, that "the history of the Universe is a history of apostasy and redemption, first one, and then the other. The creation of man was simply the apostasy of a determinate number of angels, for all created beings commenced life together."

The nature of sin he held to be negative, not positive. (*Malum est bono carere. De Principiis*). All evil is simply the lack of good, has no existence in itself, is an accident which befalls the soul, so that sin is literally spiritual death. Redemption is not an elevation above the original condition of the soul, but only a restoration to it. The souls of men with free will and consciousness have departed from their life in God, and must return to it. They could not do this till every restraint and every sin was removed. Christ came to redeem, not men alone, but also the fallen angels. Such a view of apostasy and redemption would fatally diminish the soul's sense of the guilt of sin.

“After as well as before their fall, these apostate beings have the power of self-determination. These fallen beings can purge themselves from sin, can rise from one grade of being to another till at length they reach their original perfection — union and communion with God. This is the goal of freedom.”

In this divine plan there is a great unity and a living organism; i. e. the power and wisdom of God. “For God rules not by irresistible power, and herein lies the clearest and purest glory of Omnipotence; that all things are subject to Him by His word and wisdom, not by sheer power and necessity.” God’s foreknowledge does not destroy the creature’s free will. “God certainly foresees the future, but this foreknowledge is not the determining ground of what comes to pass. Rather, what is to happen is the determining ground of the divine foreknowledge.” God’s providence, while it rules and directs all things, regulates without destroying our freedom of will. Evil is that which annihilates good; it is the negation of positive virtue; it is spiritual death just as cold is the lack of heat. We see from this how great truths can be blended with fatal error, giving to the latter a plausibility which renders it the more pernicious.

2. The second error of Origen was, “that punishment is never *judicial*, but always merely *disciplinary* in its intent.” He says (*contra Celsum*, III. 497), “If it were not useful for the conversion of sinners to apply torments to the erring, a compassionate and kind God would never punish crimes.” “Since God hates no one, the punishment of sin is not His work, but the necessary consequence of crime.” The wicked, oppressed by the weight of their sins, “cannot elevate themselves to the higher regions; but hover for a time about their graves, or engage in other earthly and natural pursuits,” and then are handed over to judgment, and the punishment of fire. As all true happiness is spiritual, so is this purgatorial fire in no respect material, but purely spiritual. In a word, it is banishment from God, and the pangs of a reproving conscience. “No one kindles it but the sinner, for himself,” and the fuel is furnished by his sins, which pass in review before his guilty conscience. “Their whole mass, if the soul be overloaded, will in due time break forth into a fire of punishment.” It is a fire, “like the flame of passion in this world, only much fiercer;” a pang, “as when the limbs are torn from their sockets, only more horrible is the smart of the dislocated soul when torn from the order and harmony of nature.”

By all these punishments, however, God designs only the purification of the soul. How long this condition is to endure, and what periods of suffering the sinner must pass through, depends on the greatness and enormity of his sins. But it was in no case eternal, and would probably terminate with the end of the visible world. Then a new era of Creation would begin, and the history of the soul be repeated — first holy, then falling away into sin and misery — redeemed by God and restored to holiness and happiness, only to pass through a new cycle of changes. In some respects Origen's theory resembled that of the modern school of Universalists, termed Restorationists; though of course many of his fancies were quite peculiar to himself.

3. In common with them he taught that there is no such thing as eternal, endless punishment. This is a logical conclusion from his view of *sin*. If sin be only a *disease*, and punishment the *medicine* for it, then of course there is and can be no such thing as endless punishment; else the remedy would be worse than the disease. But once admit the true idea of *penalty*, and punishment from its very nature must be endless. God's Law and Majesty are infinite, and an insult offered to them can never be expiated by the offender. Eternal punishment is the nearest approximation to an infinite redress of an infinite wrong. If the sanctity of God's government must be vindicated by the punishment of the sinner to-day, it must be in like manner to-morrow, and so on world without end. There is therefore a vast difference between the penal damnation of the incorrigible offender, and the disciplinary chastisement of the yet imperfect Christian.

Christ's death appeared to Origen to be necessary in this wise. We were, although by our creation the lawful property of God, yet by our sin transferred to the possession of the devil. We sold ourselves to Satan, and the price of our souls was paid to us in the shape of murder, adultery, theft, and the like. (Here we might well exclaim with Dr. South, when preaching on "The Wages of Sin," "Poor wages indeed that a man cannot live on!") Satan required for our deliverance a redemptive price. God, in the Person of His theanthropic Son, paid the price; in other words, He delivered up His human soul to Satan. But the devil was cheated after all! He thought that if Jesus were removed, all men would be under his power. But the soul of Jesus was victorious in Hades, and he could not fetter it. In company with all the souls which believed

on Him He escaped, and Pandemonium suffered a sensible diminution in the number of its inhabitants.

But amid all his error we can discern even in Origen the traces of purer Church Doctrine. The death of Christ had another influence : it reconciled us to God as well as ransomed us from the power of Satan. Origen often refers to this :—

“Because sin entered the world, demanding reconciliation through a sacrifice, it was necessary that there should be a sacrifice for sin.”

“In so far as Christ is a sacrifice, He becomes our reconciliation through the pouring out of His Blood, by which He gives the forgiveness of past sins.”

“Death, which as punishment for sin was laid upon Him, is the purification of sin.”

“Jesus alone could take the burden of sin for all through His Cross, and bear it with the greatest strength.”

“He has truly taken our sins upon Him and is abused for our transgressions and the punishment which belonged to us has been laid upon Him, whereby we are reformed and attain peace.”

“He alone was perfect and no deceit was found in His mouth ; therefore is He a pure sacrifice and acceptable unto God.”

Such sentiments as these have led authors like Thomasius to maintain the orthodoxy of Origen, though on very slender grounds.

Origen (as we have seen) does not recognize any primitive justice of God to which satisfaction for sin must be made, in order that the divine holiness may be vindicated. Punishments are only healing remedies, and in lieu of these the mercy of God can use milder means. When at length by the preponderance of sin punishments had lost their restoring power, God, in His fatherly affection for mankind, sent into the world the Redeemer, who through His atoning death, should break the power of sin, and thereby cause the remission of punishment. Thus Christ suffered in our stead for our justification and to remove our merited punishment.

The object of the Atonement was to satisfy, not divine Justice, but divine Love. The sins of the world which Jesus took away were only those of the Church. He died only for believers. Thus Calvin was forestalled in one of his errors. Origen says, “God makes man holy, and then pronounces him exempt from law.” And again, “God might by a sovereign act have made milder means sufficient for man’s exemption.” He held moreover that the sacrifices of the Old Testament were not merely the types of Christ’s

Atonement, but that they literally expiated sin. For capital crimes the penalty was death, and this expiated the crime for both time and eternity. Inferior sins, by permission of the divine Mercy, were expiated by the offering of sacrifices, which took the place of repentance. "The victim is offered that sins may be purged away." Each sacrifice expiated a single sin, but none were universal until the Death of Christ afforded a general amnesty to believers.

Yet, amid the worthless ore of Origen's voluminous writings, we sometimes find precious passages, sparkling with all the lustre of the golden streets of the New Jerusalem. Thus, speaking of Christ's offices, this beautiful passage occurs: "He is called the Way, because He leads the erring to the Truth; the Physician, He heals the diseases of the soul; the Door, man enters through Him to God; Bread of life, through His Word He nourishes and strengthens the spirit; Lamb of God, by His Death He has taken away the sins of the world; High Priest, He gave Himself a Sacrifice for us." To sum up, we are driven to the conclusion that Origen departed far from the Apostolic standard of true doctrine, and was the first of those learned but erroneous teachers, who, continuing through life within the pale of the Catholic Church, did what was in their power to weaken Her authority and corrupt Her Faith. Still, so ambiguous is his language and so obscure the meaning of his doctrines, that many have believed him orthodox. Among these Thomasius, a German writer of some eminence, has labored hard to vindicate the orthodoxy of Origen. *Credat Judæus Apella, non ego.*

Those desiring to obtain a full view of the life and doctrines of this extraordinary man, can consult with advantage his biography by Professor Redepenning, or that of Thomasius, above referred to.

S. Cyril of Jerusalem, † 386. "We were enemies of God through sin, and God had appointed the sinner to die. One of two things therefore must needs have happened, — that God keeping His word should destroy all men, or that in His loving kindness He should cancel the sentence. But behold the wisdom of God; He preserved both the truth of His sentence and the exercise of His loving kindness. Christ took our sins in His own Body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live to righteousness." ¹

¹ *Catech.* xiii. 33.

"We have not sinned to so great a degree, as He was righteous Who laid down His life for us."¹

Eusebius (Pamphili), Bishop of Cæsarea, the author of the Church History known by his name, was born about 261. In his "Demonstr. Ev." IV. 12, he recounts these motives for the Death of the Lord Jesus: 1. To prove that He is Lord over the dead and the living; 2. As a redeeming Sacrifice for sin; 3. To destroy the power of demons; 4. To give His disciples a manifest hope of a future life through the Resurrection, and 5. To supply what was lacking in the ancient sacrifices.

The mention of *Eusebius* leads us by a natural transition to the first *Nicene Council*. This great council of three hundred and eighteen Bishops from all parts of the then known world, was convoked at Nicæa, in Bithynia, in the year 325, by the Emperor Constantine the Great, to consider the tenets broached by the Alexandrine Presbyter Arius, touching the eternal Nature of the Son of God. The Creed, which was framed by the council in condemnation of the Arian heresy, while it contains manifest allusions to the spiritual doctrine of the Atonement, attempts no formal statement of it.

If we seek a correct exposition of the theological tenets held by the Fathers of the Nicene Council, we must search the writings of the master spirit of that council, the great *S. Athanasius*, so justly called "The Father of Orthodoxy." This illustrious champion of the Faith was born at Alexandria (296), and became its Bishop in the year 326. He was distinguished for the active part which he took in defense of the doctrine of the Trinity against the assaults of the Arian heretics, and for his zeal was frequently sent into banishment. His death occurred A. D. 373. An interesting and valuable biography of him has been written by the R. C. divine Möhler. See also his memoir in Böhringer's "Kirchenge-schichte in Biographien."

S. Athanasius clearly maintains the expiatory work of Christ. His view is this. God threatened man with death, if he sinned. This threat could not remain unfulfilled consistently with God's Truth. But the philanthropy of God would not allow all men, created by Himself, to be destroyed. Therefore He allowed Jesus to die for men, by which means His Truth and Love were both preserved. No writer of the fourth century is clearer on these

¹ *Catech.* xii. 33.

points than S. Athanasius, who maintained (according to Möhler) these propositions:—

1. Christ came to restore the true knowledge of God to man.

2. He came to annihilate sin. Not merely to forgive, but to root it out of us. (Or. II. c. Ar. c. 56.)

3. He came to recover immortality, *i. e.* the confidence and clear consciousness of immortality. By the eternal power given us by Christ we will be preserved unto immortality.

4. Through sin idolatry arose; with the blotting out of sin in Christ the Lord it ceases.

5. By sin man was in Satan's power and performed his works, but the Saviour freed him from these. (Or. II. c. Ar. c. 53.)

6. Through sin men have a slavish fear of God; but when they know that through love He has sent His only-begotten Son to them, they once more have confidence in God. (Or. II. c. Ar. c. 70.)

7. He came to reconcile us to the Father, and to make us children of God. (Or. I. c. Ar. c. 37, 38.)

8. He came to make man *capax divinæ naturæ*. (II. c. 59.)

9. He came to unite man to the Holy Spirit. (I. c. 49.)

10. He came to restore all things to their original state. "Thus in Him is the human race made perfect, and restored as it was in the beginning; and indeed with greater grace, for having risen from the dead, we need fear no longer death, but in Christ we shall reign forever in Heaven.

11. He came, not only to unite men to God, but also with one another. (John xvii. 21.) Yet S. Athanasius did not separate these motives; but considered them all as intimately linked together with one another.

The chief work of S. Athanasius, which treats of this subject, is entitled "De Incarnatione." In this he says distinctly, "Christ endured death for us." "Christ has taken upon Himself our sufferings; He presents them to the Father, and beseeches Him to accept them in our stead."

He recognizes in the Atonement both *substitution and expiation*.

"Repentance would be sufficient were it not for the Truth and Justice of God. The Logos became incarnate to remove the condemnation of Law by paying the penalty." "All were subject to the debt of Death, and to remove this He came. After He had shown His Godhead by His

works, He offered sacrifice for all, in that He gave the temple of Himself to Death instead of all, that He might make all innocent and free from the old transgression. He showed Himself stronger than Death, displaying His own incorruptible Body as the first-fruits of the Resurrection of all. And because the death of all is fulfilled in the Lord's Body, death and corruption disappear by the Logos which was in Him. For there was need of death, and He must suffer death for all, that the debt of all may be paid. But now the curse is removed from us, since corruption disappears through the grace of the Resurrection; we suffer mortality of the body (but not the curse of the Law), only that we may obtain the better Resurrection." (D. I. c. 20, 21.) He adds, "As the seed, deposited in the earth, does not remain dead; so is our dissolution not forever, but we attain to the Resurrection, since Death has been blotted out through the grace given us by the Redeemer."

No one can question that S. Athanasius teaches a mediatorial Death of Christ; that His *bodily* Death is the blotting out of our *spiritual* death. When he speaks of the Death of Christ and of our death, he uses the word "death" in widely different significations.

S. Athanasius, in his various theological writings, maintains these points very distinctly.

1. The Redeemer of mankind must possess in the truest and fullest sense the *Divine Nature and dignity*. This point he warmly contested with the Arian heretics. If Christ were a mere creature, man could have received no sufficient aid from him, but he would have needed help himself; he could not, on behalf of others, have conquered the devil; and the sufferings of a mere creature would not have sufficed for our Redemption.

2. Christ must also *be truly Man*. Christ, destitute of human nature, could not have benefited his fellow men, since man must work out his own salvation.

3. It is quite as necessary that the theanthropic Redeemer should *be free from all sin*, else he could never have freed himself and others from the guilt and power of sin.

Here we have all that is *de fide* in Soteriology, and none but an ignorant or malicious writer can pretend that Archbishop Anselm was the originator of the orthodox doctrine of the Atonement. S. Athanasius also maintained that the *necessity* of the Atonement was *relative*. God might, had He so willed, have liberated men by mere compassion, and no injustice would have been done. But

having once threatened sin with punishment in His Holy Law, He was bound by His truth to inflict the penalty. This view commands the assent of about four sevenths of the fathers and doctors of the Church. The mind of the Church is about as evenly divided on this metaphysical point, as with regard to the Creation and Traducian theories of the origin of the human soul.

To the question, "Could not God have accomplished the Redemption of man by a nod, and have thus removed the curse?" he replies, "No, for we must look at that which is profitable for men, and not grope after that which God might have done. He could have destroyed mankind before Noah's ark was built, and yet He did not do it. He could have led Israel out of Egypt without the aid of Moses; but yet He thought it better to accomplish the deliverance through the mediation of Moses." "Christ came to accomplish our salvation" — therein lies the ground, the necessity, and the reason of His Incarnation. "Once indeed, when as yet nothing existed, a nod or volition of God was needed to establish the Universe. But after man had been created, and the necessity existed to heal that which was already formed; then it was appropriate that the Physician and Saviour should come to created beings and heal them. Man was already created, therefore the Logos in order to heal man must put on the human body. For not that which was not had need of deliverance, so that a mere *fiat* would have been sufficient; but man, who was already created, was shipwrecked and about to go to the bottom." Again, "The distinction was not outside of the body but in it. As death arose in the body; so, when Christ brought Life, Life arose." Moreover, "Death cannot appear, but in the body. Therefore the Word has taken a Body to destroy Death, which was found in the body." "If God had commanded the curse to remove, and men had sinned again, the same necessity would have arisen. Men would have been burthened with guilt, they would have remained the slaves of sin and never have attained to freedom." Thus he maintains the relative necessity of Christ's Atonement.

But little trace of the dogma of "Satan's claims" can be found in the writings of S. Athanasius. He was rather inclined to regard Christ's Passion as a victory over *Death*. Thus he says: —

"Since Christ offered that Body free from every spot which He had taken as a Sacrifice to Death, He removed death from His brethren. Since He took upon Himself, when He died upon the Cross, the curse into

which we had fallen ; He took the curse from us." This was the annihilation of Death. "Inasmuch now as the Word, through the taking of a Body and the grace of the Resurrection, destroyed Death as the stubble is consumed by fire ; He called men back from death to life, and replaced them in immortality."

"When salvation came into the world, the earth received a blessing instead of a curse. Paradise was opened to the thief, the dead were aroused, the graves were opened, and the gates of Heaven were lifted up."

The Eastern Church was especially influenced by the doctrinal writings of S. Athanasius. Among the Greek fathers *S. Gregory, of Nazianzum*, was distinguished as a scholar and a divine. This illustrious Bishop was born about the year 300 at Ariasus, not far from Nazianzum, and at length attained the rank of Patriarch of Constantinople. † 390. S. Gregory Nazianzen rejected the dogma of "Satan's claims," as altogether unworthy of God. He says (*Orat. xlii.*) : —

"Therefore He (Christ) united in Himself that which was condemned in order to free all from condemnation ; in that He became all that we are, taking on Himself our sin, body, soul and spirit, even unto death. . . . All met in this One — His Soul for our souls, which had been disobedient ; His Flesh for our flesh, which had served lust and fallen under condemnation ; Christ for Adam ; the Conqueror of all sin for him who had fallen under sin. Therefore the New replaced the old — through the sufferings which he (Adam) endured, he (Adam) was replaced in his original state. There was the Incarnation for the creation ; the Virgin for the woman ; Bethelhem for Eden ; the Manger for the garden. Tree stands opposed to tree, and Hand to hand ; the Hand stretched out on the Cross, to the hand stretched out for the fruit ; the Hand pierced with nails to the hand laden with sin. The elevation on the Cross was a compensation for the fall ; the bitter gall for the sweet fruit ; the Crown of thorns for the sceptre of Satan ; Death for death, and Resurrection for resurrection."

This beautiful passage treats of the subject in a general way. But, he asks (*Orat. xlv.*), —

"To whom and for whom was that Blood shed ? I mean that precious and glorious Blood of the Son of God, both High Priest and Sacrifice. We were under the power of the evil one, in that we were sold under sin, and the price was the love of vileness. If now the Ransom was paid to any one but the true owner, to whom (I demand) was it offered ? and for what reason ? Was it paid to the evil one himself ? Shame on the

insolent thought. For then the robber would have received not only of God, but God Himself (in Christ) as a Ransom and a superfluous reward for his tyranny. . . . Is it not manifest that *the Father* received the Ransom, not because He demanded or needed it, but for the sake of the divine Plan of Salvation, and because man must be sanctified through the Incarnation of God?"

Again, "God became Man and died that we might live. We died with Him that we might be purified; we are arisen with Him, because we died with Him; glorified with Him, because arisen with Him." (Orat. xlv.)

ART. IV. — NICHOLAS HAMNER COBBS, LATE BISHOP OF ALABAMA.

1. *The Farewell Message to his Clergy, The Address delivered at the Funeral by the Rt. Rev. STEPHEN ELLIOTT, D. D., Bishop of Georgia, and Obituary Notices*: Barrett, Urmlish & Co., Montgomery, 1861.
2. *The Israelite without Guile, — a Memorial Sermon by the Rev. GEO. F. CUSHMAN, D. D.*: Farrow & Dennett, Mobile, 1861.
3. *Journals of the Alabama Convention, 1845 to 1861.*

IN the highly appreciative discourses delivered by the late Bishop of Georgia, and by the Rev. Dr. Cushman, soon after the decease of the venerated Prelate, of whom some account is now to be given, we find but little of biographical detail. The life of one, at first, a laborious Parish Priest in a rural district, and at last the indefatigable Bishop of a new Diocese, does not abound in incident. But the man himself was a marvelous study to those who knew him well; and the preachers who sought to do him honor, found themselves embarrassed in attempting to describe a nature so utterly unselfish, a character in which all the Christian graces were so harmoniously adjusted. The Bishop of North Carolina, his intimate and familiar friend, has well said of him, — "In his character, wisdom and goodness were more remarkably combined than in any man I ever knew."

One of Bishop Cobbs' deepest convictions was of the truth and reality of Baptismal Grace. His own history warranted this faith.

He was born in the mountain region of Virginia, near the Peaks of Otter, at a time when the old colonial Clergy had passed away, and none had risen up to take their place. His mother was a devout Churchwoman. She carried him on horseback from Bedford to Albermarle, a distance of seventy miles, to have him baptized. She taught him his catechism, and reared him in the Faith of the Church, "invisible" as it was to the eye of sense. Another relation, whose son-in-law he afterwards became, was a resolute Churchwoman. To the day of her death she never heard a sermon preached by a "dissenter" from the religion established by law in her younger days. She kept before him his duty to the Church, and, it is said, first directed his thoughts to the sacred Ministry.

Bishop Cobbs loved much to talk of his early days, and of the gracious Providences by which he was slowly, and even painfully conducted to clear views of Gospel truth, and to the Ministry of the Apostolic Church of Christ. The remarkable depth of his religious experience, and the unfaltering tenacity with which through evil and through good report, in life and even in death, he clung to certain great principles, were largely due to the conflicts and difficulties of his youth.

His early history was one of deepest and most sorrowful conviction of sin, of ineffectual efforts to find the door of hope. There was in his neighborhood a Presbyterian Minister of great power. The Bishop described himself as quailing under his preaching, as listening to the just sentence of the law 'until his hair stood on end. It was long before he learned the truths which he afterwards so loved to preach, viz. :—

1. That Christ Jesus came into the world to save, not good people, but sinners.

2. That God has not now to be reconciled to man, either by Romish penance of the body, or by the Protestant penance of groans and self-torment. But that at the Cross God was reconciled to all the world, so that it only remains for us to be reconciled to God.

3. That he, as a baptized person, was no alien or heathen but a child, although an erring and rebellious child, and that according to the stipulations of that Baptismal Covenant, it was his privilege to confess his fault and be forgiven.

The writer remembers to have preached a sermon on a week

day to a very few people, embodying these truths. Bishop Cobbs was sick, and lay upon a lounge in the vestry-room. On entering after service, the Bishop said to him, — “You have made me cry” — and indeed his eyes were suffused with tears — “it was not much of a sermon to be sure, but it does me good to hear you young Clergy preaching the doctrine that I groped after so many years in vain.”

Mr. Cobbs’ father gave him the best education that could be had in that region. It would seem from his subsequent attainments that the “old-field” school-master imparted to him sound and valuable English and classical instruction. Well was that father’s care repaid. At seventeen years of age Nicholas began himself to teach, and educated all his brothers and sisters; and thirty-two years afterward, as his first Episcopal act, he laid his hands upon the head of that venerable father.

It is well known that Mr. Cobbs was not confirmed, and never received the Holy Communion at the hands of a Church Clergyman until the day of his ordination to the Diaconate. Strange is it that with so little guidance, he should have found his way to Holy Orders.

Although the Ministers of the Church had passed away in his vicinity, yet their libraries were scattered about among various families. These books he borrowed, and thus read diligently the old-fashioned sterling volumes of English Divinity. For a year before his ordination, although cumbered with the cares of a family, and a large school, he mastered the Hebrew Grammar, and read every day a full chapter of the Hebrew Bible. He gave a graphic account of his ordination; of his lonely trip on horseback to the Convention, tempted over and over again to turn back; of his dread of the examiners, and of the inexpressible confusion with which he faced the people, and read the Gospel.

“I had no chance,” he used to say to his young clergy. “I was nothing but a mountain boy, with no one to teach me anything. If I had had your opportunities, I might have been good for something.” The first Prayer Book he ever owned was a second-hand one, for which he gave a dollar and a half. He thought that had Prayer Books, in the days of his early ministry, been as cheap as they are now, his usefulness would have been doubled.

Among these formative influences, we must not forget the

natural beauties of the country in which he lived ; for he was very sensitive to natural beauty, and never wearied in admiring the Peaks of Otter, at whose base Bishop Otey and himself were reared. He loved the mountains, "they gave a man something to wrap the cords of his heart around." Said Bishop Elliott playfully to him once,—"Brother Cobbs, you seem to think that better and holier men grow up under the shadow of the Peaks of Otter than elsewhere." "I did not say that," replied Bishop Cobbs, "but I say, they ought to be good men. Your Carolinians and Georgians, when they rise in the morning, where do they cast their eyes? down, down upon the rice-field and the cotton patch. But the Bedford man goes out into his porch, and sees the Peaks first, and his eye travels upwards to the clouds, and to the sky." We may not record the interesting stage-coach discussion which followed, touching the comparative greatness of those born in the mountains, and those hard by the sea. The many-sounding ocean had in Bishop Elliott an earnest champion.

Many years ago, a young Clergyman went to Bishop Cobbs for counsel as to the most judicious manner of ministering to persons in affliction. He said, "All I know about it is this. When I go to see any one in trouble, if my religious sensibilities are in proper exercise, I can sit down and weep with them, and that does more good than anything else. The sum of the Gospel is sympathy for man ; unaffected sympathy is the great power of the ministry."

After a pause he added, "Do you know how and where I learned my pastoral duty? and what has given the key-note to my ministry? I learned it all from a poor negro."

The story is as follows. In his early ministry, when residing near New London, Mr. Cobbs was prostrated for weeks by a lingering fever. One Sunday, when he was sufficiently convalescent to leave his bed, and was reclining on some chairs, a visitor knocked at his door. It proved to be a servant who lived ten miles distant, and who was one of his colored congregation. The servant inquired about his health, and some kind words followed. As he turned to go away, Mr. Cobbs said "I suppose you are going into the village." "No sir ; back home now." "Did you come straight from home?" "Yes sir—I just stepped over to see how you were."

The thought that this man cared so much for him as to walk ten miles, over a mountain, and back again, merely to inquire about his

health, completely overpowered him. He burst into tears, and in that hour solemnly vowed to Almighty God, that he would to the best of his ability, regardless of his own convenience, show pity, kindness and sympathy to the sorrowful.

Well might he say in his last words to the Clergy, "I have *tried* to show sympathy and kindness to all, especially to the afflicted and to the bereaved."

We have thus mentioned, as from his own lips, some of the circumstances under which he was fitted for his work. It is a matter of wonder that with so few early advantages, nay with so many actual disadvantages—for he was feeble and often an invalid, working hard as a teacher for a long while—he would have accomplished so much in his ministry.

From 1824 until 1839, Mr. Cobbs was at work in the region around his native home. His health was delicate, for from his youth he was a martyr to dyspepsia. His family was large, and his resources limited. Five days of the week he conducted the New London Academy, and each Saturday and Sunday he preached in churches, mills, and private houses. His labors extended over four counties, and in all of them the Church became firmly established.

It was during this period that he was Chaplain at the University of Virginia; and to his influence is due the marked changes which took place in the religious character of that Institution.

The Bishop loved to recur to his early ministry. It was his deliberate judgment, often expressed, that none of his efforts had accomplished more real good than those services held on a Saturday afternoon with a congregation of ten or twelve people.

We find Mr. Cobbs next in Petersburg, where for four years he ministered with a success seldom attained by any Presbyter. Then follow a brief sojourn in Cincinnati, and his election in 1844 to the Episcopate of Alabama.

It was a grief to him to leave his native State, for he honored and venerated it beyond measure. But in truth he could no longer live there in comfort. In the wholesale denunciation of the Oxford tracts which was made in Convention he could not share. He was far, very far from indorsing those writers. In the matter of the Sacraments, for instance, he thought they defined too much. But he did sympathize with them most heartily in their efforts to enhance the people's estimate of the Church, and the Sacraments. He

could not, and would not proscribe a teaching, in which, mingled with error, there was so much truth necessary for the times. Said he, "The man who could here in Virginia preach against excessive Sacramentalism would cry fire in the flood."

"Look at it," he would say in his peculiar manner. . "What a noble body of clergy they have in Virginia, and yet the *Church does not grow!* The truth is there is an unending coquetry going on between the Clergy and the people. A young man who wishes to get married does not sit on the other side of the room, and tell the girl he has a respect for her. No, he sits down on the sofa by her, and takes her hand, if he can, and asks her to be his wife. But these dear, good brethren, generalize all this time. They are afraid to say to the poor sinner, come to the Lord Jesus in the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church."

He felt, and keenly felt that his soundness in the Faith was doubted. He knew that he had not the full confidence of his Bishop, whom he loved and revered. And he could not but attribute to that suspicion his defeat when the Laity of Virginia, as with one voice, demanded him for Assistant Bishop.

Thus it was that Providence severed the bonds that attached him to his native State, and sent him to be, for sixteen years, the indefatigable chief Pastor of the young Diocese of Alabama.

For more precise details of the Bishop's history we refer the reader to Dr. Cushman's accurate sermon, and now proceed to the pleasant task of attempting to portray the characteristics of this holy man of God. Wherever it is possible, illustration will be preferred to description.

1. The most marked characteristic of Bishop Cobbs was unselfishness.

There was an unaffected indifference to his own ease and comfort, to his personal rights, to his reputation, which impressed all around him. This was seen in little things and in great. He chose invariably the least comfortable seat, the most indifferent place. Those who have travelled with him, will remember how he insisted on turning out, and giving the road to everybody, white or black. Nothing pleased him so well as to retire into the background, and bring one of his Clergy into notice. We have seen him laugh like a happy child when he accidentally heard that somebody's parishioners thought him a better preacher than the Bishop. Never did he concern himself for a moment as to the opinion of others about his personal gifts and talents.

During the General Convention of 1853, the Bishop preached one Sunday in New Jersey, his subject being the sharp contention between Paul and Barnabas; and a little after the writer happened to be in the same vicinity. On meeting him, he asked if we had heard anything said about his sermon, and seemed annoyed when the question was evaded. At last we told him reluctantly that we had heard of the sermon, and that if we must tell him, the people were disappointed in it. We shall never forget the expression of pleasure and relief which came over his features. He feared that he had been understood as alluding to the affairs of the Diocese, a discourtesy of which he was unwilling to be suspected. As to the opinion of the critics, it was a matter of utter indifference.

This quality lay at the foundation of his usefulness. He had no competition of interests, or privileges with any one. His ambition was not to get, but to give the most. If there was work to do, his Clergy were never afraid of disturbing him. His convenience always squared with his duty.

As in the garden of Gethsemane our Blessed Lord's self-negation is most evidently seen, so do his saints exhibit the same grace most clearly in their hours of bitter grief. The Bishop's heart was almost broken by the death of his daughter Susan, the wife of the Rev. John M. Mitchell: a lovely Christian woman, to whom greater praise can scarce be given than to say that her father's affection for her person was equaled by his respect for her sound judgment, and Christian graces.

Groaning under this bereavement Bishop Cobbs commenced a visitation. He would not let it hinder his exertions, or cloud the happiness of others. He was as indefatigable and almost as cheerful as ever: only now and then, he would slip away, seeking where to weep. At last the Clergy in company with him, observing the determined but painful effort with which he controlled himself, could bear it no longer, and with loving violence refused to let him preach or visit, and forced upon him the indulgence of privacy which he would not take.

2. Bishop Cobbs was a man of marvelous sympathy. He loved the word, and often dwelt upon it. He used often to say that the sum of the Gospel is, that Christ feels for us and with us. Most of us must make an effort in order to sympathize. We have need to collect our thoughts and to arouse our kindly feelings. Bishop Cobbs' sympathy was as spontaneous as a perennial spring, ever

bubbling up from the deep well of his heart. A sigh, a troubled look, a plaintive intonation were enough to excite his attention, and in a moment the kindly pulses of his heart began to beat. When he found a sorrowful person, as by an instinct, he sat down by his side, and sorrowed with him. He sympathized first, and preached afterwards. "Yes, my child, it is hard to bear. You ought to weep. It will do you good to cry. When my heart is vexed I will complain. The merciful Saviour is not angry because you weep. On his throne in Heaven He pities you and feels for you." Thus gently would he lead the mourner to the dear consolations of the Gospel. He had a singular faculty of putting himself, as he used to say, *en rapport* with people. If his Clergy asked, What sermon must I preach? the invariable answer was, The one that you can throw your feelings into.

8. His singular Purity must not be forgotten. Nothing offended him so much as the utterance of anything coarse; and where there was room for selection, he sought out the most delicate phrases and expressions. Among those of his own sex, men whose age and office enabled him to speak with utmost freedom, no word ever passed his lips which might not have been spoken in the presence of ladies. His reverence for the female sex was beautiful. But even in his hours of unreserve, when he was conversing with the benignity of a father, or the tenderness of a brother, there was a most careful avoidance of undue familiarity. He could not bear any slight to be thrown upon women. "I like to have ladies under my charge in travelling," said he, "they are such a protection to a man."

He used to comment with most caustic raillery upon monkery in all its forms. He said he had once knowingly gone to stay where there were no ladies, but determined, if forgiven that time, never to do so any more. In discussing the boarding arrangements of the University of the South, he observed with all gravity that there was one matter about which he felt anxious. He should insist upon incorporating with the by-laws this one regulation, — "No student shall live in any house where there is not a lady to sit at the head of the table and to pour out the coffee."

4. Bishop Cobbs was as remarkable for his wisdom as for other gifts. Let it not be excluded from the list of Christian graces, for upon the foundation of natural good sense, was built up that "right judgment in all things," which the Church expressly recognizes as

the gift of the Holy Spirit. He was an observant man — nothing escaped his watchful eye — crops, cattle, buildings, roads, streams, and mountains, men and their doings, all were noted. The stranger would often say, "That old gentleman knows all about farming." Travelling one day in a country strange to us, and with a driver who professed to know it all, it amused us to see him stop the driver, and insist upon taking another road; but the Bishop proved to be in the right. In the pulpit he saw everything and everybody, and thus divined the religious interest in the minds of many which they had not avowed. And this leads one to remember his Discernment of Character. He read men at a glance. In a moment he seemed to know them, and adapted himself to them. There was only one limitation to this remark. His friends have said playfully to him, "We would trust your judgment about any man, so long as he wants nothing; but if he asks you for a dollar, then you think at once he must be deserving."

But it was in practical good sound sense that he was preëminent. His prophecy touching a financial scheme, a political movement, an ecclesiastical project, was almost infallible; and with all his modesty, he relied upon the accuracy of his judgment with great confidence. Some called him yielding, others deemed him firm. He was both. A thousand times he yielded in action, and gave back under the pressure of circumstances; but in his great convictions he never swerved, and in his great aims never faltered.

Said he, at the General Convention in Cincinnati, — "Come here, and let me show you how the Lord in His wisdom and goodness kept me from being a rich man." He went on to tell how straitened he had been in means until the time of his Chaplaincy at the University of Virginia, where his marriage fees were numerous and valuable. Thus his accumulation began until during his Rectorship in Cincinnati he found himself possessed of \$2,500. He fixed his eye upon some lots, offered for that sum, in a part of the city which he thought was certain to improve. The bargain was almost concluded when he received intelligence of his election to the Episcopate of Alabama; and his little store was all expended in removal, and in the purchase of a home in Tuscaloosa. On his return to Cincinnati, six years afterwards, his judgment was verified. The same property had just been sold for \$25,000. "I should like," said he, "to have had something to leave to my wife, but the Lord, in his grace and goodness, ordered it otherwise."

Qualities such as we have described would have made the subject of this sketch useful and beloved in any station. But he was emphatically a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Self was sunk and lost in his Office. He loved its duties; they were meat and drink to him.

5. We must speak of him, then, as a Preacher. He was a great foe to long sermons, and abstract discussions. He seldom exceeded twenty-five minutes in the pulpit, and invariably presented some practical truth. Most of his sermons were devoted either to urging the love of Christ for sinners, or to unfolding the sorrows and the consolations of saintly experience. In the former case, he would be sure to urge the penitent to come to Christ in the Ordinances and Sacraments of the Church; and in the latter to speak of the comfort to be found in the Communion of Saints. He followed his manuscript closely; he lacked confidence in his "extemporal art." He seldom moved his feet or made a gesture. The charm of his preaching was its wonderful earnestness and directness. He had no need to "wake up his glory." Fervor characterized his first utterance.

His sermons were simple and intelligible, but scrupulously reverential. He knew how to adapt himself to his audience. In a strange place, for instance, and to a company of farmers, he preached on Naboth's vineyard. In the application he said, "Ah! my friends, how many men in Alabama with large possessions and many mercies, make themselves miserable for the want of one quarter section to square out their plantation!"

It is said Bishop Cobbs was not a great preacher. He pretended not to be an orator. His power was not felt until, as he used to say, he could get *en rapport* with his audience. Strangers were not apt to appreciate him; yet in his Diocese he was a most popular preacher. Men of intelligence loved to hear him. A congregation seldom failed him. So far as the just results of preaching are concerned, we have never seen his superior. He could stir to the very depths the hearts of a people.

He preached once on a confirmation occasion, a sermon just sixteen minutes long, on the text, "Yet there is room." We said to a Methodist Minister who was present, "Suppose after that sermon, while they were singing the hymn, I had gone down the aisles and called individuals forward, what would have been the result?" He answered, "The whole congregation would have been confirmed." Bishop Cobbs had the emotions of all at his control.

But another more remarkable instance. At a week-day service in a private house in the country, some twenty persons were gathered. There was no desk, no large Bible. Bishop Cobbs stood in the floor, holding in one hand his sermon within the leaves of a Prayer Book. He read his manuscript closely, and yet in five minutes tears were streaming from every eye.

But Bishop Cobbs' specialty as a preacher must be mentioned: his singular skill in marking and bringing down his man. It was wonderful to see, how, again and again, he would go into the pulpit with a definite object, preach right to some individual, and overcome him, then and there. He knew the result at once; and the sermon over, would say, I think you will find such an one persuaded to take up his Cross. If he failed, he took it good-humoredly. Thus he said once to a dear friend whom he was anxious to confirm, — "I did my best to reach you this morning; but you were afraid and hid behind the pillar. You knew I could not shoot around a corner." It is to be observed that such sermons, although direct, were not offensively personal. He would have deemed it most discourteous to make any individual hearer conspicuous.

So indifferent was Bishop Cobbs to his pulpit reputation, that his friends need not defend it. Only we claim that few men's sermons in this generation have been so blessed in bringing guilty men to Christ, and in comforting and helping the weak hearted.

Those who were present will not forget his parting sermon in Petersburg; how from the enunciation of the text "Jesus wept" to the conclusion, when "If he had done any harm to anybody, he desired to go down upon the knees of his heart, and ask their pardon," sobs from every portion of the Church mingled with his loving words; and how the faltering voices of the choir could scarce sustain the hymn "When gathering clouds," which followed the sermon.

Bishop Cobbs never preached dreadful sermons. He tried it once, but found such armor did not suit him. He thought his own style deficient in ornament, and would playfully advise a young Clergyman to "stitch a few ruffles on his wrists." He thought it better in the beginning to be too florid than too dry.

7. Bishop Cobbs was preëminent as a Pastor. His skill in this employment was only equaled by the delight he found in it. He knew his sheep by name; he watched with jealous care the relig-

ious character and spiritual condition of every one specially committed to his care. He visited laboriously, and individualized his message. From the pulpit as from a watch-tower he marked the struggle in the breasts of many a fearful and timid person. Soon he would seek such an one, and so gently lay hold upon him, that his confidence was easily won, and free utterance given to the pent-up trouble. His manner with the sick, and the sorrowful was so loving, and yet so natural, that his presence was always soothing and comforting. God only knows how many wounded hearts he has bound up, how many of the disconsolate he has saved from utter desperation.

While he scrupulously respected the Parochial and Diocesan rights of others, he found a Parish everywhere. As a Pastor, he was never off duty. On cars and steamboats, at his home and on his travels, he was incessantly observant of others, and ready at any moment to do them good. Christ, and Christ's Church were the constant themes of his discourse. By these informal ministrations he won multitudes to the Cross, and to the Church of Christ. In this department of labor, he displayed most signally his adroitness, his zeal and his benevolence. Here he mingled most successfully the wisdom of the serpent with the gentleness of the dove.

The first exhibition the Bishop ever afforded us of this pastoral power, was at an "Association" in Virginia, many years ago. We dined one day with a gentleman whose reserve made him difficult to approach, but who was very seriously impressed. When the party left the dining-room for the porch, Dr. Cobbs addressed himself to the wife, — "Why is it, madam, that more of your good people here are not members of the Church?" The lady began some reply, but was interrupted thus: — "Some people think they are not good enough; they will read out of their Bibles that Christ Jesus came into the world to save good people. If I could find such people I would not ask them to come into the Church; they do not need the Church; let them spread their wings and fly away with the angels."

"It seems to me Dr. Cobbs" — began the lady; but in vain; she was not to do the talking.

"Yes madam, some people are afraid that they will not hold out. They ought to be afraid: St. Paul was afraid. With all the teachings and warnings and comforts and sacraments of mother Church, some have fallen by the way-side. But how certainly we will fail

if we try to walk alone without the grace and help of the Holy Spirit! As I was about to say madam," deprecating an interruption, "many a man has the spark of religious life kindled in his soul by the Blessed Spirit, and then it is all smothered for want of air; it comes to nothing for want of expression and sympathy."

Thus the discourse proceeded for an hour, all of it addressed to the wife. The husband as by some fascination drew his chair nearer and nearer until he was close to the speaker, and then at the end, Dr. Cobbs turned suddenly to him and said "Now my friend why are you not an avowed servant of the Lord Jesus Christ?" "I fear I have no good reason" was the answer. Dr. Cobbs gently took his arm and they left the company. The next day that man knelt humbly at the table of the Lord.

There are those who can readily localize this incident. We trust there is no indiscretion in repeating it. Who could have anticipated the future of the three who there met together! that Dr. Cobbs after serving in the Episcopate of Alabama, was to be succeeded by the brother beloved in whose Parish he was then officiating as a Presbyterian; while the mere youth whom he had kindly taken with him as a travelling companion, was to be trained by himself, and to share in the same responsible office!

Dr. R. H. Wilmer had a large share of Bishop Cobbs' confidence and affection. It has been his task to guide the Diocese of Alabama through dark and dreary years. May all blessing attend upon his labors, and may the Diocese of Alabama ever cling to the motto dear to both its Bishops — "For Evangelic Truth, and Apostolic Order!"

This tact of Bishop Cobbs in dealing with men was something marvelous. In after years we saw it exhibited on numerous occasions.

Again and again we have sat by in wonder at the skill and patience with which he would approach some restive person, frightened at his own religious sensibility; and how he would soothe and calm him, subdue and humble him, and bring him presently a captive to the feet of Christ. It is indeed a laborious method of procedure thus to take the people man by man. It often excited, and wearied the Bishop more than a sermon. But without it no Pastorate can be successful. Bishop Cobbs greatly disliked inquiry meetings, and the like wholesale appliances. He thought that to deal rightly with a troubled and often a sensitive spirit, delicate

approaches must be made, and the spiritual confidences should be elicited either alone, or among sympathizing friends. These encounters were deeply interesting, and in them the Bishop won his greatest victories. On the occasion when as Rector of St. Paul's, Petersburg, he presented ninety-three for confirmation, he told me that he had sought out, and conversed with each of them individually.

We say not whether his peculiar fitness for Pastoral work was the parent of his love for it; or whether his love for the employment was the cause of his fitness. It is certain he found inexpressible delight in it. When such work failed him, he was restless and uncomfortable. He would go out and hunt for it, and seek diligently until he found it. A case of peculiar difficulty roused every energy. It was beautiful to see how cautiously he would take position, and instantly change his ground when it proved unfavorable. All at once he would find the weak place in the man's armor, and give a home thrust. And then the victory was almost won. In vain might the man turn and avoid him, or present some other surface to attack. Nothing could get the Bishop away from that vulnerable point. The man must either flee, or cry for quarter. After such an encounter his remark perhaps would be "He dies very hard, but the Good Spirit is too strong for him. How strange it is to see poor sinners fighting so hard against the Blessed Spirit of grace!"

To this head of Pastoral skill, belongs some account of his method of dealing with those who follow not with us. Bishop Cobbs deemed it a solemn duty to teach the doctrine of the Church. In his view we are unpardonably derelict if we fail, publicly and privately, to promote just views of the Church. No man more pertinaciously obtruded this theme on all occasions.

And why was it that seldom or never, offense was taken?

One reason was that he was void of Pharisaism. It was not *his* Church, but the *Church* for which he plead. He did not stand aloof and prosecute the mistaken; no, wherever he found a Christian soul, in an instant he claimed brotherhood with it, and was ready to reverence its goodness. And then he was void of prejudice. He was prompt to acknowledge the merit of the man, and of his system. He gave men credit for seeking the right end, even while he insisted that they were seeking it in the wrong way. To Christian men, whatever their error might be, he showed love without dissimulation. Thus he had many warm, devoted friends who were not of our Communion.

Bishop Cobbs knew that he was called a Proselyter, but bore the opprobrium implied thereby with his usual meekness. He owned that he did not feel at liberty to keep back any part of the Christian Doctrine. But he was always courteous, and avoided any appearance of partyism. He would never interfere with the sacred rights of parents over their children under age; and in the case of wives, whose husbands opposed their baptism and confirmation, we sometimes thought his advice leaned too much toward conjugal submission. Where husband and wife differed about the baptism of children, he invariably taught the wife to yield. "Why should people complain of me?" he said. "The greatest harm I wish to Presbyterians and Methodists, is to see them good members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I love them so well that I want them to live in the same house with me."

Of course he often had addressed to him by the would-be charitable, that commonplace remark that all the roads lead to the same place and it matters not which we travel. He never assented to it. His common reply was, "If they all lead the same way, why leave the old road? One wide, well-travelled way is better than a hundred foot-paths."

Bishop Cobbs had no patience with the unnatural attempts at Evangelical alliance, which are so persistently contended for by an extreme party in the Church.

"I love good people of all sorts and names" he used to say. "I wish to live in love and peace with them; and I know nothing that so promotes peace between neighbors, as a good fence. Virginia has some wholesome laws. One of the very best of them is the law of processioning. Once in a while the county court appoints commissioners in each beat to go around and chop over the line trees. People will quarrel if there is a dispute as to where the line runs. It will be a sad day for the Church when we shall begin to pull down the fences, and burn up the line trees."

It was wonderful how decidedly and yet how lovingly he could differ from others. He had charity for those of his own Communion; a virtue alas! often decried nowadays as a crime and a weakness. Allusion has been already made to the delicacy of his ecclesiastical position in Virginia. We desire to testify that on the many occasions when he made mention of Bishop Meade in our hearing, he almost invariably added in parenthesis, "that great and good man!"

8. We proceed to speak of this venerable man as a Bishop, endeavoring rather to mention the peculiarities of his Episcopate than to describe it systematically.

Bishop Cobbs cultivated his Diocese with great diligence. He was regular in his visitations to establish Parishes, and if possible, spent several days in each one. He was the chief missionary in his Diocese, and delighted to visit new places. His acquaintance was extensive: he knew personally almost all the individuals of his flock. Many were the letters he wrote on returning home, thanking persons for their hospitality, or expressing his concern for their religious welfare. He was always prompt as a correspondent. Those who wrote to him were sure of a reply, generally very brief, perhaps expressed in two or three lines. His Clergy found that this punctuality added much to their convenience.

When he reached a Parish his first inquiry was "What have you for me to do?" Nothing pleased him better than to map out an ample programme. If there were persons in religious distress to visit, contentious people to reconcile, if in any quarter the Bishop's personal influence could be used for a good purpose, he was in his element. He would visit laboriously from house to house, never failing to remember those who might feel slighted by neglect. He was ready to preach twice each day. The size of the congregation did not affect him. In his early ministry he had seen the best results follow from services held with a mere handful. We all loved him for this. If, perchance, circumstances were unfavorable, and the Church almost empty, he himself would make the excuses, and preach with all his usual animation.

As a Bishop his first aim was to constitute himself the friend of the Clergy. He wished each one to feel that his Bishop was his best and truest friend. The unanimity of the Diocese, and the devotion of the Clergy to him are well known. It was the influence of love. They knew that he cared personally for them and their families.

"It is one of my principles," he said, "to stand by my Order."

He sustained his Clergy. The Episcopal visitation always left them stronger in the esteem of their Parishioners than before. He discouraged complaints about them, and all his "scolding," as he called it, was done in private.

He educated his Clergy. He watched over them, drew out their opinions, carried them with him, and taught them by example how

to do pastoral work. It would be difficult to find any Clergyman long-resident in his Diocese, whose preaching and pastorate do not bear the plain impress of the Bishop's influence.

Some of the Bishop's friends thought him too lenient with offenders. In some instances we were so unfortunate as to differ from him in opinion. Yet his singular success in reclaiming the erring, goes far to justify his preference for mercy. On this point his own opinions may well be rehearsed.

Let it be premised that he was very proud of his Clergy. We have heard him boast in his humble way, of his Diocese, saying he would not be afraid to put up "his boys" (at one time nearly all his Clergy were youthful) by the side of the Clergy in the large cities. But of course in an Episcopate of sixteen years, some came under his jurisdiction who were deficient in qualification.

We once said to him that we had been impressed with his success in working up some intractable material. He answered quickly, — "Have you noticed that? I did not know that anybody in the Diocese gave me any credit in that matter. It is the hardest part of my duty. Any one can build a house if you give him the material all sound and square, but when some of the logs are crooked, so crooked that they can hardly lie still on the ground, to build them in, and make something of them, it is a weary task."

He then proceeded to speak at length of his policy in this matter. He thought the Church had nothing to throw away. There are Clergymen whose infirmities preclude the hope of extensive usefulness. Now if by much patience and encouragement we can make them barely respectable, they fill a post otherwise vacant, and are useful to some extent. And then the man himself deserves to be considered. It is easy to destroy him, to cut him off from the Ministry, or if a layman from the Communion. But how much better to save him! He knew that the Church is sometimes in danger of shipwreck from the pressure of unsanctified lading. But before we threw it overboard, let us be sure that there is no probability of getting it safe to land. "Yes," he added, "you Clergy are nothing but a set of spoiled children, to be humored all the while. Did I tell you what a good whipping — gave me? My shoulders are sore yet. As soon as I got to his Parish he gave me a sound lecture on the duty of Bishops. They ought to see that the salary is raised, and stay long enough to hunt up candidates for confirmation! I took it all meekly, and told him

I would try to do better. Spoiled children, all of you ! And yet I am right proud of you, after all."

Bishop Cobbs did not obtrude his official rights; in incidental matters he was ever ready to forego them. "*May I* pronounce the absolution? baptize a child? ask a collection?" was his phrase. The only superiority he would contend for, was in labor and patience. But he thought that a strong government is necessary in Church and State, and, in the former, is according to Christ's command. He deemed that the Bishop is more than a president among equals: that he is, or ought to be the chief Pastor, the ruler and governor. In questions of Order, vestments, ceremonies and church ornament, he thought the expressed wish of the Bishop should prevail. He was gratified when the Clergy showed their respect for his Office, and taught their people to reverence it. That his Diocese acquiesced in his views may be learned from their action. By a unanimous vote they abolished their Diocesan Missionary Board, electing a Treasurer only, and placed the missionary operations of the Diocese in the hands of the Bishop. In the history of the American Church, nowhere can be found so clear a recognition of that Chief-Pastorate which belongs to the Episcopal Office.

Bishop Cobbs thought that the Bishop should be the heart of his Diocese: the centre of its life, the source of its power. He had studied out a scheme which, could it have been realized would have been far in advance of our present systems. He desired a Bishop's house and church, with schools and charities gathered around. He would detain the Deacons near him, employing them in missionary work, especially on plantations, and training them himself for the Priesthood.

On only one occasion did we see the Bishop claim his rights. Once he put on the mitre and grasped his crozier, to the great delight of those who witnessed it. It was in the proceedings of a Diocesan Convention. While a matter which touched the Episcopal prerogative was under discussion, all at once the Bishop be-thought him of duty to his Order. He requested the Convention to remember that he was not on trial. He did not shun inquiry: but he was amenable to his peers. But the good man could not long maintain this unwonted attitude. In two minutes he was again a very Moses, of all men the meekest. The case was heard, and the Bishop unanimously sustained.

He was deeply interested in sending the Gospel to the poor, and to the servants. We leave these points for others who were more familiar with what was done in these matters.

His Clergy thank God for the comfort and support of such a Bishop. He was chief among us, and yet the servant of servants. He never compromised the dignity of his Office, and yet he could stoop to the humblest offices of love. Beautiful was the sight of high Office borne with the dignity of a man, the gentleness of a woman, and the meekness of a child.

9. We come now to speak of Bishop Cobbs as a Christian and a Churchman; or as he would say in preference, as a Christian Churchman.

That he absolutely denied all creature merit; that he held the doctrine of justification by the alone Merits of Christ our Lord, is a weak and meagre statement. He loved those doctrines more than life; he lived by them, fed upon them, enforced them in public and in private with all the warmth and energy of deep personal conviction. He did not talk and preach *about* these things, but talked and preached the things themselves. Habitually and invariably he occupied the position of one, who has nothing to present in excuse, or in sacrifice, and whose first and last reliance was in that word of gracious interference, "Put that to mine account."

He held that in all true piety there is an inward communion of the soul of man with its Maker and its Sanctifier. In the Psalms of David he found a safe pattern given by God himself to his people of that intimate communion which their spirits may hold with the viewless Spirit who governs all. In the "*Sursum Corda*," that most ancient and universal of Liturgical exclamations, he recognized the testimony of the Church Catholic to the indispensableness of religious affection. He had no tolerance for any Religion which would teach men to rest contented in formal acts of obedience, while the will is not subdued and the affections are not engaged. We remember once quoting to him part of the seventeenth Article: he answered with animation, — "Just so; besides the outward witness of the Word and Sacraments, there is an inward witness of the Spirit in all our penitential sorrows and heavenly aspirations. It will be a sad day for the Church if in our opposition to the false teachings around us, we run into the extreme of denying that the Spirit of God dwells and moves in the heart of

man, and that as the Article says, Christian people *do feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things.*"

The Bishop was always and under all circumstances devout, spiritual, heavenly-minded. Despite the frequent torpor of his bodily frame, and the languor of his circulation, his religious affections were ever warm and genial.

He deemed it, however, a great mistake to substitute the emotions for the affections, to "trust in frames and feelings." Hence he strove with faithful diligence to drive away from the Church as contrary to God's Word, the opinion that the reality of our conversion is proven by a critical sensation of joy and peace. He deemed it also a great error to separate morality and religion; to reject obedience as a test of Christian character. On this point he spoke with much sadness. Under the revival system men are absolved, and pronounced to be in a state of grace upon the exhibition of certain emotions, and without any change of life. Said he, "I tremble when I think of the mass of unsanctified material that under this teaching loads down the Christian cause."

In the minor morals of religion, Bishop Cobbs was most scrupulous. He rested on the Lord's day with the utmost carefulness. Theatres, balls, dissipation and extravagance he fought against manfully. Nothing gave him more concern than the worldly-conformity of his people. "They will dance the Church to death," he said in bitterness of soul.

He stopped us once in the street and pointed to a throng of little girls. "Look there — see those dear little girls, and where Christian mothers are sending them; to learn morals at the Dancing School."

"Manners, *they* say, Bishop."

"No, I tell you morals. They cannot be separated. Our morals depend on our manners. These Christian mothers instead of teaching their children devout manners, send them to learn morals of any vagabond who can play the fiddle."

His liberality to the poor is well known. Sometimes his money was abstracted before he left home, to prevent him from giving all away. If remonstrance was made, he answered that the vow of a Bishop to be "merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people and to all strangers destitute of help" lay very solemnly on the conscience.

To the members of the Roman Communion, as to all others, Bishop Cobbs was kind and charitable. His hostility to the **SYSTEM** was decided, and inveterate. Its peculiar tenets were altogether repugnant to his very deepest religious conviction, viz., of Christ's abounding sympathy, and ready accessibility to sinful men. Its influence on the morals of society he deemed debasing and pernicious. Any aping of its ceremonial was distasteful to him, and failed not to be reprehended. He loved the matronly beauty of the Church of England, and would resist any attempt to trick her out in Italian finery.

No one who conversed with him could mistake either his personal, or his official character. The inevitable commentary was, "Behold now, this is an **HOLY MAN OF GOD** which passeth by us continually." No veil obscured the sanctity of his character and of his office. The veriest worldling must needs see that he was not the world's man, nor his own man, but God's man.

Vain is the effort to portray his religious character. One must imagine the sturdiest skeleton of religious integrity; a vertebral column so articulated that it could be rigid as steel, and yet on fit occasion could also bend in most courteous worship. Let this integrity be the frame-work on which were fostered all manly energies and Christian graces in beautiful harmony and adjustment. Animate this figure with the life-blood of most fervent zeal, let its every part be permeated with the chords of most delicate spiritual sensibilities, cover it with that undefinable robe of saintliness which as a modest vesture partially conceals, yet wondrously adorns our humanness; and pour out over all the man, the sweet anointing of heavenly charity; lavish it freely until it refines each feature and softens each manly trait, until at each movement its dew is shaken from his Priestly robes, and the Church wherein he serves is filled with the fragrance of the ointment, and we have some worthy idea of this man of God.

Alas for us! that so much wisdom and goodness are withdrawn from our midst! Great is the responsibility of us who have walked with him by the way. In his own distresses, and in ours, we have seen his face as it were the face of an angel. We have seen and do testify that by the grace of God in man's heart, self may be so crucified, that the sum of all that heart's desires and aspirations shall be simply this, "The will of the Lord be done!"

Let it not be thought that his unfeigned goodness always ex-

empted him from reproach. No man could quarrel with him ; but in the discharge of his duty he occasionally incurred the censure even of good men.

He was once talking quite sadly of certain troubles, when he observed a smile which his auditor could not repress. To his look of inquiry and reproach we answered, — “ You do not know how all that delights your Clergy. When we are belabored and abused we think we must deserve it. But when some one attacks you as being unkind or arbitrary, the idea is so ludicrous, that we take heart again, and recover our good opinion of ourselves. Forgive us, Bishop, for our resignation under your misfortunes.” He laughed most cheerily at this view of the case, saying, — “ That is all the sympathy you have for your old Bishop ! ”

Bishop Cobbs' Churchmanship cannot be better described than in his own memorable words, —

“ NEXT TO CHRIST, WHO IS THE HEAD, I LOVE THE CHURCH, WHICH IS HIS BODY, WITH MY WHOLE HEART.”

He loved a spiritual Religion ; he did not love an abstract and impalpable Religion. He thought that the very spirit of the Gospel is condescension to man's infirmities. Almighty God is pleased to deal with him as he is, and not as he ought to be. He comes to us as to beings in part spirit and in part sense. He accommodates himself to our human affections, and in his Church affords a tangible proof and support to Faith.

Divine love, he thought, was not exhausted at the Cross. That Christ died for sinners is not the whole story. The good news might have been left to float down to us on the uncertain tide of tradition ; its dissemination might have been left to individual impulse or voluntary effort. But God instead wrote it in a book that it might be preserved in its purity, and be delivered to an authoritative and responsible body that it might not through indifference be kept secret. We might have been left to grope our way as lone pilgrims to a better world. But we are aggregated, instead, so as to obtain the benefits of union, order and sympathy. Divine mercy might drop down upon us in variable and unexpected showers ; it is appointed to us that we shall ordinarily seek it in its established channels.

Bishop Cobbs thought the institution and perpetuation of the Church a wonderful illustration of the love which seeks the sinner, as well as saves him. “ Suppose,” he would say, “ your heart

smote you for injury to a dear friend who died far beyond the sea. It would be a great comfort to hear by report that he spoke kindly of you before he died, and a still greater that he dictated a letter expressing sentiments of love. But suppose, more than this, he sent at great expense a special messenger, charged to deliver you this letter, to read it to you and to assure you that its message was for you, what love all that pains would prove! Nay more, suppose the messenger should add, 'He told me to give this into your hand; this relic of his person to be carried near your heart, this precious cross once worn by him, to be henceforth worn openly by you,' how would you value these pledges of love and cheerfully display those evidences of your own repentance."

In his view the minister of Christ was an accredited ambassador, with instructions not vague and secret, but written and open, with powers ample yet clearly defined, sent to treat with men. In the Sacraments he saw the negotiations concluded, and God's hand set to the deed of reconciliation by his authorized agent.

Nor is this all. Religion has nurture as well as life-bestowal; discipline as well as doctrine. Its office ceases not when the babe is received or the soldier enlisted. He would say "We must be born again. But we must be born babes. Many a poor babe testifies its life only by its cries. And what shall we do with it? Carry the child, in the name of pity, to its mother! Scorn it not for its feebleness; let it hang upon the breasts and be warmed in the arms of mother Church."

Of that which constitutes our peculiar heritage as Anglican Churchmen, Bishop Cobbs had the highest appreciation. In his last letter to a young Bishop written three months before his death, he says: "It will ever be a safety and a comfort to you to cling with a tight grasp to the apron-strings of mother Church." He thought her the wisest and lovingest of mothers; he accepted her every word and usage without fear, without suspicion of unpurged Romanism, or deficient Catholicism. He thought her far wiser than her children, and urged his Clergy to do exactly what is by the Church bidden to be done; in catechizing, prayers, saints' days, visiting the sick, to follow the directions given them in the Prayer Book. His opinion on this point deserves much weight. No man kept the great objects of the Gospel more distinctly in view, no one observed more closely, or with more freedom from prejudice. No one was more successful in a general awakening of men's souls than

he. Yet it was his deliberate judgment that in no case can we exchange the time-honored machinery of the Church for other appliances without serious loss and damage. If in order to be earnest and fervent we must disuse *Te Deum* and *Litany*, and descend to the Lecture-room and the Prayer-meeting, he thought we had best disuse them altogether and be earnest always.

He loved the Church for its spirit of Reverence. He often said there was no such school of manners as a devout congregation. He deemed irreverence the crying sin of the age, and deeply deplored it as tending inevitably to the subversion of all social order. In the religious familiarity and irreverence so common in the land, he saw plainly the parent of domestic insubordination, and of impatience under the restraints of law. He often insisted that in domestic piety, in devout manners, in reverential fear of Almighty God, we, with all our boasted progress, had degenerated from our revolutionary sires. It was his earnest wish that the people of his Diocese should be punctilious in conforming to the postures and observances of Public Worship.

Bishop Cobbs devoutly believed the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and that it was the distinct dogma of the Church. When the Church, after the baptism of a child, offers a fervent thanksgiving for its regeneration, he believed she means what she says. The hypothetical interpretation seemed to him forced and unnatural. And, furthermore, he found the same doctrine taught where there is no room for such interpretation, that is in the Catechism. He wished the child of the Church to say "I was regenerated in Baptism," for that is the Catholic word always assigned to the doctrine; and he wished the child of the Church to understand and mean by this statement "In baptism I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven."

Bishop Cobbs was bold but prudent in teaching this doctrine. He never asserted that there is in Baptism a moral purification contemporaneous with the sacred rite; he earnestly insisted on the necessity of the renewing of the Holy Ghost. In this as in other things his views were intensely practical, and he loved not to theorize. "You must bring up that little child" he used to say "in one of two ways. You may teach him that he is a child of the devil. Most young persons have that opinion, and are reckless, and often desperate because of it. Or you may teach him that God is his

reconciled Father and Friend. Now the Church teaches that the baptized child is, not merely lent to the Lord, but adopted into his family. It is in a state of salvation; in the way of being saved. It has the pledge and promise of the Holy Spirit, and is in a special manner assisted by his blessed influences. If there is no truth in Baptismal Regeneration, no longer teach the child to say, Our Father who art in Heaven."

Could Bishop Cobbs have been robbed of his faith in the Apostolic Succession, many of his consolations would have departed with it. He had nothing to say about the orders of other people: but for himself he desired an unquestionable divine commission as well as a call divine, a Church not a sect, Sacraments which should be not merely significant, or memorial, but pledges and tokens of God's love and favor, and channels wherein grace is exhibited and conferred.

The limits of this article forbid us to make free use of the Bishop's letters. But we here introduce an extract or two which illustrate at once the character of his correspondence with the Clergy, and his practical views of Church Doctrine.

"Most cheerfully will I comply with your request in regard to Bishop Payne. I shall be gratified in giving him permission to hold confirmation in your Parish. It is always a pleasure to comply with the wishes of a Clergyman who uniformly shows a ready will to oblige and uphold his Bishop.

"One thing I must urge, and even in the form of an official admonition, that you spare yourself more in the way of preaching. It is not so much the mere act of preaching as the preparation of sermons that causes so much wear and tear to the system. One sermon on Sunday is as much as you ought to undertake, and let the afternoon be devoted to easy, familiar talks about the Prayer Book. In this way you can say a great many things, doctrinal, practical, experimental, historical and ecclesiastical, things which people ought to know, and which cannot well be brought out in a systematic sermon. My only fear is that you will labor to make them formal and elaborate. I hope you will excuse me if I give you a few hints, as a specimen of my poor notions."

"Take the rubric in the Communion Office and mark the words 'the Lord's Supper.' Enlarge on the fact that this phrase was put in significantly, as a protest against the Romish doctrine of the mass, and show the true notion of the Sacrament, that it is a feast upon a sacrifice, or a commemorative sacrifice. Thus again, a 'white linen cloth' must be used, by which the Church guards against the idea of an altar in the strict

sense of the word. You thus see that you can make an instructive lecture out of these two sentences, giving the people very high notions of the Spiritual nature of the Sacraments, and yet guarding them against the errors of Romanism.

“ ‘Then shall follow the sermon.’

“Here again is a fruitful theme for a lecture: show that while the Church places a very high estimate on Sacraments, she does not under-estimate preaching, always requiring a Sermon before the Eucharist.

“Take the rubric about ‘open and notorious evil-livers.’ What an opportunity to explain and vindicate the whole system of Church discipline, about which few of the Church-members even know anything!

“Take again the rubric in the Visitation of the sick. ‘The minister shall not omit earnestly to move such sick persons as are of ability, to be liberal to the poor.’ Here you can urge a practical duty that is fearfully neglected. How often does it happen that men have spent all their lives in the service of mammon, and when about to die, they offer up a few prayers, are told to believe in Christ, and thus leave the world with the confident hope of Heaven, without any chance of bringing forth fruits meet for repentance, and without giving anything in the way of alms and charitable deeds. Thus it is that Protestants by preaching up Justification without good works, and almsgiving, do pretty much as the Romanists do by their extreme unction, and talk with much complacency about the happy death of many a wordly man who is fit for any other place rather than for Heaven. It is an awful thing to be teaching men that they can go to Heaven, although they die with their coffers filled with unjust and unlawful gain!

“Again in the Marriage Service, explain how the Father is called upon to give his personal consent, to show that the parties have not run away nor forged a license; how the Father, taking the woman’s hand, places it in the hand of the Minister, and thus through the Minister formally surrenders his right, as a Father, into the hands of the Husband. Thus the Minister, having the consent of the public, of the parties themselves and of the parents, makes the parties sign the marriage covenant by repeating words of ratification, and, by the use of a ring (which was formerly a seal), seals the covenant.

“Again, in the question first asked the man ‘wilt thou love?’ and in the question first asked the woman ‘wilt thou obey?’ what an opportunity of enlarging on the relative duties of man and wife. Again, they take each other ‘for better, for worse.’ Here you may declaim against divorces which are so readily granted in our country.

“Another suggestion.

“Take the charge in the Baptismal Office. ‘Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the Bishop.’ Here, you can urge the duty

of the religious training of children, and point out how parents fail in rearing pious children because they do not *take care* to have their children prepared for Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper. They do not set their hearts upon it, and consequently the children will not labor for that about which they see their parents are indifferent. How few children, although entered as scholars, would regularly attend school, or college, unless their parents *took care*, and saw to it! Here, my brother, is the great fault of the Church, in a low view of Religion, and of the obligations and benefits of the Ordinances of the Church. Just think what a fearful thing it is for a youth to go forth into the world without having confessed Christ in the Ordinances of the Church, and without the Sacramental pledges of the Saviour's Blessing! How must we tremble for that youth who although baptized, turns his back upon the Ordinances of Christ, and who, after selling his birthright in the Church for a mess of pottage, or a pair of dancing-pumps, goes forth to do battle with the world, the flesh, and the devil! It must be almost a miracle, if such a youth does not fall! Here you could give a lecture that would stir up the inmost souls of parents, and do more practical good than a whole year's preaching."

"Again; in the preface to the Ordinal, observe the wisdom of the Church in recognizing the Scriptures interpreted by ancient authors as the rule of faith. How she avoids the error of the Romanist in the matter of Tradition, and of the ultra-Protestant in that of Private Judgment! How the Church regards the Scriptures as the supreme rule of Faith, and in their interpretation defers far more to ancient authors than to the tales of tradition, or to the speculations of modern theologians. But I must stop.

"Truly your friend and brother in Christ,

"N. H. COBBS.

"TUSCALOOSA, Feb. 23, 1852."

There are those alas! in the Church who deem that they do God service by decrying all those who do not utter their shibboleth. They see Bishops and Priests toiling in Missionary Districts and new Dioceses, and uplift their voices not in words of cheer to the lonely watchman, but in words of warning to the faithful: "Give him no help or comfort, he belongs not to our party." They looked upon a character, a life, a Ministry like that of Nicholas Hamner Cobbs; a character so noble, a life so holy, a Ministry so sanctified, that the world itself could not withhold its praise; and they saw him only to wound his gentle spirit with opprobrious names of party.

It may here be mentioned that Bishop Cobbs was married, in 1821, to Lucy Henry Laudonia Cobbs. She still survives, and

shares in the affection felt by the Clergy and the whole community for her husband.

Ten children were the fruits of their union. Of these six survive, of whom two are worthy Presbyters of the Church.

Let us not conceal the fact that this good man was deeply hurt and often mortified at the imputations cast upon his soundness in the Faith. Because he would not join in a general denunciation of the Oxford Tracts, the finger of suspicion was pointed at him, and he was accused of favoring the false teachings of semi-Romanism. Because he practised the Prayer-book, and used its language, some challenged his love for the Bible. Because he loved the Church, some doubted his zeal for the Gospel. His friends have scarce known whether to feel indignation or sorrow, when men, who claimed the title of Evangelical, spoke in disparagement of him.

He was grieved but not angry, and we may well follow his patience. Conscious that Christ was ever in his heart and on his lips, that he leaned for pardon on His merits only, and for grace upon the help of the Comforter, he endured with meekness, and lived down misapprehension. Said he in one of his last letters, "Throw out the true Evangelical flag of the Church, and set forth the doctrines of the Gospel in the purity and simplicity of the teachings of the Church." In a word, he believed that as a truly Evangelical expositor of Holy Writ, the Church is far beyond any individual man among us. All partisan platforms, in his view, tended only to substitute as authority the disputants of the age in place of the Catholic and Anglican Doctors.

Bishop Cobbs never accepted a party designation; nor ever fastened one upon a brother. So far as his example and influence could avail, he strove to break down all party walls in the Church of Christ. He never ceased to marvel at the unholy presumption of those, who, instead of exercising their own Ministry, assumed the seat of judgment, and held up an anointed Minister of God to censure, as being unevangelical, or as being as unsound Churchman.

Thus have we attempted to describe the wisest and best man, the most earnest Preacher, the gentlest Pastor, the meekest Prelate, the soundest Churchman of these latter days. As we think over his virtues, and recall his pure example, we grieve for a bereaved Church; and when the writer recalls the years of association,

how affectionately, though with unequal step, we walked together, and took sweet counsel; how our mutual confidence and love were never obscured by a spot or a shadow, how he gave never a cold look, or a hasty word, a volume is opened whose contents cannot be uttered!

We are still near to him in the communion of Saints; — we may think of him as in Paradise with Moses whom he resembled, and with David whose harp furnished in this vale of sorrow his sweetest music: divided still in his choice between John the loving, and Peter full of zeal. There he communes with those dear to him in life; and it may be seeks often the kindred spirits of the gentle Leighton, the meek Hooker, of George Herbert and Nicholas Farrar, and honest Izaak the fisherman. Yea, more than all does his meek spirit delight to lay its honors at the feet of Christ, ascribing to Him the glory and the praise.

By the grace of God he was what he was. From that unexhausted store God send us all, Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Lay-people, the like spirit, of power and of love, and of a sound mind!

NOTE. — We append the following extract from the farewell message of Bishop Cobbs, to his Clergy.

"First of all, give to each and every one of them, individually, my love and my blessing; and tell them, that as during my whole Episcopate it has been my earnest purpose and constant endeavor to be, and to show myself to be, the personal friend and helper of every Clergyman in my Diocese, so now I have them all still in my heart.

"As to my Religious belief; tell them, that by God's grace, I shall die in the Faith in which I have lived, and which I have endeavored to preach. I have been called 'a Puseyite,' a 'High Churchman,' and the like. Tell them I dislike party names, and loathe party lines in the Church of Christ; but next to Christ, who is the Head, I love the Church, which is His Body, with my whole heart. I have attached, and do still attach, great importance to her offices and sacraments; and I believe in 'Baptismal Regeneration,' and 'Apostolic Succession,' as firmly as I do any of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel; but I am not conscious, that I have ever preached anything but 'JESUS CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED.'

"I look only 'unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith,' and say, —

'In my hand no price I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling.'

"As to my present state of mind; tell them, I heartily thank God for this sickness. I know not yet what is to be the issue. I have no will nor wish in the matter.

'Nor life nor death I crave,'

but simply to do, to bear, to suffer, and to glorify the will of God. This is my sentiment now, and it is the sentiment with which I hope to die.

"And with my farewell blessing upon them, upon their families, upon their Parishes, and upon my whole Diocese, tell them, that their dying Bishop exhorts them to strive to be MEN OF GOD, — men of peace, men of brotherly-kindness, men of charity; self-denying men, men of purity, men of prayer; men striving to 'perfect holiness in the fear of God,' and laboring and preaching with an eye single to His glory and the salvation of souls."

ART. V. — THE FRENCH PULPIT. — No. II.

WE come now to the style of the great French Preachers. Our subject is delightful, but difficult to discuss in the brief space of an Article. It would be easy to take from any approved Rhetorical Treatise a catalogue of their excellences, and prove them masters of expression. Massillon, especially, has not been excelled since Demosthenes, the Prince of Athenian Orators, thundered over Greece, ranked by Dionysius above Plato, of whom he said, — “His words were not so much written on parchment, as embossed on bronze.” And if the Genius of Eloquence, whose career was one battle against the Macedonian Power; who in the hopeless struggle sacrificed time, strength, fortune, and at last, in the temple of Neptune, even life; if he who spoke to move, not to please; if he who was said by his enemy to employ not words but swords, and javelins; if he considered *style* of such supreme importance, how shall we, who have never persuaded an audience to a self-denying act, regard it in this country where secular oratory frequently sinks to so low a level? The old objection is indeed often urged, — words are nothing, thought is everything. But how can they be separated? The word is the incarnation of the thought. After our material is amassed, and our plan is arranged, we must seek expression in language, Plain, Strong, and Beautiful, — Plain that it may be intelligible; Clear, transparent, crystalline like the water of mountain-lakes; Precise, sharp-cut, that our argument may stand out, distinct, and palpable, like trees against the winter-sky. That speaker who does not bring his thought in contact with the mind of his hearer as body touches body, has missed his object. Especially must the Christian Preacher standing in the Pulpit to instruct for Eternity be severely intelligible. This merit distinguishes the great Frenchmen. You find it in Bossuet, when his discourse has been written. You always find it in Bourdaloue, whose thoughts can be handled as if hewn from granite. You find it in Massillon, whose conceptions, clearly beautiful, rise before you like statues of Carrara marble, polished and shining.

The Plainness to which we have alluded in the French Preachers, results —

1. From their determination to be understood. They have a message from God, and they will be heard.

2. It results from their distinct conceptions ; their imaginations give form and density to their ideas ; they know precisely what they want to say. And in them all there is a manly common sense, that seizes by instinct upon the most straightforward language.

3. It results again from their care to put themselves in their hearers' places, to remember their prejudices, and the atmosphere of thought and life which surround them. For what is plain to the scholar may not be plain to the rustic ; what is plain to the well-educated Christian, may not be plain to a man bred in error. This case is especially to be seen in Bourdaloue. The precision, the rounded distinctness of every proposition he states in Theology or Morals would make him intelligible to any congregation in the land.

4. It results, fourthly, from their choice of words. Words too abstruse and technical they avoid ; the ambiguity occasioned by confounding words nearly synonymous, is not found in them. They use no unnecessary, no unmeaning epithets ; they let no metaphor hurry them into saying something different from what they really intend ; they never sacrifice truth to an antithesis ; they are never betrayed into that error of young writers of supposing because they understand themselves they must be understood by others. They have no labored turns of expression, no syntactical complications, no sentences hard to analyze grammatically. Nor do they ever load the main idea with too many subordinate collateral thoughts ; nor do they — except it be Bossuet occasionally — make the Pulpit a place for the refined speculations, and curious distinctions of metaphysical Philosophy. Their plainness results largely also from the definiteness of the plan of each discourse ; from the care with which the order of their ideas is settled ; from the arrangement of sentences, and clauses, wherein the longer, the more copious in amplification comes first, that the mind may fully comprehend the thought ; and then one short sharp sentence sums up all that has gone before.

To illustrate each of these points from their sermons would be profitable, but tedious for an Article. We pass therefore to consider their works with reference to the second great quality of style, namely, Force.

Force in a speaker must come primarily from the truth he utters. The Preacher's force springs from the truths of Revelation con-

sidered as objective facts. A subjective Philosophy never yet begat Force, and a Pulpit which contents itself with a subjective Religion is powerless. The Force of the Pulpit has always lain, and always must lie in the objective facts of the Gospel; in the Divine Personality and in Human Apostasy; in God's character; and in Christ's Redemptive Work. The more Biblical the Preacher therefore, the more he is saturated with the facts and doctrines of the Bible, the stronger he is. Such a man—a man whose soul lives in the Bible, breathes the air of the Bible, who looks at all subjects from the Bible, compares all actions with the Bible, can never be weak. His penetrating discourse will search the heart. You are compelled to feel his strength. His vigorous soul needs no superfluous words. Like an ancient soldier throwing aside each encumbering garment, his strong hand strikes strong blows. It was a naked arm that made the short Roman sword victorious.

In examining the French Preachers we will see also that their force of style depends largely on their choice of language. A specific word is more impressive than one more general. An epithet should express a judgment, or condense a picture. Thus Massillon describes ambition as "restless, scornful, unjust." The metaphor, which Aristotle pronounced the figure of the orator, as simile is that of the poet, Voltaire declared should spring not from Imagination, but from Passion. It occurs, however, but rarely in Massillon and Bourdaloue, while you find a few examples in the more impassioned passages of Bossuet, always confirming the law of Rhetoric requiring it, either to illustrate intellectual truth by sensible objects, or give life to what is inanimate. That he never uses hackneyed metaphors; that he never forgets himself in the figure; that he never wearies the eye with the glitter, or the mind with the affluence of his imagery, it is hardly necessary to state.

The metaphor thus used is a source of power. It relieves the otherwise dull and sombre style to which the Pulpit is prone; and that it is legitimate, is proved by the freedom with which the Prophets employ it in the Old Testament, and St. Paul in the New. Force depends also on the number of words,—when the fewest compatible with clear and distinct impression are the strongest. To illustrate this I might produce passage after passage from Massillon's *On the Last Judgment*, *On the Death of the Sinner*, *On Final Impenitence*, and in all the finer passages of Bossuet, where the loss of a single word would

mar the effect, and weaken the impression. Force is aided by the arrangement of words. The most straightforward style is the strongest. Direct address takes hold of men. Interrogations judiciously used are forcible; you see this in Isaiah, St. Paul, St. James. You see it in the Chersonese oration of Demosthenes, in his third Philippic, and in the Crown oration; you see it in every sermon of these French masters. But you never find it abused; you never find this the strongest form of affirmation employed to give fictitious strength to a weak idea. You discover antithesis also; antithesis in their plans, as when Massillon takes for his subject the death of the righteous and the death of the sinner; or Bourdaloue treats of "The Mildness and Severity of the Gospel;" antithesis in their sentences, as in the Exordium from Massillon in which the words of court flatterers were contrasted with the language of the Gospel. But you find in them no forced antithesis; it is an antithesis of ideas not of words. They are too manly, too serious, too much in earnest to be pleased with the jingle of contrasted syllables.

They dare also, after the example of the Prophets, after the example of our blessed Lord Himself, to introduce what may be called the dramatic element of style; they put words into the lips of their hearers, they endow the soul, the conscience with speech. Bourdaloue, near the close of his sermon on Forgiveness, makes the unforgiving Christian say in his daily prayer to God, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us."

"This is to say to God: O Lord, as I bear in my heart an aversion towards him which nothing can remove, have Thou the same hatred for me; as I wish never to see him, and that he should never see me, forbid O God that I myself should ever see thee in thy Kingdom. Work for my ruin as I work for his, and cover me in Hell with eternal confusion, as I would wish on earth to cover him with shame. *Sicut et nos.* That is: Pardon me no more than I pardon him; and as this reconciliation into which my friends have drawn me is only apparent, be Thou no otherwise reconciled to me; I am always his enemy, be Thou always mine; as I wait for the opportunity which is now lacking, to take revenge on him, do thou, O Lord, seize on the first which presents to take vengeance on me. *Sicut et nos.* That is to say: 'O Lord, as it is enough for me in forgiving to take no measures against him, but beyond that to do nothing to please him, and to aid him in nothing, do Thou withdraw all aid from me, take no interest in what concerns me; deprive me of all thy gifts; refuse me every favor, every aid, every blessing. *Sicut et nos.* Is this what

you mean, my dear hearer? At least it is what you say, and it is what God will do, also, at the Judgment."

It is seen also, this force of style, in the brief ejaculatory prayers which occur at rare intervals in the body of their sermons, or at the close; prayers which are evidently sincere, honest, irrepressible; for if they were anything else, their introduction would be as foolish as it would be sinful.

Force is aided by an occasional correction of one's self, if the correction be honest, as in this passage from the Funeral Oration of Henrietta of England, when Bossuet says:—

"No, after what we have just said, health is but a name, life but a dream, glory but an appearance; all that pertains to us is vain, except the sincere confession of our vanity to God, and the settled judgment which leads us to despise whatever we are.

"But do I say the truth? Is man whom God has made in his own image only a shadow? Is that a mere nothing which Jesus Christ came from Heaven to earth to seek, which he thought he might redeem by his own Blood without dishonor to himself? We acknowledge our mistake. This gloomy view of human vanity has doubtless deceived us. The sudden frustration of public hope by the death of this Princess has carried us too far. Man must not be permitted to despise himself altogether, lest while thinking with the impious that life is a jest, or the reign of chance, he walk at the impulse of his blind desires without rule and without guidance."

There is force in the use of climax, where thought follows thought in increasing power. Bourdaloue, in answer to the charge that the doctrine of one God in Three Persons, of God clothed in human flesh, is incredible, replies in a discourse of which this is the substance:—

1. But the mysteries which you say are incredible have been believed; more than that, —
2. They have been believed by men of learning and intellect.
3. They have been believed in spite of the prejudices of birth, nation, religion.
4. They have been believed in spite of the natural aversion of the heart to the doctrines they teach.
5. They have been believed with a faith so strong as to lead men to sacrifice property, name, and life itself.
6. They have been believed constantly, in many lands and for sixteen centuries.

Therefore they are proved to be credible. Force is added not

only by climax, but by mere accumulation of ideas. As in this passage from Massillon on the Passion : —

“ ‘ I conjure thee,’ says the High Priest, ‘ in the name of the living God, tell us whether thou art the Christ, the Son of God. But if this is an honest desire to learn the truth why ask him ? Ask John Baptist, whom ye have regarded as a prophet and who has confessed that this was Christ. Ask his works, which no one before him has ever done, and which testify that it is the Father who has sent him ; ask the witnesses of his life, and you shall learn whether imposture has ever been accompanied by so many proofs of innocence and holiness. Ask the Scriptures, you who hold the keys of knowledge, and see if Moses and the Prophets have not testified of him. Ask the blind he has enlightened, the dead he has raised, the leprous he has healed, the people he has fed, the sheep of Israel he has recalled, and they will tell you that Heaven never before gave such power to men ; ask Heaven which has so often opened above his head to warn you that this was the well-beloved Son ; and if these testimonies are not sufficient interrogate Hell itself and you shall learn from the demons, who obeyed him by departing from the bodies, that He is the Holy One of God.’ ”

Vision is a means of Force, when the imagination, stirred by the emotions, makes some scene past, future or distant, present here and now ; as in that passage of Massillon’s on the Final Judgment, which Voltaire in his Article on Eloquence selected as the finest example of the kind in all eloquence. To appreciate its force, to understand why at its delivery the vast audience, filled with terror, rose as one man, turned towards the great Altar, and bowed low, while tears, and sobs, and shrieks, for a time, embarrassed and silenced the preacher ; to understand this, one needs to have read the whole discourse, to appreciate the force of sympathy in a great assemblage, and to remember the charm of Massillon’s delivery, his gentle but earnest commanding manner, and the tones of that voice which was audible in its lowest whisper, and piercing in its higher notes, but in general, gentle, rich and musical, so often melting men to tears.

This is the passage : —

“ I figure to myself that our last hour is come ; the Heavens are opening over our heads. Time is no more and eternity has begun. Jesus Christ is about to appear to judge us according to our deserts — and we are here awaiting at his hands the sentence of Everlasting Life or Death. I ask

you now — stricken with terror like yourself, in nowise separating my lot from yours, but placing myself in the situation in which we all must one day stand before God our Judge — If Christ, I ask you, were at this moment to come to make the awful partition of the just and the unjust, think ye that the greater number would pass to his right hand? Do you believe that the numbers would be even equal? If the lives of the multitude here present were sifted would he find among us ten righteous? Would he find a Single One? You cannot tell. Nor I. God only knows who are His. But we know at least that sinners are not His. Remove then from this assembly all sinners who do not wish to be converted; all who wish it, but postpone it; all who are converted and have fallen back; all who think they do not need conversion — take away these, for they will be taken away at that day. Now stand forth ye righteous. Remnant of Israel! where are ye? Pass to the right. Wheat of Jesus Christ! Separate from this chaff destined for the fire! O God, where are thine elect, and what remains of thine inheritance?"

Apostrophe is a means of power. As when in his Sermon on the Passion, Massillon says: —

"The second instance of His humiliation is seen in the support He receives from the angel. His weakness is so extreme, the terrors of death make such deep impressions on His soul, or to speak more correctly, the hand of His Father weighs on him so sternly, that an angel must descend from Heaven to console Him, to strengthen Him, to aid Him, as Simon the Cyrenian upon Calvary, to bear this invisible Cross. And then appeared an angel from Heaven unto Him strengthening Him."

"Angels of Heaven! this was not in other days your ministry: once you drew near Him only to serve Him and adore. To-day He is abased below you. He who sustains all things by the power of His Word, can no longer sustain Himself. He is in your hands, feeble, trembling, dying almost, and finding strength only in assistance so humiliating to His glory."

Another instance from this same sermon I cannot deny myself the pleasure of quoting. It is his amplification of the *Ecce Homo* of Pilate.

After describing with great particularity the bruised and bleeding aspect of our Lord as He was led from the scourging in the judgment-hall, to stand before the people weak, helpless, trembling with exhaustion, he adds, —

"Behold the spectacle which an infamous Judge presents to the priests and people assembled about his palace!

"Behold the man!" he says to them; '*Ecce Homo!*' Holy kings sprung from the loins of David! Inspired prophets who predicted him

to men! Is this He whom ye so ardently desired to behold? Is this then the man? *Eccce Homo!* Is this then the Redeemer promised to your fathers so many ages since? Is this the great Prophet whom Judea was to give to the world? Is this the desire of all nations, the expectation of all the world, the Truth of your types, the fulfillment of your Worship, the Hope of your just men, the Consolation of the Synagogue, the Glory of Israel, the Light of the Salvation of all people? *Eccce Homo!* Behold the man! Do you recognize Him in this shameful guise?"

"But let us leave these famous men to demand as a favor that his Blood should be upon them and upon their children. Let us leave them to fulfill, in rejecting their Redeemer, all that has been predicted of them, and suffer. We wish to point you to other spectators still. It is you yourselves, my brethren. *Eccce Homo!* Behold the man! Behold your consolation if you are of the number of his disciples. In the afflictions wherewith God afflicts ye will ye dare to murmur? Fasten your eyes on Jesus Christ, thus cruelly beaten and slain for you. Behold the man! *Eccce Homo!* If calumny defames you, hear the impostures charged on Him! Will you still dare to complain? Behold the man! *Eccce Homo!* If the duties of the Christian life sometimes exhaust your weakness, if you say in secret that virtue is not so austere as we proclaim it, behold your answer! See whether you have yet resisted unto blood; study in that image the measure of your duties: it is a man like you who stands as your example, and he is made man only for you. *Eccce Homo!* Behold the man! But behold your work and the consummation of your iniquity and ingratitude if you are sinners; behold the barbarous act which you repeat whenever you consent to crime: behold the Body which you dishonor whenever you defile your own: behold the noble brow which you crown with thorns whenever scenes of voluptuousness, reviewed with pleasure, trace dangerous impressions on your mind; behold the scoffs which you repeat when you ridicule the piety of the Righteous! Behold the Sacred Flesh which you pierce when you destroy the reputation of your brethren: in one word, behold your condemnation and your work! Behold the man! *Eccce Homo!* Can this sight leave you insensible? Must He ascend Calvary again? Will you join your voice to those of the faithless Jews, and demand that He be crucified afresh?"

I come now to consider their style with regard to its third excellence, Beauty. But what is beauty? Beauty is not ornament, it is not something additional; it is not as if, after we had made our style plain and strong, we then, like workmen in stucco, added something more to make it beautiful. I know there is a vague notion to this effect abroad among men, and that the mind of speakers and hearers, both especially among the half educated and

conceited, lusts after a divorced and separate beauty, as of a thing to be superadded, like the ocean in the shield of Achilles, of which we read, —

“ And now the shield complete the artist crowned
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round.
In living silver seemed the waves to roll
And beat the buckler's verge and bound the whole.”

But it is not so with beauty ; rather as a distinguished writer has said in a work on Homiletics, “ the most philosophic definition of beauty is that of the Italian School of Art — ‘ Beauty is multitude in Unity.’ ”

Therefore since a sermon worth considering must of necessity contain a multitude of thoughts, it must be a unit in order to be beautiful. It must be a unit in its subject ; it must be a unit in its plan ; it must have unity in its treatment ; unity in its pervading tone of thought ; unity in its total effect upon the heart.

That this unity is found in the French Masters to a greater degree than in any other Sermons ever preached, or than any Oration since those of Demosthenes, has already been stated. As beautiful creations of Rhetoric, no other Sermons approach them. And they are worth our study for this if for nothing else, that they teach us that beauty of discourse does not lie in ornament, in figure, in illustration and picture, but in *unity*. And if we will remember this, it will aid us in avoiding that excessive and extravagant ornamentation which is the vice of American Oratory. It will enable us also to judge whether our Sermons are beautiful. If they are one, if there is in them nothing superfluous in idea or language, if they are an absolute unit, they are as beautiful as art can make them.

It is true that there are different degrees of beauty attainable by different men. In one man neatness of style is the highest beauty to which he can aspire ; another of riper culture and more thorough scholarship is capable of rising into eloquence, that grace which selects out of many words the choicest of them all, which is in composition what high-breeding is in society : a characteristic in which Massillon stands far above the other, and in which his style is the model of French prose.

And lastly, some to whom God has given richer language, and more vivid imagination, will unconsciously, will without effort, rise to that point where clearness, force and beauty, are all in their perfection, and that eloquence is born, which instructs, and thrills, and overpowers the hearer, and remains to future ages an eternal possession.

Such instances are found scattered through the sermons and funeral orations of Bossuet, and in many of the sermons of Massillon. Bourdaloue's style, while always neat, and often elegant, seldom rises to this warmest and richest beauty.

The crowning grace of style, that by virtue of which, without ceasing to be clear, and strong, and beautiful, it falls pleasantly upon the ear, — that rhythmic flow, that harmony of style of which the Ancient Rhetoricians said so much, and the Moderns say so little, — that on which the grave and serious Aristotle did not forbear to speak, and on which Cicero, and Quintilian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus dwell at such length, — that quality of style which Nature herself prompts, — whereby, as Quintilian says, "What is sublime marches majestically, what is calm advances leisurely, what is spirited runs, and what is tender flows," — that quality of language which is found in all great masters of prose, but especially in the orators, in Demosthenes, in Cicero, in Burke, in Pitt, in Erskine, in Robert Hall, in Webster, in Everett, is found in these great Preachers of the Gallican Church, but above all in Massillon. We dare not trust our pen to record his musical periods, nor have we time now, to show by quotations from the ancient and from modern orators how much the movement of their prose, considered as simple sound, aids in the communication of their thoughts. The whole subject is well worth our attention, and if modern treatises on Rhetoric do in general ignore it entirely, yet we will find abundant instruction on the subject, both in the Orator and the De Oratore of Cicero; still more in the 9th Book of Quintilian; and if our studies shall lead us further still, Dionysius, in his subtle, delightful, and instructive analysis of the styles of Plato, Lysias, Isocrates, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, will introduce us to marvels of prose composition of which, till the hour his pages open before us, we will never have dreamed. We will then learn that Prose has its laws of rhythm and melody no less than Poetry. We will see the necessary connection between a good style and a good elocution, and for what reasons and in what manner and to what degree, the Prose of the Orator differs from the Prose of the Writer; the Prose intended for the ear, from that intended for the eye.

But all this, as so much else suggested by the style of Massillon, the most perfect model of French Prose that the Augustan age

of France produced, we leave reluctantly that we may pass without further delay to matters more important.

So far we have examined, not exhaustively, but as we could, the sermons of the great French Preachers ; the subjects they treated, the materials they used, the methods they followed, the style they employed. Let us now from the works they have left, discover the powers of heart and mind which the Preachers themselves must have possessed in order to compose them. In this way only shall we derive the greatest personal benefit from this examination. For we must never forget in our study of Sacred Rhetoric that the *man* himself is always greater than his work, and that if we ourselves are to exert any influence from the Pulpit, that influence will be proportioned to our own character, moral and intellectual. In one word, we must *be* before we can *speak*: to speak strongly we must be strong men. Follow us therefore, while we attempt to point out the intellectual characteristics of their eloquence.

1. In the first place all three exhibit a wide and thorough knowledge of Theology, Moral Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric. They are versed in the great principles and minute details of Christian Doctrine. They can state them, they can expound them, they can defend them ; they can enforce them also, and they can persuade men to accept them and live by them. For they know what is in man. They understand his complex nature ; they understand his intellectual powers ; they understand how the mind seizes on truth, and how truth may seize upon the mind ; they understand the heart, and the influence feeling has upon the perception of truth, and upon its acceptance ; they understand the morbid anatomy of the human spirit, its condition under the influence of sin ; how far and in what way it has been perverted ; they understand the world, this actual world, not the world of novelists, not the world of Theologians, but the world as it really is, in its effect upon religious character. In one word, they know the message they are to deliver, and they know the man to whom it must be delivered, — they know him in his nature and they know him in his circumstances. This knowledge of man which they possessed, is to be learned from Philosophy in part, but chiefly from the study of ourselves. Massillon, whose knowledge of the human heart in all its windings is strangely clear and minute and penetrating, was once asked how he, a priest and a celibate,

knew so much of the secret life, the unspoken thoughts, desires and passions of the Court. "I find it all in my own heart," was his answer, "it is all there in the germ."

The second quality I note is common sense, judgment, discretion, tact. This the least brilliant quality of the intellect, the least striking, the slowest to develop, the last to ripen, is the foundation of all success in dealing with men from the Pulpit. By success I do not mean notoriety, applause, fame; these are not success. One succeeds in the pulpit only as he instructs and persuades; only as by God's help he makes men holier. To *this* success Common Sense is indispensable. For it is as true now as when Cicero said it nearly two thousand years ago, that "Discretion is the basis of eloquence."

So you find it in Demosthenes, even in his earliest speeches; and the longer you read him, the more you are impressed with the soundness of his judgment, until at last you are tempted to believe it his distinguishing excellence. For in his highest flights, in his most impassioned bursts, even in that immortal Oath, his judgment is as cool as when in the silence of his chamber he trimmed that lamp which from boyhood till his death was never suffered to go out. And here permit us not only to relieve the tedium of this discussion, but to illustrate our meaning also by an anecdote of one of the most distinguished of American Orators. On the day before that on which Mr. Webster was to deliver the Eulogy of Adams and Jefferson, a messenger came to the door of one of the most distinguished of American scholars, still living in Boston, requesting him to come at once to Mr. Webster's residence in Beacon Street, as he wished to see him.

He went immediately; was ushered into the library, found Mr. Webster at his desk busy over the Oration to be delivered on the morrow. "I have sent for you," he said, "to ask your opinion on something I have just written; it is either very good or very bad. I don't know which, and I want you to tell me, and I shall abide by your judgment."

When we state that the part read was the speech put into the mouth of Mr. Adams: "Sink or swim, live or die," it is unnecessary to state the judgment passed upon it by the friend thus summoned. And in educating our own judgments, there is nothing else, in addition to solid studies, so immediately advantageous as familiarity with the highest models in oratory, sacred and secular.

3. You will find in all three of these French Preachers also a powerful imagination, a faculty of the mind which is essential to all great success in speaking ; a faculty which does not show itself exclusively, or chiefly, as some suppose, in tropes, and metaphors, and similes ; but which is necessary for the description of distant objects, as the scenes and events in Sacred History or Human Life ; it aids in clear and forcible statement, for it makes our conceptions definite and precise, and our language apt. Much of the clearness of our own South and Barrow for instance, is due to this. And this clear and forcible statement, moreover, is as indispensable to forcible argument, as clearness of conception is to purity of style. This faculty to which every great orator owes so much to be impressive teachers, is as easily trained and developed as the memory ; but the methods of this culture we have not time to enter on now, and pass therefore to

4. The fourth intellectual source of their power, which we may style, after Hamilton, the Elaborative Faculty. Their power of Generalization is seen in their Plans ; their ability to arrange an extensive and complicated subject under two or three general divisions. It is seen in their analyses of doctrines, of duties, of emotions, of passions. And this minute subdivision to which they result, while it does not go to the extent witnessed in the early Puritan Divines, or in our own South and Andrewes, is sufficient to aid in impressing the truth upon minds of average culture, and to increase by multiplicity of impressions the sense of evidence.

The Reasoning Power proper was strangely developed in them all. Bossuet was a reasoner for reasoners. Like a great Mathematician, he often leaps over too many intermediate points in his reasoning to be easily followed by common minds. But of his great power in argument there can be no doubt. Bishop Atterbury in one of his letters says of him : —

“ The more I read of the Bishop of Meaux, the more I value him as a great and able writer, and especially for that talent of taking as many advantages of an adversary and giving him as few as any man, I believe, that ever entered the lists of controversy.”

Bourdaloue is a reasoner not only for great reasoners but also for common minds ; his logic is remorseless ; yet his language is so simple, so clear, so sharp cut, that any man can comprehend him. No other man ever understood better than he how to address the

Reason from the Pulpit. He deals with facts as Demosthenes does; *i. e.*, instead of accumulating facts, instead of multiplying them, he selects such as are most to his purpose, and dwells on them individually. He draws new and unexpected inferences from them, and follows his facts into various applications. He presses every point to the utmost. He takes pains to keep the different points of his arguments separate and distinct, pressing each by itself. In refutation, he subdivides his adversary's proposition, refuting it in detail; thereby in sight of his audience gaining one victory after another, and overthrowing the authority of his antagonist, by the mere fact of showing how many untenable positions he has assumed. There is also in Bourdaloue as in Demosthenes, and in Charles James Fox, a frequent repetition of facts and arguments, slightly varied in their statement or application, with a view to making a deeper impression; and Bourdaloue like Demosthenes, always takes pains to draw his own inferences. Young and inexperienced speakers are apt to imagine because an inference forces itself upon their minds, the moment the fact is stated, that it will force itself upon their hearers' also. But it is not so. If we wish the inference drawn, we must draw it ourselves, and press it home upon our audience with all our skill. And as Demosthenes, in that famous passage drives the dilemma upon *Æschines*, so Bourdaloue and Massillon often force similar dilemmas upon the sinful conscience, upon the unbeliever, and upon the lukewarm Christian. The popular effectiveness of the dilemma in secular oratory is familiar to us all. And we might easily see, if time permitted the examination, how often and how profitably it can be used in inculcating Sacred Truth.

All these various points in Bourdaloue's mode of reasoning might be amply illustrated from his Sermons, but we have trespassed so long on the patience of our readers that we desire to weary them as little more as possible. As Lord Brougham so far forgets himself in his Essay on Ancient Eloquence as to say that the orations of Demosthenes are rather harangues than pieces of reasoning, an error which Legaré, in his masterly article on Demosthenes, has abundantly refuted, so there are many who count Massillon no reasoner. The mistake is natural. There are always critics who, because a man is brilliant, deny that he is solid; and because he moves the heart, affirm that he cannot influence the judgment. So for years at Rome, they called Cicero the Little Greek, and denied

him both ability to reason and knowledge of the Law. Thus small critics have talked of many eminent orators of modern days, — of Erskine, of Choate, the most brilliant advocate New England ever produced, of Legaré of South Carolina. But the sooner we dismiss this delusion from our minds the better. A man cannot be a true orator, either in the Pulpit or at the Bar, who is not a true reasoner. Mark, we do not affirm that fine powers of reasoning are necessary in order that a man may be popular, famous, run after, fêted, for his speaking, but that in all Oratory, Greek, Roman, French, English, which has stood the test of time, you will find *reasoning* of the highest order ; not the reasoning of the mathematician, not the reasoning of the metaphysician, but the reasoning of the Orator, which differs from the others not so much in itself as in the materials it is called to handle, and the minds it seeks to convince.

Massillon's argumentation is not so manifest on the surface, but an analysis of his Sermons will often show the most carefully constructed chains of reasoning. To be sure, he does not reason magisterially, he does not lord it over your understanding with the imperial and sometimes imperious dogmatism of Bossuet ; nor with the manifest strength and paternal authority of Bourdaloue ; but so to speak, he takes you aside by yourself, and holding both your hands in his, and looking on you with his deep, earnest eyes as if his soul searched yours, he remonstrates, he reasons, he pleads with the gentle earnestness of a brother, — a brother whom you love and trust and admire, and who wins you by his gentleness and truth, almost before he speaks.

And there is one characteristic of the method of reasoning adopted by Demosthenes, which is seen in Massillon more than in any other of the French Preachers, — his care to arouse the feelings before he states his facts. This is common enough at the Bar, and here our great New England Advocate, Mr. Choate, excelled. And this course is legitimate and wise, and desirable in the Pulpit. Much of the power of Christian Truth to move the soul is lost, because we neglect it, and present the most impressive and tender revelations of God's love with the dryness of a mathematical proposition.

We have now considered the intellectual elements of Oratory of the mighty Frenchmen. We have noticed their deep, rich learning, their power of argument, the simplicity, force and beauty of their style, a style, as has been said of poetry, at once "simple, sensu-

ous and passionate ; ” but we are come now to that which is more important than knowledge, more efficacious than logic, more indispensable than any quality of style, — the moral elements of their Oratory, that earnest Faith in Christ which made them unselfish, independent, fearless, commanding, tender.

But before we touch this which belongs rather to their individual characteristics, we will pause for a moment to speak of their official character. They were the authorized ministers, the accredited representatives of a great and powerful body. Behind them stood their Church, corrupted indeed, yet with its centuries of existence and its wide extended dominion. They spoke as her representatives, seldom touching Romish superstitions, boldly proclaiming Catholic Truth. Their words were not the opinions of an individual, but the authoritative declarations of what they believed the Church. Confining themselves for the most part to topics on which the Church of God has always declared herself with unambiguous voice, as in her ancient and unaltered Creeds, they spoke with a power which could not possibly have been otherwise exerted. The whole Past was heard through their tongues, — councils, bishops, schools of learning, doctors, holy men, virgins, confessors, united to give weight to whatever fell from their eloquent lips. Like their Divine Master before them, “ they spake as having authority and not as the scribes,” on whose wire-drawn distinctions and metaphysical subtleties one might find inscribed, perhaps, the acuteness of the individual, but where he would search in vain for the stamp and impress of Eternal Truth.

We are apt to think, that the intellectual element of Oratory is its most potent one, but it is far otherwise. True eloquence, says another, “ I find to be nothing but a serious and hearty love of truth.” And this is true of sacred eloquence especially. No man can move others who is not moved himself ; he may delight, he may entrance, but he will not move, he will not influence to action. He who mounts the Pulpit not to display himself, but to win souls ; who goes there not because ambition calls, but because Christ sends, will from the beginning to the end of his discourse be acting from the highest Christian motives. He will bring his intellect into subjection to Christ’s commands. Profoundly versed in the truth he is to present, and in the nature, powers, prejudices, and misconceptions of the mind he is addressing, he will make everything tend to the accomplishment of his purpose. He will check the vagaries of his intellect with bit and spur ; he will repress any excessive logical

tendency, if need be; he will prune with remorseless hand an exuberant fancy; he will despise all reputation for eloquence and showy declamation; he will know nothing in all the world but the truth he presents, and the men he addresses. It has been said of *Æschines* that the one quality which his eloquence lacked, compared with that of *Demosthenes*, was faith; faith in his country, faith in his cause. And this Faith is the strongest element in Pulpit Power; as our holiness is proportioned to our Faith, as the extent of our Faith determines the amount of our hope and of our love, so other things being equal, the degree of Faith determines the degree of our effectiveness as Preachers. Men have wrought wonders in the Pulpit by God's blessing, without learning, without culture, with none of the graces of speech, but they never have done it without Faith, without a deep and burning Faith in the message they brought, and in the Saviour who sent them. And if there is one lesson more than another, which the careful study of these great masters teaches a thoughtful student, it is this: that Pulpit Power, power to convince, to persuade, to move, is proportioned to one's Faith, and Hope, and Love. And he who under a wise rhetoric, sets himself to the acquisition of the utmost possible power in the Pulpit, will every day be brought home to himself, and to his own spiritual condition; to the pressing necessity he is under to acquire that earnestness, that forgetfulness of self, that holiness without which it is impossible, year after year, to stand before the people of God, and urge them effectively to holiness and self-denial. "When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren," was our Lord's command to *St. Peter*; and if we would strengthen our brethren, we must first see to it that we are converted ourselves; we must be holy, harmless and undefiled. And so our studies in Sacred Rhetoric, wisely conducted, will end where all our studies should end; not in inflating pride, not in feeding ambition, but in bringing us humbled, and penetrated with a sense of our unworthiness, to our crucified Redeemer. Day after day we shall come to Him. Day after day from our dying Lord shall we draw our strength. And so it was, as we cannot but feel, when reading these preachers of whom we have spoken. The one thought which seems to run through all their Sermons, is the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*. The One Being who is never absent from them is the crucified, the risen, the exalted Redeemer. You feel that Christ was as really present, we had almost said as *sensibly*, as the people they addressed.

And this deep Faith, this living consciousness of Christ's presence, gave them their power in the Pulpit. It made them independent of all human favor, fearless of all human opposition, and gave them strength to stand up before the haughtiest court in Christendom, in the commanding attitude of Christ's Ambassadors. But this independence, this fearlessness, this voice of command, were divested of everything like harshness. If they were the Ambassadors of God, it was of that God who is Love, of that God who till the Judgment-day has fully dawned, "will not quench the smoking flax, or break the bruised reed."

And therefore there is a tenderness and pathos in their words, and most of all in those of Massillon, which disarm opposition, and make you feel that there is nothing of selfishness about them, and nothing of arrogance, but that they speak "the truth in love," and plead with you because "the love of Christ constraineth them."

But we ourselves shall find it impossible to exhibit this tenderness unless we are really loving and tender in our own religious character. It is the *man* that speaks, and his heart beats in the words. We must therefore aim above all things, after realizing the unspeakable importance of our mission, as Ambassadors of Christ, to live so near to Christ, to be so much in prayer to Christ, that Love shall be the atmosphere of all our thoughts. And now permit me in closing, to sum up the advantages which one may expect to gain from the study of these French Preachers, provided he comes to them with a sufficient knowledge of Theology to discriminate between what is Catholic and what Romish, and remembers the different practical relation which a Romish Priest sustains to his people from that sustained by a Clergyman of our own branch of the Church Catholic. We shall find, in the first place, great satisfaction as scholars in studying the masterpieces of modern Pulpit Oratory. In Bossuet we shall be able to realize the awful grandeur of the truths of the Gospel. In Bourdaloue, we shall find that Preaching is not the field for vapid generalities and empty parade, but that it affords scope for the widest learning, the deepest penetration, the severest logic, and the most varied knowledge of men. In Massillon we shall discover, that there is nothing even in the drama, so capable of touching the heart, of rousing the emotions, of "purifying us by pity and by terror," to use the familiar words of Aristotle, as the love of our God, on the one hand, and ingratitude of man on the other. And Massillon shall show us also why

our sermons must be studied not in libraries only, but on our knees, in the mournful inspection of our own sinful hearts. It will ennoble our conception of the sermon also. No man can study these Preachers and afterwards regard the sermon (as some 7 × 9 men you meet with seem to do) as merely a brief talk to women and children on some religious theme, it hardly matters what. He would be ashamed of his own intellect, if it afforded him no clearer perception of the intellectual elevation of the Preacher's Office, and he would be doubtful of his own religious character if the Incarnation and its attendant truths touched his affections so little. He will feel rather that in dealing from the Pulpit with the sinful, the careless, the unbelieving, he is dealing with stalwart antagonists; that he is doing battle in God's name, against strong prejudices of mind and heart, and is met by powerful and stubborn wills. He will feel that all the knowledge he can acquire, all the skill in argument to which he can attain, all the persuasiveness to be acquired by years of study and experience, will be only too small for the work before him; since however small his congregation, he will find in it ignorance to enlighten, doubts to remove, indifference to arouse, and impenitence to melt.

He will realize that it is not only love to his neighbor which demands this sacrifice of time and labor, this concentrated exercise of all his powers of body, mind, and heart; but he will realize that God demands it, that the "High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity," who in other days allowed nothing deformed or diseased to be offered on His altar, and who now calls for our best and choicest in the building and decoration of His temples, demands our best also, when, as His Priests, we stand in His name to plead with the people He has redeemed. And so the more fully we realize the awful sanctity of our Priestly Office, the more careful we shall be of the manner in which we deliver to our fellow-men the message from our God and theirs. And though we look upon the sermon as being for the most part a quiet exhibition of some Christian truth, we shall remember that it requires from us thoughts drawn studiously from the Bible, and life, and nature. And so shall life be one long preparation for increasing usefulness in our ministry; our reading, however miscellaneous, shall still assist us in the choice thoughts and expressions it shall furnish. Our recreations, our walks, our summers' rambles, shall refresh our minds, and store them with abundant illustration from earth and sky, from mountain and plain; and our parish-calls, as we go our

rounds, year after year, shall make us more intimately acquainted with our people, their characters and their necessities; so that all our studies, and all our experience, shall combine to increase our power to set forth effectively that truth, through which, in answer to our Saviour's Prayer, God shall sanctify His Chosen, and save them through Eternity.

ART. VI. — THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

HISTORY proves that the greatest influences have proceeded from the smallest territorial centres. On the map, how insignificant Judea, destined to mould the religious future of the world! Nineveh, and Babylon, but cities, controlled vast Empires. On her narrow peninsula, Greece, by her arts, her literature, her arms, her philosophy, her statesmanship, was to impress, and elevate all coming generations, while Italy, during ages, was to rule mighty nations. Egypt, Carthage, Spain, Holland, France, from contracted limits, exerted a universal influence. It therefore accords with the analogies of Providence that a country no larger than England should be the elected home of that branch of the Catholic Church, representing, we believe, most truly, the **PRIMITIVE FAITH, and ORDER.** When in its unpromising soil Apostolic men first planted Christianity; when Saxon Freedom struggled for centuries with Papal usurpation; when the Reforms of Henry the Eighth were bursting the chains and dispelling the superstitions of ages, it was not foreseen that England would be throughout the globe the colonizer of nations, spreading with maternal influence among her children language, science, literature, the principles of Government, the truths of the Gospel, and shaping with unparalleled power the future of Humanity. However extended the territory of the Greek Church, and however wide the sway of the Latin Church, it seems demonstrable that the Anglican Church, directly and indirectly, has done far more within three centuries than either to mould the best intellects of the race, diffuse the pure truth of Christianity, and prepare our world for the predicted glory whose dawn now gilds its darkness. Her children, remembering the past of their venerable mother in England, and reflecting on the illimitable future stretching before the daughter in America,

should be careful never to diminish by depreciating contrasts her claims, and dignity.

Firmly convinced that the CHURCH in Britain, and our own Republic, has the *best* title to the faith and love of Christians, we propose to pause amid the agitating storms of the hour, and calmly ascertain what is her relative, and absolute position. Attention, however, will be mostly confined to our own country. If we seem to revive buried truths and controversies, it is because the age has assaulted doctrines once deemed axioms, and advocated principles once deemed errors. Society resembles a volcanic region traced by recent convulsions. Ancient land-marks lie concealed beneath the surface; objects heretofore hidden in the earth are now exposed to the sun.

That our HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH has certain sympathies with Rome cannot be denied. Both claim substantially the same Order. Both hold the same venerable Creeds. Both have Liturgies largely derived from the same original sources. Many of our Clergy have inclined to a rich, and splendid ceremonial similar to that used by Greeks and Latins during ages. There are those among us who admire the strength, the vigor, the compactness of the Romish system, and almost envy its sway over the masses. Many would encourage organizations based on the philosophy of its monastic orders, seeking to retain the good and reject the evil, and looking forward with glowing hope to the period which shall remove all barriers, and restore the original Unity. Nor is it to be denied that there is a small number from whose minds the eternal differences between ourselves and Rome are fast fading. They repudiate the Reformation. They deride its instruments, and despise its results. Nay! they have even dared to insult its Martyrs. It has become their fashion to institute humiliating comparisons between the Oriental, and Latin communions, and our own noble and venerable branch of the one HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH. What is equally true, and far more mortifying, there have been not infrequent lapses from their ranks to the bondage, the superstitions, the corruptions of the Papacy.

It is not unnatural then to pause, and make inquiries, which our fathers in the sixteenth century could have never conceived would be even suggested by their children of the nineteenth century. Have, we now ask, the separating barriers been indeed broken down? Have the systems changed? Have our standards been

altered? Where? When? How? Has the antagonism vanished to which our Reformers testified amid blood and flame? Or did they grasp phantoms? Did they suffer tortures for delusions? Did they die for dreams? Has the Vatican waived its claims? Have the Convocations in England, or has the Convention in America, carried us nearer Rome? A few years since these questions would have seemed puerile, and even absurd. Now they are demanded by the agitations of the hour. Nay! we are compelled even to quote forgotten Romish standards with which our fathers were familiar in the glare of flames.

Before reaching any doctrinal differences, when the Anglican Catholic looks towards Rome, he sees a wall of separation at present insuperable. The Orders of his Church are silently unacknowledged, or scornfully repudiated. The very fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration is usually questioned by Romish writers, and for the truth of history we have an absurd fable. The most fanatical sectary is not more absolutely excluded from our own pulpits, than we are from that Church whose arrogant claim to infallibility and supremacy was never so strong, so reckless, so successful as at this hour.

And then have those who treat our distance from Rome as an insignificant interval easily bridged by a few amiable discourses, or a few trifling arrangements, forgotten the CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.? Will they inform us where, and when it has been either abrogated, or modified? Perhaps it may be well to refresh their memories by quoting a few of its Articles. In regard to it Dr. Milner says, "The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV., drawn up in conformity with the definitions of the Council of Trent, are *everywhere recited, and professed to the strict letter.*" Here then is what the Romanist SWEARS: —

"I acknowledge the Holy Catholic, and Apostolical Roman Church, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ. I also profess, and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent, and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church. This true Catholic Church, OUT OF WHICH

NONE CAN BE SAVED, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I promise, vow, and swear most constantly to hold, and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life."

Nor does its last clause restrict it to Priests and Bishops. Charles Butler says in regard to it: —

"It was immediately received throughout the universal Church, and since that time has ever been considered, in every part of the world, as an accurate, and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith. *Now Catholics on their admission into the Catholic Church, publicly repeat, and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification.*"

Surely between the honest Roman and the consistent Anglican this creed still rises like a mountain.

Let me now show what the Index declares in reference to the SCRIPTURE. The fourth rule says: —

"Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point referred to the judgment of the bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest, or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured by it, and this *permission they must have in writing.*"

By this provision the Scripture, instead of being freely circulated, is placed entirely in the power of the Priest.

Upon the point of PAPAL SUPREMACY let us turn to the Council of Florence. In a decision pronounced on the 5th of July, 1439, we find substantially, "The Pope of Rome hath the supremacy over all the earth; that he is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles; the Head of the Church, the father, and teacher of all Christians."

In regard to INFALLIBILITY the Catechism of Trent declares, — "But as this one Church, because governed by the Holy Ghost, cannot err in faith, and morals, it necessarily follows *that all other societies arrogating to themselves the name of Church, because guided by the spirit of darkness, are sunk in the most pernicious errors, doctrinal, and moral.*"

Perhaps it may not be amiss to recall what the Council of Trent declares in regard to the HOLY EUCHARIST. We give the first and second Canons, —

"1. Whosoever shall deny, that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there are truly, really, and substantially contained the Body, and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with His soul, and divinity, and consequently Christ entire, but shall affirm that He is present therein, only in a sign, and figure, or by His power; *let him be accursed.* 2. Whosoever shall affirm, that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of the bread and wine, together with the Body, and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and peculiar conversion of the whole substance of the bread into His Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into His Blood, the species only of bread and wine remaining, which conversion the Catholic Church most fitly terms transubstantiation; *let him be accursed.*"

We have also the following, touching the **WORSHIP OF THE HOST**: —

"If any one shall say that this holy sacrament should not be adored nor solemnly carried about in procession, nor held up publicly to the people to adore it, or that its worshippers are idolaters; *let him be accursed.*"

Here is enjoined by anathemas what our Article forbids.

The Council of Trent thus decrees in regard to **CONFESSION**: —

"Whosoever shall deny that Sacramental Confession was instituted by divine command, or *that it is necessary to Salvation*, or shall affirm that the practice of secretly confessing to the Priest alone, as it has ever been observed by the Catholic Church, and is still observed, is foreign to the institution and command of Christ, and is a human invention; *let him be accursed.*"

We have as follows on the subject of **PURGATORY**: —

"Since the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Spirit from the Sacred Writings, and ancient tradition of the fathers, hath taught in holy councils, and lastly in this Ecumenical Council, that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the mass, this holy council commands that the wholesome doctrine concerning Purgatory, delivered to us by venerable fathers, and sacred councils, be believed, held, taught, and everywhere preached by Christ's faithful."

In regard to the **INVOCATION OF SAINTS** the Council of Trent, in its twenty-fifth session, enjoins Bishops, and other Teachers, —

"To instruct the faithful concerning the invocation, and intercession due the Saints, the honor due to relics, and the careful use of images, teaching them that the Saints, who reign together with Christ, offer their

prayers to God for men ; that it is a good, and a useful thing suppliantly to invoke them, and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance, because of the benefits bestowed by God through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer, and Saviour, and that those are men of impious sentiments who deny that the Saints who enjoy eternal happiness are to be invoked."

That the faithful have profited by the instruction of their Pastors is seen to-day in every part of our world by the Romish worship, private and public, constantly addressed to saints, angels, and to the Virgin, so that by reliable testimony, especially in Italy, the glorious office of Christ as Mediator is totally obscured by His supposed sternness as a Judge, who can only be approached by the intercessions of His creatures. Nor can we marvel at the idolatrous degradation of the people, when we find such language as the following in the bull of a Pope. We quote from that issued by Gregory XVIth on the 15th of August, 1832. He says, — " But that all may have a successful, and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed Virgin, who alone destroys heresies, who is our *greatest hope*, yea, **THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE.**"

It is not our purpose here to enter into any comparison between the Decrees of Trent, and the Articles of our own Church. The antagonism is so obvious, that statement, not argument is required. We confess that we have never had a greater recoil from any book, than from Tract numbered ninety, where the attempt at reconciliation is so palpably weak, unfair, and abortive. You might as well endeavor to unite stern mountains separated by the convulsions of centuries. For Dr. Pusey, who had a certain sympathy with the sophistries of Newman, we have the highest veneration. He first taught us that the Holy Communion was not only a memento, but a Presence. He has most clearly shown the everlasting difference between the spiritual view of the Catholic Church, and the corporal dogma of the Romish corruption. For his high views of Orders, and his reverent views of Ritual, we profess great veneration. But when he insinuates that there can be any possible reconciliation between the Tridentine Canons we have quoted, and the Anglican Articles and offices, we can only marvel to see such treasures of learning, and beauties of character, where there is such a deficiency in acute logic, and practical sagacity. And especially are anticipations of speedy unity astonishing when the spiritual pretensions of the Papacy increase with its political

decline. While manifestly losing power in Austria, in Italy, in Spain, and other strongholds of Continental Europe, we have the dogma of the Immaculate Conception established by the simple word of the Pontiff, and a Council convened, without consulting temporal sovereigns, to pronounce his Infallibility. The triumphs of Ultramontaniam are surely not bringing nearer the day of promised fellowship. Our hope is, not that Rome will speedily emancipate herself from her corruptions, but that there will be increasing Reforms which will bring many *individuals* to the light, and ultimately to the fellowship of our own Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Let us now approach the Greek Communion. Here are stirred some of the deepest sensibilities of the heart. Here we behold a venerable beauty. Here are excited both admiration, and affection for so much that is excellent in doctrine, and in practice. It is impossible to read the standards of the Greek Church without being impressed with her Orthodoxy in whatever respects the essentials of the Faith. The weight of argument seems incontestably that she is right in asserting that the *filioque* is a Latin interpolation of the Nicene Creed, while in restricting the word *Procession* to express the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Father she has at least the *letter* of the Scripture. If in Syria we find her oppressed with a superstitious laity, and an ignorant Clergy, in Russia we behold in her much that is excellent in culture, and all that is august in authority, and imposing in ritual. Amid her serfs, her nobles, and her princes there are unquestionable instances of the loveliest piety. Perhaps there is no form of Christianity so intimately interwoven with the habits of an entire nation, and so cordially supported by a throne. The saintliness, the learning, the labors of Philaret, the recent Primate of Russia, would adorn any age, and any country. Our interest in the Greek Church is moreover increased by the recent purchase of Alaska by our Government. There is also between this Republic and Russia an inexplicable sympathy, remarkable in the case of nations almost antagonistic in their political institutions, and having no resemblance except in the vastness of their territory. This manifest and unexpected fellowship seems prophetic of some united destiny in their gigantic future. Besides, if a Greek Church, as is supposed, will soon be established in San Francisco, the Bishop of California will have sternly practical questions to decide, where we

have been hitherto discussing abstract theories. However this may be, we have every motive for treating the Orientals with the utmost consideration, and regard; and more especially as the entire subject of intercommunion has received the careful attention of the General Convention, and been referred to a most competent committee. Yet we cannot forbear touching a subject which comes so immediately in the path of our Article. We propose in our investigation to examine simply what is taught by acknowledged standards. Certain opinions of Archbishop Philaret in regard to the Holy Eucharist are reported by one of our most estimable Bishops, which would seem to modify essentially the obvious meaning of received writings. But venerable as was that Primate, he could only really speak in informal conversation as a private individual. We will therefore be excused for more regarding his printed doctrines than his oral communications. This having been premised, we may state that the difficulties of a practical intercommunion are by no means settled by the rectification of the Nicene Creed. With the most profound respect for the recent decided action of the Convocation of Canterbury, we will proceed to state the obstacles which start up from some of the most weighty standards, at least, of the Russo-Greek Church, confining ourselves to a very few of the prominent.

And we first direct attention to the declarations of the Council of Bethlehem, assembled A. D. 1672, and whose authority seems unquestioned, and universal. The expression in regard to the circulation of the Bible is by no means so objectionable as the written license of the Priest required by the Index. Still there is a restriction at variance with our Anglican and American notions, yet not presenting any difficulty in the way of Intercommunion. We give the answer to one of the questions appended to the Articles. "We know that all Scripture is inspired by God, and profitable, and so indispensable, that, without it, it is impossible to attain to godliness. But it is not permitted to read to every one without guidance, certain parts of the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament."

The most formidable difficulty arises in the XVIIth Article of the Council of Bethlehem, where the Romish TRANSUBSTANTIATION is affirmed as strongly as in the decrees of Trent. We are compelled to consider, not the influences which shaped the utterance, but the unequivocal meaning of the terms employed, and which individual

explanations can scarcely be supposed to modify. Here is the statement of the Article on the Holy Eucharist:—

“ We believe that in the celebration of this mystery, our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not in a figurative, and imaginary manner, nor by any excellency of grace, as some of the Fathers have said of Baptism, nor by impanation, nor by the substantial union of the Divinity of the Word with the bread that is set upon the Altar, as the Lutherans ignorantly, and wretchedly think, but really, and indeed, so that after the consecration of the bread, the bread is changed, and *transubstantiated*, transformed into the very Body and Blood of our Lord, which was born in Bethlehem of the most pure Virgin, baptized in the River Jordan, suffered, was buried, arose again, ascended into Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, shall come again in the clouds of Heaven; and that the wine is converted, and transubstantiated into the very true Blood of the Lord which was shed for the Life of the world when He suffered on the Cross. Further, we believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine, the very bread and wine ¹ no longer remain; but the very Body and Blood of our Lord is distributed, and enters into the mouths and stomachs of the communicants.”

Human language cannot be more explicit. Here we have the essential part of transubstantiation, according to Dr. Pusey, who in showing the difference between the real spiritual Presence of the Anglican Church, and the asserted corporal Presence of the Romish Church, affirms that the whole controversy turns on the question of change in the *substance* of the elements.

The XVIIIth Article of the Council of Bethlehem, on Prayers for the Dead, affirms the doctrine of PURGATORY, not under that name, but in terms distinct as those of the twenty-fifth session of Trent:—

“ We believe that the souls of the dead are in bliss, or in torment according to their actions. For on being separated from their bodies, they pass instantly either into joy, or into sorrow and woe. Yet they receive not perfect bliss, or perfect misery until after the resurrection. The souls of those who have fallen into mortal sin, but yet have not despaired in the hour of death, but have repented while still in the body—descend into Hades, and endure discipline for the sins they have committed. They receive refreshment through the infinite goodness of God, through the prayers of the Priests, and works of mercy which are wrought in behalf of the dead, and particularly by virtue of the unbloody sacrifice, which the servant of the Altar offers in behalf of each Christian in particular, and for his connections.”

¹ The Greek in this place says: “The *substance* of the bread and wine no longer remain.”

At the annual solemnities of Orthodox Sunday we have certain denunciations of those who refuse the use of images, which certainly *seem* to direct the wrath of Heaven against ourselves : —

“ To them — that will not introduce by means of icons the grace manifested by that Prophet — to them that will not endure to see in icons these works done for the salvation of the whole world, and honor them not, nor adore them, Anathema ! Anathema !! Anathema !!! ”

That there are repeated INVOCATION OF SAINTS in the Russo-Greek service is undeniable. In the Mencea, which resembles the Breviary, there is an address to Mary even more censurable than anything we have ever seen in Romish Liturgies :

“ Virgin, blessed of God, as a benevolent advocate, thou that art proclaimed by the faithful, Mother of God, presenting our prayers to the Creator, procure propitiation for thy servants, as the *all sufficient propitiation and salvation of our souls*. ” Again, — “ At thy intercession, O spotless Virgin, to the word that was born of thee, loose me from the bands of my sins, and save me, lady, by thy prayers. ”

In the admirable Catechisms of the late learned and venerated Primate of Moscow, Archbishop Philarét, we have these various doctrines succinctly stated, but with equal clearness, as the authorized opinions of the Greek Church. And surely, however sincere and glowing may be our aspirations for Unity, we should not shrink from understanding all the strength of the practical difficulties. The men who do not fear to *know* the obstacles, are the men by whose active faith they must be removed. We cannot be insensible to the fact that hitherto they have stood for centuries stern, frowning, and motionless. The efforts which many deem new have been going forward during generations. Negotiations have been frequent. More than a hundred years since a committee of Conference was appointed to mediate between the Russian and Anglican Churches. Still, with a knowledge of all these embarrassments and disappointments, we believe the prayer of Faith, and the labor of Love, will ultimately triumph.

But let us now turn from those venerable Churches, which on questions of ORDER so elicit our sympathies, to some of those Christian Bodies which arose from the Reformation, and which must command our respect for their general correctness in the essentials of the FAITH. That man is deficient either in head or heart who refuses to acknowledge among them much that is profound in

learning, correct in doctrine, beautiful in piety, excellent in life, expansive in benevolence, and admirable in enterprise. As we must credit Rome with the saintliness of a Kempis, the loveliness of a Fenelon, and the pious eloquence of a Massillon, so we must acknowledge the devotion of a Brainard, the holiness of a Judson, and the pulpit power of a Chalmers. We know no Churchman who denies that God may bless His own Truth even when its method of administration is irregular. But making the largest concessions, and with every respect for the charity which has prompted certain recent movements, who can for one moment suppose, there can be any practical external unity with organizations, the validity of whose orders we totally deny? What conscientious Clergyman, with the vows of the Church on his soul, *dare* recognize a ministry without Episcopal ordination? Who does not know that the only condition of union on which we would receive other Christian bodies is that there should be a submission to the hands of the Bishop? Who does not see that such an essential would be scorned, and repudiated? We can neither deceive ourselves, or deceive others on this subject. The only manly way is to admit the truth, and abide by the consequences. A Clergyman of the Church who is not resolved on this point is weaker than a reed. He shakes with every wind. He is at war with himself. He is not in harmony with his standards. His life will be a discord, and an entanglement. In vain efforts to promote fellowship he will excite strife, provoke criticism, incur contempt, and defeat every end he proposes. On the question of Orders there can be no concession. This is absolutely, and forever fixed by the recent action of the General Convention. It therefore follows as the light the sun that Unity must be spontaneous, invisible, spiritual, not forced, outward, demonstrative. And even if the question of reordination could be possibly waived, nothing seems more unnatural than any organized unity between multitudes of men who for centuries have differed in doctrine, habits, and the whole framework and texture of their characters. Neither party could yield to the system of the other, while the union of antagonizing systems is a mere morning dream. And in the efforts made on the one side and on the other, it is a question whether we have not depreciated the surpassing claim of the Anglican Church. We stand on the Nicene Creed interpreted by the first centuries. Do you present this to Rome? To the pure doctrine it expresses she

has added the most unwarrantable corruptions. Do you present it to the Sects? However they agree with the FAITH of the Creed, they differ from the ORDER of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, as we believe we can demonstrate it to have been established by Divine Authority. The more frequently we read the Fathers of the early centuries, the more overwhelming the conviction that the Church as seen in England and America is the most perfect reproduction of the Primitive Model, superior to every other in the purity of its Faith, and equal to any other in its claim to the true Order.

So far as our external relations are concerned, it would seem that nothing remains for us but to persevere in a spirit of prayer for UNITY, to foster a noble charity, to cultivate every offered opportunity and patiently await the time of Heaven in faithful devotion to our sphere of duty, but never to depart from the firmness of our convictions, the strength of our position, and that dignity of conservatism, which will make no improper advance, and repel no honest overture. The Church has always sought to avoid the ice of the bigot, and the fire of the fanatic. Hers is the noble middle path both in doctrine, in practice, and in polity.

If permitted, we will employ an illustration of this part of our subject, suited rather we confess to the freedom of the address than the dignity of the Article. Every graduate of West Point is a representative of his country. He is educated by his country. He is at the disposal of his country. He is under the flag of his country. Even the private soldier in the regular army acts in the name of the Republic. But should there occur a sudden invasion on some remote frontier, would not the volunteer force be permitted to fight our battles, and expel our foes? Yet such an unauthorized troop, however patriotic its purpose, and vigorous its enterprise, and admirable its qualifications, is never confounded with a regular battalion. We believe that the Church of the true Order is the only authorized representative of the Kingdom of Christ on the earth. In its regular ranks is the Latin wing, having blazoned on its banners mottoes we deem utterly corrupt, and the Greek wing holding dogmas we cannot approve, yet both fighting under the commission of the Great Captain of our Salvation. Other Christian bodies are the volunteer forces of Jesus Christ, who, animated by a sincere love of His cause, are permitted to oppose His enemies, as those not following His person,

yet loving His truth, were neither commanded, nor forbidden to cast out devils. Our prayer, our hope, our faith is, that a period of millennial light is beginning to dawn when all doctrinal errors and practical mistakes will be corrected, and the entire armies of our Lord clothed with the authority of Heaven, and fighting under pure escutcheons, will present to the forces of Satan a united front, and conquer a world to the Cross.

Having in this brief manner considered the external relations of the Church, we will now glance at her condition, and prospects, as seen, especially in the discussions, enactments, and spirit of our recent General Convention. And here was first to be remarked an unexpected concord. Predictions of hostility and schism were disappointed. A substantial unity upon great Church truths was demonstrated. I. There is a prevailing conviction that our Ecclesiastical Law restricts the performance of our Liturgical Services to ministers Episcopally ordained. II. There is a universal love for the two great Creeds of our Prayer Book. III. There are no real differences in regard to the central doctrine of a sinner's justification by faith in Jesus Christ, to be attested by a godly life. IV. There is a general attachment to the Liturgy, and Polity of the Church. Here is a substantial basis of unity. With a true submission to Law, minor differences in regard to the Sacraments and Ritual will be tolerated by all liberal men, and the majority in our General Convention showed towards the minority a noble magnanimity which deserves the highest commendation, and gives promise of our continued fellowship. Nothing can be more certain than that the two sections of the Church, each in its sphere, will still revolve within the common circle.

It is equally plain, however, that decided Church views are constantly in the ascendent. Despite a factious resistance confined to a very few persons, and a popular clamor extending over the entire country, the Law guarding our services from intrusion was fixed, it is to be hoped forever, in its interpretation, so that our Ecclesiastical genius will be left free in its development. This movement which secured the inviolability of our Orders, proceeded from those whose interpretations of our Prayer Book, and views of Church policy are in parallel directions. They uniformly have high opinions of the Sacraments, holding that Baptism is a communication of the Holy Ghost, and the Eucharist, not the mere memento of an atoning Sacrifice, but the conscious Presence of

a Divine Person, who, under material forms, nourishes the believing soul to an Eternal Life. They venerate the Creeds. They esteem the Church both the conservator, and witness of the Truth. They incline to impressive Ritual, and a scrupulous observance of our entire appointed service. That which their adversaries most oppose is their view of the Priestly Office. But do they not reject the Romish dogma of transubstantiation? Deny a corporal presence in the Holy Eucharist, and the very conception of fresh sacrifice is preposterous. The essence of the Romish Mass is in the belief that the Body and Blood of Christ are really offered. To this the opinion of Dr. Pusey, as explained in a former number of this Review, is perfectly antagonistic, and nothing could seem more harmless, and more suitable than to regard the Priest on earth as presenting to God "the alms and oblations of the people," their "Sacrifice of Praise, and Thanksgiving," their "souls and bodies," and the Holy Gifts upon the altar, while, in sympathy with the Eternal High Priest in Heaven, and as his typical representative, he pleads the atonement of the Cross made, once and forever. That these interpretations of the Articles and Offices of the Church are most in harmony with her teaching, and genius, and are likely to have an unquestioned preëminence, seems a fact admitted even by those who have stood longest in the ranks of the opposition. Decided Churchmen may be generously tolerant of lower views, but they are none the less resolved on endeavors to make their own universal. Call the system they represent by whatever name, all the recent discussions of the Press, and the proceedings of the last General Convention evince that its future prevalence is to mark the history of the American Church.

But it is to be noticed that with these doctrinal opinions are almost invariably associated the same views of Ecclesiastical Polity, so that both are to be united in their victory. With these you remark a love for the letter of the old Church system, and a veneration for the old Church names. Convention, now designating such a variety of secular assemblies, many would displace by Synod, and Council, consecrated by the hallowed associations of primitive ages. They prefer small Dioceses, and numerous Bishops, distinguished for efficient labor as well as imposing dignity, residing in a central city giving name to the See, where they are to be surrounded by all the appliances of benevolence. Hence

as old Dioceses divide it is sought to bring their parts into federative relations, in which is, probably, the germ of the entire Provincial system. Nor is it unlikely that we shall have with the elements, the nomenclature of a completed Hierarchy. Nay! we almost venture a prediction. England is manifestly on the verge of great social revolutions. The Government will evidently be popularized. Whatever the fate of the Establishment, the Aristocracy, and the Throne, the Bishops and the Clergy will be more and more assimilating to the habits and spirit of those in our own Republic. Change at home produces discontent abroad, and with the weakening of the central power, the British Colonies will be constantly tending to their own independence. But the separation of political ties will excite ecclesiastical affinities, and the scattered parts of the Anglican Church will seek some scheme of union, foreshadowed by the Lambeth Council, to express, and develop, and organize a universal fellowship. Perhaps, the result will be a great Hierarchical System binding together in a common body the children of our ecclesiastical mother throughout the world, so that the REFORMED CATHOLIC CHURCH, under a single visible Head, may present Her pure Faith, and unbroken Order, in protesting antagonism to those corruptions fastened on the Creeds by the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Having ventured this suggestion, our Article would be imperfect without a reference to the question of Ritual. The action of our General Convention assigning the subject to the Bishops until its next session is admirable as a temporary expedient. It harmonizes with the genius of their office, and places the Episcopate in a dignified position. But the question must finally be settled on the principles of a broad and liberal Christian Statesmanship. While firm as the roots of a tree in matters of doctrine, we may be pliant as the branches in matters of ceremony. This is allowed by our venerable Articles. Extreme Ritualists, however, multiply their difficulties by mingling suspected doctrine with novel observance. In England they began with prayers for the dead, and they end with invocation to the saints. They began with the ornament of a vestment, and they end with a Canon of Trent. They began with Romish imitation, and they end with Romish dogma. They began with decrying the Reformation, and they end by defaming the Martyrs. American Churchmen may be tolerant of splendid ceremonial, but they will forever oppose corrupt doctrine. Ab-

stractly, the argument of the Ritualists is formidable. Nature does not disdain beauty. The stern laws of the Universe hide their rigor beneath bloom, and light, and glory. While the temple of Creation has been contrived by pure Reason, it has been adorned to please the most fastidious taste. Jehovah who made the spheres, and peopled them with cherubim, gave directions for the vessel of the tabernacle, and the mitre of the Priest. He did not disdain the glitter of gems, the flush of crimson, the glory of gold, or the smoke of incense. If it be said these were the symbols of an infant dispensation, how, it may be asked, is the very maturity of Eternal Life only known to us by figures borrowed from the temple? No man can read the Epistle to the Hebrews spiritualizing the old Jewish Service, or the Revelation of St. John transferring its emblems from the Jerusalem on earth to the Jerusalem in Heaven, and not believe that the introduction of a gorgeous ceremonial into the Church was a mere question of time and money. But Ritualists have injured their principles by their practices. They have not always venerated authority. They have more affected Romish Mediævalism than Apostolic Catholicism. Let them seek simply an impressive Ritual *within the Law*! Let them prove their mission rather by their works than their vestments! Let them not indulge servile imitations, but *create* from the buried Past, for the living Present and the expecting Future, a splendid garniture of ceremonial; let them symbolize only pure Anglican doctrine; let them respect honest prejudices, and never force unwilling Parishes, and we pledge to them the respectful attention of American Churchmen. Perhaps, when passions, and prejudices subside, beauty will emerge from Chaos, and we may see the same Liturgy, variously rendered, according to persons and circumstances, suited to all possible individualities, so that we shall ultimately have, including all intermediate varieties, the service, severe in its plainness, resembling that adapted to the tastes of impoverished Carthage; and the service, gorgeous in its appointments, resembling that adapted to the tastes of wealthy Constantinople. Thus will the Church be Catholic in ceremonial, Catholic in doctrine, Catholic in spirit, and Catholic in victory.

But we cannot close this Article without referring to our own peculiar situation as a nation. Take down the map of the world! Turn to the United States! On the one hand she looks over the

Atlantic into Europe and Africa, and on the other over the Pacific into Australia and Asia, attracting to herself the wealth of all continents. The History of Empire, which began in the Orient, carries us to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, to Carthage, to France, to Spain, to England, to America, where its western march is arrested, because a further progress is impossible. All nations of the earth are concentrating in our Republic. They bring their languages, their habits, their opinions. From the mingled blood of the world a race seems springing for the final development of Humanity. Perhaps from this new centre of light and life will be returned to the ancient nationalities of earth the vital principles of their millennial regeneration. Now amid such a mighty conflict of antagonisms, the wonder is, not that we should have change, but existence. Indeed, if we had not from Heaven an immortal vigor we should long ago have been overwhelmed in the confluence of these surging streams of humanity, pouring from every part of our world. It is most obvious if the Church is to control and mould such populations she must be in the truest sense CATHOLIC. To understand this term America must go back to the FIRST century, not to the Fourth. The Nicene Creed did not represent its own age, but all ages. It simply expressed Eternal Truths. But it arises from a period already darkened by corruptions like a sublime mountain towering into pure light above gathering mists. Nothing can more conclusively prove that the Nicene Council was infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost than the fact that its Creed, uncontaminated by a single error of the day, interpreted, and expressed the essential truths of Scripture to the Christian consciousness for all time. But corruptions in doctrine and practice had long before begun. Nor is it to Romish Mediævalism, but to the APOSTOLIC CATHOLICITY of the First Century the American Church must look for her model if she would become the controlling religious power of this vast Republic. Now this we claim was revived fully in England, and in no other country. We have seen that it is not found in the Latin and Greek Churches. Nor do we discover it in Continental Protestantism. That was chiefly a revival of correct doctrine. Justification by Faith had been overlaid by Romish superstitions. This great central truth was flashed on the soul of Luther. His intense nature was absorbed in the revelation. The dazzling light obscured everything but itself. He cared nothing for works. He cared nothing for Orders. He cared

nothing for the Church. He became a doctrine in action, as Melancthon was a doctrine in expression. Books, disputations, lectures, confessions, turned on doctrine. The Continental Reformation, although so intimately connected with the State, and, at first, with a true religious life, finally resolved itself into discussions of dry technical theology which almost fossilized Christendom. It accomplished a mighty work. It gave the world a free Bible. It emancipated millions from the Papal supremacy. It lifted from crushed nations a ruinous load of Romish superstitions. It started humanity on a new era of existence. But on the other hand it was convulsed by strifes, and rent with divisions. While scholars disputed, the people perished. Old Cathedrals, filled by Rome with worshippers, stood cold and deserted, — not revered as temples of Jehovah, but regarded by curiosity as relics of mediæval art. The Anglican Reformation, like the Continental, was also a protest against Romish error, and a revival of doctrinal truth. But it was more. It clung to the Church. It retained its Order, while restoring its Faith. It revived the Apostolic century. It was essentially CATHOLIC. Its great ideas, and its mighty mission have indeed been fettered, and retarded by its connections with the State. But transplanted to America, it is free. God created this Republic for its development. Like the vigorous young tree taken from the encumbering forest, it may here spring under the pure light of Heaven, and overshadow the Continent, and the world. When the Greek and Latin Churches see their error in unwarrantable additions to the Faith of the Nicene Creed, and other Christian bodies see their error in unwarrantable subtractions from its implied Order, then will the united Anglican, and American Churches, relieved from centuries of prejudice, stand forth majestically, and fill the earth with the glory of Salvation.

But we can never greatly influence this young Republic, unless, in harmony with its genius, and development, we have not only the *letter*, but the *spirit* of Catholicity. It is the prerogative of America, not to imitate the Past, but to *create* from it the Present. If the rich material of the old world is to be borrowed by the new, it must be transformed before it is appropriated. In Art, in Science, in Literature, in Government, America must disdain to be a servile copyist. And the same noble spirit must animate the Church. Clinging to SCRIPTURAL FAITH, and APOSTOLIC ORDER with increasing tenacity of life, let her not hesitate to take from

any quarter what may increase her power, and advance her usefulness. Does she admire sectarian zeal and enterprise? Let its fires kindle her to new energies. Does she admire the compactness, the strength, the adaptation of the Roman System? Let her study its philosophy, and profit by its example. Does she admire the gorgeous Ritual of the Greek Church? Let her to her own usual simplicity, at proper times, and under specified conditions, not forbid the addition of rich and splendid ceremonial, always, however, within legal limits, and expressing Scriptural Truth.

We will conclude our Article by suggesting one other consideration. It is not, after all, doctrinal truth, nor ecclesiastical arrangement, nor suitable ceremonial which will secure the triumph of the **AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**. The principle of success lies much deeper. The external is infinitely inferior to the internal. The life of the man is in his *soul*, not his body. So within the Church must be a Divine vitality from which all her movements spontaneously develop. Our vision must look beyond time into Eternity. Our faith must apprehend Christ. Our aim must be the salvation of the world. Our work must be the victory of the Church. What, we ask, gave animation and power to our last General Convention? What diffused the glow of fellowship in estranged breasts? What kindled living hope for the Future? We believe that the desirable, and unexpected results we witnessed were produced by the Holy Ghost in animating agencies, and arrangements which can never be overvalued. A few years since Bishops were elected, and consecrated for the work of the distant West. They were suddenly transplanted, in several instances, from the luxuries of cities to endure the inconveniences, labors, and perils always incident to a frontier life. But they were true men, and equal to their mission. In the very prairies of the West there is an inspiration of vastness which imparts magnanimity to the soul. The people are impulsive, generous, magnetic. Our new Bishops caught the spirit of their youthful vigor, and more than all, the genius of the Episcopal Office. Amid hardships, and dangers, over prairies, and along mountains, they planted the Church of God. Faith grew from Sacrifice. Prayer fostered enterprise. Exertion made spiritual muscle. The authority of Heaven invested life with an increased dignity, and after years of labor they appeared in our metropolis at Convention to diffuse a new life through the Church. Their appeals were electrical. Assembled thousands in

the Academy of Music felt the thrill of a new eloquence. That wonderful series of missionary meetings for which we well owe eternal gratitude to the Committee of Domestic Missions, and their admirable Secretary, have wrought almost a revolution in the life of the Church. Now what principally produced these effects? They are beyond the capacity of any mere natural eloquence. The heart is only thus stirred when addressed by consecrated men who have labored and suffered for the Gospel. The devotion of the Clergy is the Power of Christianity. Lives surrendered to Christ for Eternity will alone secure the universal triumph of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE. A Poem. By WILLIAM MORRIS, Author of the "Life, and Death of Jason." From the third London Edition. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1868. 12mo., pp. 430.

Poetry is the flower, and Oratory the fruit of the noblest human genius. They explore every field of knowledge for the beautiful and the persuasive, and bring into exercise every faculty of the soul. Art, Science, Nature, are their tributaries. They would fix, for all time, in forms which please, or convince, the very essence of thought. In all their departments, to guide our taste, are certain great models, consecrated by the experience of ages. The Parthenon is not more certainly an ideal of simple majesty, or the Apollo of manly beauty, or the Venus of womanly grace, than Demosthenes of persuasive eloquence, or Homer of epic excellence. In their writings, and those of subsequent ages which have stood the test of criticism, and been elevated into standards of taste, and become embalmed with immortality in the consciousness of mankind, are discovered certain universal principles. First, they are pervaded by that native fire kindled by creative genius, and which is a heritage and not an acquisition. But, secondly, the ardor of composition has always been followed by the severity of criticism. Does Homer glow, and blaze, and burn? He also displays that poetical correctness, that accuracy of judgment, that unity of plan, that calmness of dignity which result from the laborious exercise of reason. Demosthenes not only thunders, but exhibits the perfection of Art. Our remarks apply to all the varied productions of Greek and Roman intellect. Shakespeare overflows with genius, but is deficient in culture. In the development of character he is inimitable, and in poetical beauty unsurpassed. On the other hand, how often do you find his wit contemptible, his indelicacies barbarous, his plots absurd, or monstrous! In unity of plan, in regularity of development, in the polish of art how immeasurably is he excelled by *Æschylus*, and *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*! In Milton's "Paradise Lost" you have at once the creative power of a sublime genius, and the very perfection of the highest culture. In Byron, perhaps the

most gifted poet who has ever existed, how frequently are you grieved at the absence of that finish which has made the unpretending elegy of Gray absolutely immortal! Only in Sir Walter Scott do we overlook minor blemishes of style, and the many faults resulting from hasty composition, in the almost invariable excellence of his plot, and his exhaustless affluence in the delineations of character.

In judging especially poetical compositions, therefore, we look for the originality of genius, and the culture of Art. There must be the glow of life within a form of beauty. And in each particular department we must simply seek its own particular excellence.

If these rules are applied to the "Earthly Paradise" we may, perhaps, approach an estimate of its literary merit. The great aim of Mr. Morris is to tell a story. Here he possesses the first requisite — an almost exhaustless invention. He fills up the outlines of Grecian Mythology, or of Northern Tradition, until they become living pictures. You feel there is behind the Poem you peruse a boundless wealth of creative power. Besides, he imparts to everything he touches an admirable simplicity. His story is always naturally told. The interest is so spontaneous that you forget the improbability. From this remark we must, however, except the last Poem of the collection — "Ogier the Dane" — which exhibits a crudeness and absurdity surprising you at the close of a volume where you expect rather a climax of interest than of disappointment. In fecundity of invention, and excellence of narration Mr. Morris has scarcely a superior. Here he may even enter the lists with the immortal Chaucer. Yet while he has thus attained his principal design, there is not throughout the entire volume a single description, or image, or line which lingers in your memory, or obtains a place in your heart, and which you desire to retain as some dear, cherished, consecrated treasure. Perhaps the very genius of his story required a certain negligence of versification, and simplicity of narration, commanding the writer to linger in the more unpretending regions of the pleasing, and forbidding to aspire even to the elegant, much less to the grand, or to the sublime. We can scarcely doubt that the Poems of Mr. Morris, seeking but an humble place in literature, will yet have a permanent value, and be read when more pretentious, and brilliant productions will have been forgotten. We have perused them with an unflagging interest, and are pleased to speak of them in terms of commendation. Perhaps there are sometimes indelicacies more congenial to Greek Mythology than to Christian Purity.

THE SPANISH GYPSY. A Poem. By GEORGE ELIOT, Author of "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," etc. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868. 12mo., pp. 287.

The plot of this Poem possesses great dramatic interest. Fedalma, the daughter of a Gypsy Chief, snatched away from her tribe by a band of marauders, when a mere child, was brought up under the best Spanish nurture, unconscious of her origin, and yet haunted by vague lingering memories. She developed into a woman of matchless beauty, the native wildness of her blood even lending an indescribable charm to the accomplishments of her education. She becomes united in heart to Don Sylva, a young, impulsive, noble Spanish Duke. On the eve before their expected marriage he even invests her with the brilliant hereditary jewels of his house, so that her beauty brightens in a

blaze of diamonds. Among these treasures is a necklace awaking mysterious recollections. Soon after, when alone in the silence of her chamber, disturbed by shadows from the past, her father stands suddenly before her, claims her as his daughter, explains the secret of the necklace, and establishes his paternity by indisputable proofs. Now her breast is shaken with a tempest. The barrier of race suddenly rises like an impassable mountain between her, and her brilliant future. Every hope of her young life is crushed. To become the wife of Don Sylva, either with the acknowledged stain, or the concealed consciousness, of her Gypsy birth, will certainly blast her, and probably ruin him, while, on the other hand, to follow her father, is to exchange the wealth, and title, and luxury of a Duchess for the poverty, and ignominy of an outcast. After an agonizing conflict she decides to abandon Don Sylva, and link her destinies with her wild, but gifted, and fascinating father. The former, hurried to despair, pursues her to the Gypsy camp, and renounces for her rank, fortune, honor, country, religion. Zarca, in the meantime, seizes the castle of Don Sylva, kills his friend, and murders his uncle, but, in a sudden fit of vengeance, is slain by the maddened Duke, between whom and Fedalma now lies the bleeding body of her father, as an insurmountable obstacle to their union. Submitting to their sad destiny, she, in compliance with Zarca's life-long wish, becoming Queen of her tribe, passes into Africa, and he, by services to his country, and the Church, seeks to wipe out the stain of his apostacy.

Here are all the elements of an intensely interesting plot. In the Novel, Miss Evans would have invested them with the strange fascinations of *Romola*. In the Poem, you have a conviction she is out of her sphere. Verse is with her not an impulse but a choice. It was adopted, after deliberation, as the medium of her story. Hence we have what is even worse than Poetic Prose — Prosaic Poetry. The style is generally verbose, the descriptions are not natural, and the book everywhere appears, like a stream, full, indeed, and vigorous, but rather rushing with a forced vehemence between artificial banks, than flowing freely amid the fields, now with the spontaneous violence of the torrent, and now, winding, through flowers, and grass, with the gentleness of the brook.

Yet is this volume everywhere impressed with an extraordinary genius. The mind of Miss Evans is original, intense, striking, powerful. If an artificial Poetess she is a natural Novelist, and notwithstanding its defects, we have perused her book with very great interest. After these general remarks it may be well to cite in illustration, particular passages.

The opening description of the first book contains no picture, which an artist's skill could transfer to the canvas, but is marred by thoughts purely subjective, not appealing to humanity, but arising from the individuality of the author.

We have —

“The mid sea that *moans* with memories.”

Then there is the Ocean, usually styled old, and hoary, —

“Whose vast tides

Pant dumbly passionate with dreams of *youth*.”

Indeed, everywhere, the simplicity of description is injured by expressions, and reflections, drawn from mental attributes.

To illustrate the verbosity of Miss Evans we will give two passages, one

from the Spanish Gypsy, and the other from a different author, expressing the same idea.

"Lay the young eagle in what nest you will
The cry, and swoop of eagles overhead
Vibrate prophetic in its kindred frame.
And make it spread its wings, and poise itself
For the eagle's flight."

Certainly the essence of this thought is condensed into the two following lines.

"Degrade the eaglet to the raven's nest,
His fellow's cry will call him to the clouds."

Perhaps, the following final extract, will, as well as any other part of the Poem, exhibit its blemishes, and its excellencies.

ZARCA.

"'Tis a vile life that like a garden pool
Lies stagnant in the round of personal loves;
That has no ear save for the tinkling lute
Set to small measures — deaf to all the beats
Of that large music rolling o'er the world —
A miserable, petty, low-roofed life
That knows the mighty orbit of the skies
Through naught but light, or dark in its own cabin.
The crane, with outspread wings that heads the file
Pauses not — feels no backward impulses:
Behind it summer was, and is no more;
Before it lies the summer it will reach,
Or fall in mid ocean. And you no less
Must feel the force sublime of growing life."

FEDALMA.

"If I cannot plant resolve on hope
I will stand firm on certainty of woe.
I choose the ill that is most like to end
With my poor being. Hopes have precarious life —
But faithfulness can feed on suffering,
And knows no disappointment. Trust in me!
If it were needed, this poor trembling hand
Should grasp the torch — strive not to let it fall
Though it were burning down close to my flesh.
Father, I will be true!"

We may add that it is matter of amazement that a writer so gifted as Miss Evans *could* have produced songs so utterly wanting in every element of lyrical composition. The majestic swan may swim monarch of the lake, but must not attempt the melodies of the thrush, or the nightingale.

NOTES, CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY, AND PRACTICAL, ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS. By ALBERT BARNES, Author of "Notes on the New Testament," "Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity," etc. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1868. 12mo., pp. 374.

To unfold the meaning of ancient Poetry involves mental characteristics

seemingly antagonistic. First, there must be a soul in harmony with the original writer, — that intuitive perception of the beautiful, that quick, and delicate insight, that exquisite susceptibility, which, if not genius, are at least its concomitants. Without these natural endowments the enjoyment of Poetry as of Nature, and Art, is forced, and mechanical, and where there is no keen pleasure there can be no correct knowledge. On the other hand the text is to be translated. Chronology, History, Mythology, Geography, have to be consulted. The learned critic must compare manuscripts, and explore libraries. This involves the patience of laborious research. Unfortunately the requisite sensibility and learning are seldom united as the fire of the racer, and the strength of the draught horse. Hence we have Poetical Notes weakly sentimental, or heavily erudite. The latter, however, is the more common fault, and therefore critics will pile learning around some gifted genius until he resembles a bird of Paradise imprisoned amid frowning granite walls.

Perhaps Dr. Barnes brings to his task as many qualities as are usually combined in the same Expositor. We can certainly rely upon him for ability, industry, learning, integrity, piety, and all the more solid endowments which command our confidence and respect. His book will be a useful contribution to Religious Literature. We cannot, however, entirely accept his theory in regard to the imprecatory Psalms. He would relieve the harshness of those which cannot be critically classed as Prophetic, by assuming, either that the sacred volume is not accountable for the individual imperfections of David, or that he wrote not as a private person, but as a supreme magistrate. We confess a recoil from the theory that those songs, dictated by the Holy Ghost to express the experiences of the Universal Church, should ascend to Heaven stained, and darkened by human passion. Nor did the Psalmist write as a King. His divine lyrics express the *man*, not the magistrate. It was the Prophet, not the Monarch who composed. And have we not here the explanation of the whole difficulty? David, illuminated by God, discerns who are the finally impenitent, foresees their inevitable ruin, and by human language makes intelligible for all time the very feelings of wrath and abhorrence with which the Deity regards sins, which never to be forsaken, will never be forgiven, and hence will never fail to meet the awful punishments they deserve. In no other way could be vividly pictured on our minds the heinousness and peril of persistent transgression as viewed by Jehovah the Supreme Creator, Sovereign, and Judge.

We can scarcely refrain from remarking that the almost unparalleled verbosity of Dr. Barnes is remarkable in a writer who has the experience of a veteran. Perhaps excessive repetition has never been entirely pardoned in any man except Chalmers, whose rich genius, like the kaleidoscope, not only multiplied images, but invested them with perpetual beauties.

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION, AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. By S. S. RANDALL, Superintendent of the Public Schools of the city of New York. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1868. 12mo., pp. 256.

This Book is more remarkable for comprehensiveness of view than originality of conception. It is also strange that a professed Teacher, of ability and experience, should so constantly discuss general principles, and descend so seldom to specific practical direction. Perhaps Mr. Randall is preparing the way for another volume, much needed, which will inform

instructors not only that they *should* interest their pupils, but the particular way in which the object shall be accomplished. It must not be inferred from these remarks that we place a low estimate on the volume. It is a relief to know the man, who, as Superintendent of our Public Schools in this vast metropolis, is moulding so many minds for time, and eternity, bases the entire System of Education on an orthodox Christianity. Mr. Randall also shows culture of mind, and nobility of heart in rising above the class he represents, and not seeking to substitute the High School for the College, or the University. We are also delighted with the manner in which he advocates, that, in addition to the knowledge, and discipline preparing for practical life, our children should be taught to love those beauties which the Creator has so lavishly scattered over his Universe, and which Art, forever aspiring to the Infinite, and the Eternal, would catch, and fix in immortal forms for the elevation of humanity. The Author also wisely gives woman that place in the scheme of education which the susceptibility of her affections, the delicacy of her organization, the dependence of her being, and the very structure of her physical system plainly assign her in the plan of Nature. He, in our view, demonstrates not only the duty of the State to make provision for the instruction of the people, but also the right of the State, and the policy of the State to ordain that all children shall come within the circle of its educational agencies. Indeed the Book in every part is marked by correctness of judgment, comprehensiveness of opinion, clearness of statement, soundness of principle, and maturity of experience, and worthily represents the cause of Public Instruction both in our Metropolis, and our Republic. We hope it will be followed by a Manual showing Teachers the best methods of exciting interest, and impressing truth in the recitation room.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF EDUCATION. Demonstrated by an Analysis of the Temperaments, and of the Phrenological Facts in connection with Mental Phenomena and the Office of the Holy Spirit in the processes of the Mind. In a series of letters to the Department of Public Instruction in the city of New York. Second Edition. By JOHN HECKER. A. S. Barnes & Co., 111 and 113 William Street, New York. 1868. 8vo., pp. 227.

We have approached this volume with a strong desire to commend the system it advocates. In this age of materialism, Mr. Hecker enlists our sympathies, and commands our admiration, by turning aside from the pressing demands of daily business, and devoting his time, his money, and his intellect to the great cause of popular Education. Considering the situation, and opportunities of the Author, the Book is remarkable both for its style, and research. There is much in it also which is original, and suggestive, and may prove highly useful. Yet we believe it is based on error. It plainly takes for granted the truth of Phrenology. Mr. Hecker, indeed, in his Introduction, quotes with approval the very guarded statements of Sir Henry Maudsley, which we most cordially endorse, where he says, "It is extremely probable that the different convolutions of the brain do subserve different functions of mental life, but the precise mapping out of the cerebral surface, and the classification of the mental faculties, which the phrenologists have rashly made, will not bear scientific examination." But how does this comport with the fact that the larger portion of Mr. Hecker's volume is occupied with discussions and directions founded, substantially, on the general views of Gall and Spurzheim? As we

understand his system, the classifications of the teacher are to be regulated by the craniological developments of the pupil. If it does not mean this, it certainly means nothing. Besides, what can be clearer than the following statement? "The general principles founded on external manifestations of cerebral structure, which are most important in their bearing upon Education, I will state connectedly as follows, although some of them I have indicated in previous letters — Each hemisphere is composed of three lobes, or groups of convolutions, distinguished from each other, both by anatomical evidence of their sensuous connections, and by their contrasted functions. They are the posterior, the anterior, and the upper groups, manifesting, respectively, the passional faculties of the mind, which are termed the Intellect, and the sentient, or moral faculties, which I term the Spiritual group." Nay, Mr. Hecker advances further, we believe, than any other writer has ever done, in pointing out the precise organs through which the Holy Ghost operates in conversion. Indeed, there is throughout a confusing intermixture of brain, and mind, and grace which is as little in accordance with scientific exactitude as Christian sensibility. But, waiving this consideration, it seems strange in the Introduction to adopt the opinion of Maudsley, absolutely rejecting the specific classifications of Phrenology, and then to found the entire educational system on the basis of Phrenology. The science may be true, but until *demonstrated*, should never be made to support a scheme of Public Instruction.

There is a great truth involved in Mr. Hecker's theories in relation to the regulation of education with a view to the idiosyncrasies of each pupil, and the necessity of sympathy and confidence between the teacher, and the scholar. We think, however, he makes too much of the sensibilities, and too little of the intellect. By so constantly presenting mere temperamental condition he seems to overlook mental accomplishment in the Educator. Besides, there is something amusing in placing lymphatic boys in one part of the recitation room, bilious boys in another, sanguine boys in a third, and nervous boys in a fourth, like loaves in an oven, or goods on a counter, or animals in a pasture. Are men thus grouped in actual life? Should not the School represent the world? Does not an intermingling of temperaments correct peculiarities, and promote vigor, and impart variety? Should we not follow nature? We confess there is something in the entire scheme which has awakened, irresistibly, our sense of the ludicrous. As the whole Comtean Philosophy with all its vast pretensions, and sounding phrases, is resolvable into the simple statement, "I know only what I experience," so we think Mr. Hecker has imposed upon himself by veiling many common thoughts under a scientific nomenclature, and giving to the world as a remarkable System, a scheme of Education either based on premature induction, or presenting familiar ideas in assuming words. The marvel is that so many persons distinguished for eminent position, and practical experience, should have given even apparent approval to the Book.

It may not be amiss to add that the familiar way in which the Holy Spirit is introduced as acting on the lobes of the brain, strikes us unpleasantly. Nor does Mr. Hecker's theory of the Church increase our confidence in his principles of Education. He maintains that the Apostles, not waiting for the Holy Spirit to operate on the faculty of Godliness, but resorting to the lot, were mistaken when they supplied the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judas. A knowledge of Phrenology would doubtless have been an infallible

guide. The Author also supposes that the Teachers of the Church should be ordained, as were the Apostles, in households of twelve. Whether the authority resides in the Greek, or the Romish, or the Anglican Communion he does not decide. But wherever it may legitimately be found, when the primitive method is restored, and the Apostolic Households receive their proper ordination, an age of light and glory will again burst upon the gloom of our disordered world. We are not informed by Mr. Hecker how far these results depend on phrenological principles, or temperamental conditions.

A MANUAL OF MYTHOLOGY IN THE FORM OF QUESTION AND ANSWER.
By the Rev. GEORGE A. COX, M. A., Late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. First American, from the Second London Edition. New York, 1868. Leypoldt & Holt, 16mo., pp. 300.

We might expect the versatile Greeks, bright with genius, intensely susceptible, eminently creative, would borrow their mythological conceptions from nature, from tradition, from history, and from every possible source, and that it would be embodied in forms almost infinitely various. Nothing would seem more irrational and impossible, than to trace to any single source all the wild and fanciful stories of centuries. Yet the rage for generalization has penetrated even Helicon and Olympus. As the planets revolve about the Sun so hereafter must the traditions of the gods. He is not only the fountain of the day but the centre of all the old mythologies. Phœbus loves Daphne as the Sun the dawn. Cephalus kills Procus as the Sun destroys the dew. Selênê looking on Endymion, and Antigone soothing Œdipus, represent the moon coming to see the Sun die. Phœbus the son of Leto is the Sun the child of darkness. The dragon imprisoning the rain in the clouds is the Sphinx, and the Sun who smote it was turned into Œdipus. Tantalus killing his child is the Sun parching the fruits. Hercules is the Sun "rejoicing as a giant." Orpheus and Eurydice are the Sun and the twilight. Perseus stabbing Acrisius fatally with his discus is the Sun destroying the darkness. Saturn devouring his offspring is Time swallowing the days. Phœbus slaying the children of Niobe is the Sun driving away the clouds. Nay! in the tale of Troy, Paris stealing Helen represents the night absorbing the twilight. Achilles withdrawing from the Achæians is the Sun hiding under a cloud, and as his golden rays then disappear so the Myrmidons were absent from the battles of the Greeks. The victory of the Grecian hero is the conquest of the Sun over the mists of a stormy day, and when he tramples on the body of the vanquished Hector, he is the Sun destroying the darkness. We can only say in regard to all such schemes of explanation, that Professor Max Müller who furnished the key, and the Rev. George A. Cox, M. A., who unlocks the treasure, have doubtless more knowledge of the Grecian Mythology than was ever possessed by Homer, or Hesiod, or any of their countrymen in the succeeding generations when Poetry and Art drew from Earth and Heaven all images of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity.

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS. By EDWARD BULWER, LORD LYTTON.
In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868. 12mo., pp. 425-368.

Sir Walter Scott, the Prince of Novelists, with an art in contriving his plot almost perfect, with trained poetic powers, with that mixture of the gay and

the grave so admirable in Shakespeare, yet absolutely failed in the Drama from want of that concentration of style, and fiery earnestness of soul which immortalized the Greek Tragedians. Nor would his success in criticism have been greater than were his achievements in history. Remembering how the great Wizard of the North, when passing from his own charmed circle, fell into a tame mediocrity, we will be able better to appreciate the genius of the man who fascinated the world by the story of "Eugene Aram," wrote the "Lady of Lyons," a standard Drama for the Stage, and now shows himself in these volumes, to have, if not the fire, and brilliance of Macaulay, at least sufficient learning, and greater judgment, with a style, if inferior in glitter, superior in taste. We have here demonstration that the gift of the Novelist, the inspiration of the Poet, and the ability of the Reviewer, implying faculties so apparently antagonistic, may be united in the same person. It will, perhaps, be difficult to find any more faultless models for the Article, in which taste, fancy, reason, and learning have to be happily intermingled to secure success. The earlier productions of Sir Edward contained in the second volume, sparkling with youthful genius, are simply interesting as the brightness of the dawn promising the brilliance of the day.

CAPE COD, AND ALL ALONG THE SHORE. Stories by CHARLES NORDHOFF. New York, 1868. Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 235.

These stories have the American dash and energy. Without aspiring to any very dignified rank in literature, and often describing homely scenes, and characters, and not discarding uncouth words, they yet always arrest your attention, and sometimes impel you forward by the intensity of the narration. The author possesses in a high degree a certain kind of bold, graphic skill. If his picture is not always refined it is always vivacious. The first story is well managed, and the moral excellent. That one entitled, "*What is best?*" seems to leave us in doubt whether a man should sink principle to rise in the world, or sacrifice all to truth and duty. Indeed it makes the impression that successful pliancy is preferable to rustic integrity. When Greece was in her glory, her great Dramatist, on the Athenian Stage, presented a higher standard. Prometheus, chained to his rock, with the vulture at his vitals, defied the lightnings of Jupiter, rather than submit to the wrong even where a god was the tyrant, teaching, that the rectitude of our actions was to be regarded more than their consequences.

THE OPIUM HABIT, with Suggestions as to the Remedy. New York, 1868. Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 335.

This is a most timely volume. Its circulation should be as extensive as its revelations are terrible. Wherever civilization penetrates there are natures peculiarly susceptible to the ill, and the joys it engenders. We discover persons possessing organizations exquisitely sensitive—they shrink from the practical details, and stern struggles of life: they incline to excessive elations, or depressions: they exist continually either in the gloom of Hades or the bliss of Paradise. Let them now have an attack of toothache, or dyspepsia, or neuralgia, or rheumatism. A physician, perhaps, prescribes opium. At once there is a relief from pain. Nay! more. The deluded victim bounds from the extreme of agony to the extreme of ecstasy. A new world bursts upon his soul. He

thrills with all sounds, and sights of harmony, and of beauty. He anticipates Heaven. He dwells amid unutterable glories. He touches infinity. He embraces eternity. From a small piece of opium beam light, peace, rapture, endless, immeasurable. A contemptible sum of money lifts him above the clouds, beyond the pangs and gloom of earth. A druggist becomes the angel who unbars for him the gate of Elysium. Is it wonderful that sensitive, and suffering men fall into a snare so glittering? Besides, while alcohol excites all the more brutal passions of our nature, opium, at first diffusing a genial glow, seems to expand the affections, to make the will heroic, and give inspiration to the majestic intellect. The sensual is depressed, the spiritual is elevated, the faculties are harmonized, and the whole being transported to a loftier plane of bliss, and power. Satan never conducted to torture with a more alluring fascination. His victim, amid gorgeous dreams, is chained in a dungeon of despair. When the reaction comes, the dose is increased, until it may soon reach a quantity absolutely fabulous. De Quincey consumed a thousand drops of laudanum — Coleridge at one time two quarts a day, while Robert Hall in a single night used one hundred and twenty-five solid grains of opium. When the habit is formed all the physical and mental functions are torpid without the stimulus. The will is paralyzed. The nerves are agonized. Life is a despair. The man is bound to a body of death. Sleep forsakes his eyes. His dreams grin, and leer, and shriek with phantoms. Reptiles wind about his person. Monkeys chatter in his ears. Crocodiles pursue him with open jaws. He is in water. He is in ice. He is in fire. His horrors are greater than were his transports. From heaven he sinks to hell, and as before all his raptures were endless, and boundless, so on all his tortures are inscribed Infinity and Eternity. There is no mystery of human suffering more inscrutable than this permission of Providence, by which sometimes pure, and unsuspecting genius, through the advice of competent, and conscientious physicians, merely to relieve excruciating pain, is seduced into a habit, which, first elevating to the heights of an inconceivable bliss, at last plunges into the very abysses of horror: and nothing is more evident, than, whatever may have been the original guilt at any particular point in the victim's career, that a period at last arrives, where all inquiry into responsibility is vain, and the patient must be treated with the consideration required by the unfortunate being who burns with a fever, or raves as a lunatic. The methods of cure discussed at the close of the volume seem to us judicious and admirable. The wretched slave of opium should not be left to battle with his enemy alone. He should be removed within some charmed circle of benevolence, where he can have all the experience of medical skill, and all the appliances of modern Science. Reform even then seems almost hopeless. Still it has been achieved, and we would gladly point to Lord's Island, or any similar place as a refuge, perhaps a rescue for the despairing. We have sometimes feared that the experiences of Coleridge, and De Quincey, like the career of Byron, have proved rather a spell to fascinate than a warning to deter. If any youth would imitate the infirmities of admired genius, and hover, glittering, about the flame of death, let him peruse this volume. Before closing our notice, terrified by the increasing use of opium, we would lift our voice to exhort clergymen, lawyers, authors, ladies, children, persons in all the avocations of life, if they are sleeping amid bright dreams above the rippling circles of the whirlpool, to *wake*, to *RISE*, to *FLY* before they sink forever beneath its dark and furious waters.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN. By Dr. JULIUS MÜLLER, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated from the German of the Fifth Edition, by the Rev. WM. URVICK, M. A. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 88 George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Dublin: J. Robertson & Co. 1868. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 417-431.

All the difficulties and the doctrines of Christianity revolve about its declarations in regard to Sin. Indeed, the deepest mysteries of the Universe arise from its disturbances by permitted transgressions. Why did God allow evil? Why did Eternal Wisdom suffer an apparent defeat from its great enemy, and blast its own creation so bright with beauty and bliss? Why has a perfect Love ordained an everlasting misery? Does not Omniscience destroy responsibility? How can Omnipotence, consistently with Mercy, sustain the being of its creature in the very act of sin? These are a few of the difficulties. The importance of the subject is further seen when we remember that the atonement of an incarnate Deity would never have been necessary had law not been violated, while our personal penitence and faith must depend entirely on our relations as transgressors. Dr. Müller in these volumes has treated his topic learnedly, philosophically, exhaustively, and, generally, according to the orthodoxy of the Church. It is refreshing to see an able German answer, based on objective truth, to that mystified subjectivism of Kant and Hegel which, logically, not only annihilates human accountability, but confounds in the abysses of doubt the existence of the Universe and of God, or plunges into the monstrosities of Pantheism. We recommend these volumes, especially, to our Clergymen. Yet, with a very high admiration for their ability, and a decided conviction of their usefulness, we have some points of difference with the gifted author. We believe with him that we have a natural consciousness of the Ego, and the Non ego. However our conceptions of the universe vary with the actual, or the conceivable changes of our senses, their testimony to its existence must be accepted: and however philosophers may cavil, the inner convictions of our own mental being must be received. Without this basis reasoning is futile. But granting this, we do not think our belief in God results from our consciousness. The soul indeed has a *capacity* of faith. This, however, might slumber forever undeveloped. Where then must Reason seek the proof of the Divine Existence? I perceive external matter. I am conscious of my internal being. The third step in the process, is, that the mind within can impress the world without. I can stamp on the machine will, and intellect, in the very same manner they are traced on the Universe. I reason from myself to God. Without resort to Scripture, we have no other solid basis for our faith, nor for any scheme of morality involving our relations to the Creator. It being conceded that He is our Sovereign, the proofs of our transgressions are *facts* infinite in number, and in power, and our sinfulness admitted, our Redemption will not long be denied.

Dr. Müller's exposition of human freedom, and its consistency with Omnipotence and Omniscience, is most satisfactory and admirable. He gives the key to every difficulty when he remarks that *liberty* is opposed to *necessity*, but not at all to *certainty*. Not *prescience*, but *compulsion* destroys responsibility.

We regret most heartily that a work so remarkable for its learning, so profound in its analysis, so comprehensive in its treatment, and so orthodox in its doctrine, should conclude with the suggestion that, not only in Hades, but beyond the Judgment, there may be a state which will witness the final restoration of

all who have not committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Certainly this view is without the slightest warrant of Scripture, and against the opinions of the greatest Divines of the Church. Besides, if we are not to be governed by our Bibles, if our sensibilities must decide, if our fancies may expatiate, we would abolish sin, convert all spirits of darkness, make Satan an angel of light, and extend Heaven to the limits of the Universe.

THE BIBLICAL COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. By C. F. KEIL, D. D., and F. DELITZSCH, D. D., Professors of Theology. **THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS, Vol. I.,** by CARL FRIEDRICH KEIL, D. D. Translated from the German by the Rev. JAMES MARTIN, B. A., Nottingham. Vol. II., **KEIL ON THE MINOR PROPHETS.** Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 38 George Street. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1868. 8vo., pp. 515-475.

In the very grandeur of the Greater Prophets we forget one characteristic of their mission. Those of their predictions relating to Israel, and the surrounding nations in their own times are obscured by their gorgeous pictures of the distant future, brightening, and darkening in the hues of Heaven. We are carried forward over centuries, beyond the career of Cyrus and the conquest of Babylon: beyond the achievements of Alexander, and the fourfold partition of his Empire: beyond the birth, and life and death of our crucified and exalted Lord; beyond the dominion of Rome and the Papal apostasy down to the glowing period when the Redeemer's Kingdom shall be universal. Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and Daniel thus become invested with a species of isolated, venerable, awful majesty. But the Minor Prophets were more nearly connected with their own age. Their predictions were not only less remote in their fulfillment, but less grand, and gorgeous, and imposing in their style. We see them as a part of mankind. They move familiarly amid the people. They abound in images often direct, and homely. They are more in sympathy with practical life. They deserve our attention for the very reason that they do not so much attract our attention. We therefore accept with pleasure this effort of learned and gifted German Divines to elucidate these pages, and hope their volumes will have a remunerative circulation, which will encourage the enterprising Scotch Publishers to multiply their translations both of ancient and of modern religious treatises.

It may not be amiss to give here a chronological list of the Minor Prophets arranged according to the best researches of the present age.

1. Obadiah, in the reign of Joram King of Judah, between 889 and 884 B. C.
2. Joel, in the reign of Josiah King of Judah, between 875 and 848 B. C.
3. Jonah, in the reign of Jeroboam II. of Israel, between 824 and 783 B. C.
4. Amos, in the reign of Jeroboam II. of Israel, between 810 and 783 B. C.
5. Hosea, in the reign of Jeroboam II. of Israel, and from Uziah to Hezekiah, between 790 and 725 B. C.
6. Micah, in the reign of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, between 758 and 710 B. C.
7. Nahum, in the second half of the reign of Hezekiah, between 710 and 699 B. C.
8. Habakkuk, in the reign of Manasseh or Josiah, between 650 and 628 B. C.
9. Zephaniah, in the reign of Josiah, between 628 and 623 B. C.

10. Haggai, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, viz., 519 B. C.
11. Zechariah, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, 519 B. C.
12. Malachi, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, between 438 and 424 B. C.

We may add that it is refreshing to know that a German Divine may believe in Miracles, and grant, without reserve, that God *could* send his own fish to swallow his own servant, and from his own earth bring in a night his own plant to be blasted by his own prepared worm. Nay! what is yet more wonderful, this privilege is conceded to Omnipotence with no single token of patronizing condescension.

THE INVASION OF THE CRIMEA: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress, down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. 12mo., pp. 632.

Mr. Kinglake is a most interesting, but not an elegant writer. He exhibits no charms of style flowing from delicate taste, and glowing fancy. His sentences are often painfully lengthy, and even involved. But in a faithful mastery of details, in minute, and accurate description, in that exhaustive treatment which satisfies the intellect, he has few superiors. Besides, he imparts to his battles a living personal interest. You are among British soldiers. You catch their spirit. You see in them every national peculiarity. You behold their individual prowess. You hear the ring of their swords. Before your very eyes their gold glitters, their scarlet reddens, their plumes wave. Perhaps since the days of the corselet, and the helmet, famed for romantic knightly daring, there has never been a better opportunity for describing personal achievement than amid the scenes of the Crimean war. Mr. Kinglake has not left it unimproved. The battle of Balaclava passes before you in a most vivid picture. You see the gray-coated Russians driving the turbaned Turks from the redoubts on Canrobert's hill. You behold their cavalry sweeping down with overwhelming numbers and violence towards Scarlett's seemingly devoted little band of troopers. You mark with breathless interest their inexplicable pause. You hear the charge of the trumpeter. Scarlett, on a noble horse, with one companion, and two attendants, far in advance of his three hundred, rides furiously towards the hesitating Russians, more than two thousand in number, and absolutely buries himself and his company in the midst of the hostile column, until they seem swallowed in its closing mass, and then, horse to horse, face to face, sword to sword — pushing, struggling, striking — now in silence, now amid shrieks, and shouts — ensue such deeds of prowess as history has seldom recorded with such reliable detail, resulting finally, after opportune assistance, in a complete victory over the flying soldiers of the Czar. Near this fight, uniformed, and armed, each man mounted, or beside his charger, were seven hundred Englishmen gazing at the peril of their countrymen, and yet prevented by their leader, Lord Cardigan, from rushing to the rescue. Well might the French and English armies from the heights gaze with indignant wonder at such a spectacle. Never was there a more inexcusable blunder. Nothing relieves Lord Cardigan from the stain of cowardice, but the reckless courage he displayed, when, under the mistaken order of Lord Lucan, he led his cavalry, under deadly fire, and aimlessly dashed it to destruction on a thundering Russian battery blazing with death. What is yet more marvelous, if the leader, who first

inactively witnessed the desperate peril of his comrades, and then led his own band to useless slaughter, had not foolishly dissipated a reputation, most perfectly undeserved, and most enthusiastically bestowed, he would have stood an immortal hero on the scroll of British fame.

LAKE GEORGE: its Scenes and Characteristics, with Glimpses of the Olden Times, etc., etc. By B. F. DE COSTA. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1868.

We welcome a really good book on a classic region of these United States; a region in which a romantic history adds a charm to the attractions of unsurpassed natural beauty, while both together impart a character which, in this country, we believe to be unique. We do not suppose that Mr. De Costa's volume will be a favorite with that class of tourists which "does" Lake George as a matter of mere course, having eyes that do not see its loveliness, and ears that have never heard, and do not care to hear, its story. But from those who have personal associations with it, who have lingered, year after year, upon its shores, and floated on its "transparent wave" in differing seasons and on changing days, and held converse with its mountain sentinels, and conned its many legends, our author will receive warm thanks. "Fit audience though few," will certainly be his — and we wish him a far larger one, for their sake as well as for his own.

In a minor point, but still one not without interest, and among the first that one comes in contact with, Mr. De Costa is the first and, so far as we know, the only writer who has not blundered. We refer to the names which from time to time have been given to the lake. How often does one hear the oracular statement made by a well-crammed tourist for the enlightenment of some inquiring mind, "Why, you see, sir, this lake was called by the Indians *Horican*, which means pure water, or holy water; and then, sir, the French called it *Lake St. Sacrament*, because the water used to be carried to France to baptize the royal family in; and then, sir, the English called it *Lake George*, in compliment to old King George" (meaning, very likely, George III.), "you know. That's all about the name, sir." And people who ought to have known better have perpetuated some of those blunders in grave history till they are really supposed to enter into the annals of the region.

Whoever will take the trouble to read Mr. Cooper's Introduction to the "*Last of the Mohicans*,"¹ will find that the name *Horican* is his own invention. He says "The French name of this lake was too complicated, the American too commonplace, and the Indian too unpronounceable, for either to be used familiarly in a work of fiction. Looking over an ancient map, it was ascertained that a tribe of Indians called *Les Horicans* by the French, existed in the neighborhood of this beautiful sheet of water." So much for the supposed Indian appellation: as good Indian and as correctly interpreted we doubt not as many other fancied aboriginal names.

The French name was given solely because the lake was entered on Corpus Christi day, *Le jour du Saint Sacrement*. In the Jesuit Relations the letter of the missionary who thus named the lake is extant, and contains the story of its discovery.

These are not matters, certainly, of great importance. But to one who

¹ It does not appear in the early editions.

loves accuracy in everything, and especially in all matters connected, however remotely, with history, even small errors are like the little rent in Mr. Pepys's camelot cloak, "no great blemish — but it troubled me." The whole region of which Lake George forms the lovely centre, is thoroughly historical — the scene of the most important events of the formation period of our history. And inasmuch as the final working out of those events occurred during the reign of the second George, and connects our own history with that of our mother country, we would fain hope — though no great admirers of the Hanoverian line — that the plain English name may be preserved. At all events, we devoutly trust that if ever the name is to be changed, the new appellation will not be taken at hap-hazard from a classical dictionary, selected from the catalogue of native politicians, and land surveyors, or even left to the genius and inspiration of the Laura Matilda school of poetry. The name Lake George is historical; it denotes an epoch; it hints a history. Plain, then, and commonplace as it may be, let it stand. "The most venerable names," says De Maistre, "in all languages, have a vulgar origin."

But waiving these reflections, we remark that the attractions of nature around Lake George gain an added charm from historical association; here history gathers additional interest from the fascinations of natural loveliness; while the very rarity in this country of such combinations makes this one to be welcomed as of peculiar value, and gives a worth, far beyond that of ordinary guide-books, to the little volume before us. For in it Mr. De Costa gives most pleasant aid to one who would like really to study the endless beauties of land and water, shores and islands, hills and valleys, days and nights, changing seasons, and unchanging outlines, which meet him here. And he also adds enough of historical detail to put him in the way, at least, of following out the unfoldings of those events which helped to create, first, and then to mould a nation, in this western world.

In fact, whoever will study the annals of this region, beginning with what has been called the first pitched battle in America, that between Johnson and Dieskau in 1755, and ending with the capture of Ticonderoga, and Crown Point in 1759; and will then follow out the threads of connection which link these annals to all the past movements in all parts of North America; and will then, still holding these threads of historic connection, cross the water and follow out their leadings there, coming thus in contact with the shame and glory of colonial administration, with the Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt; such an one will have studied a crisis in the world's history as well as of our own, and will have taken a long step onward in historic studies.

And, thus, if such an one with the help of Mr. De Costa's little book, will give himself a summer's survey of these rare scenes of natural beauty, it will be his own fault, if body, soul, and spirit are not refreshed and strengthened. We commend the experiment, and the book with it, to the consideration of our readers.

LIFE BELOW. In Seven Poems. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1868. 12mo., pp. 286.

It is most marvelous that in this age these wretched Poems could have ever found the light. They exhibit so many violations of the rules of verse; so many offenses against taste; so much crudeness, ignorance, and nonsense, unrelieved by a single gleam of genius, that we will not deface the pages of the

"Review" by quotations to support our strictures. Where an anonymous author has succeeded in placing such miserable trash before the world, who is responsible for the humiliation and disappointment of the reader who may happen to purchase the Book? It is by this, and similar publications that Poetry, the Queen of Arts, becomes insulted on her throne, by sneers, and caricature.

MENTAL SCIENCE. *A Compendium of Psychology and the History of Philosophy.* Designed as a Text-book for High Schools and Colleges. By **ALEXANDER BAIN, M. A.**, Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, Author of "The Senses and the Intellect," "The Emotions and the Will," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 90, 92, and 94 Grand St. 1868. 12mo., pp. 527.

Mental Philosophy among the Germans has been not so much an inductive science, as a mere Platonic speculation. Locke, and Reid, and Stewart, with their British common sense, and Scotch shrewdness, erected their systems, principally on facts derived from consciousness. The admirable genius, and boundless learning of Sir William Hamilton doubtless carried Psychology into lofty regions of truth not before explored. Still great fields of investigation were overlooked by all these masters. The mind was too much regarded as an independent existence. Its mysterious laws were separately studied. It was thus elevated to a realm of clouds far removed from the sympathies of ordinary life. In passing from Physical to Mental Science, the Student found himself violently transported to another world. As in point of fact, the body and soul can now only be contemplated in their intimate connection, it is certainly more philosophical to view them in the relations presented by nature. And here we discover the distinctive excellence of Modern Psychology. It not only explores the laws of the intellect, but the configuration of the brain. It remembers our muscles as well as our volitions. It describes our various emotions, and also their physical manifestations. In tracing abstract operations of the mind it remarks their influence on the nervous system. Nor does this method, so natural, and philosophical, at all admit the minute, but uncertain theories of Phrenology.

Prof. Bain admirably presents in his treatise the excellences of the more modern research, and we believe no author has exhibited upon the subject of Mental Science more sound judgment, or embodied more useful information. His style is clear: his arrangement is exhaustive: his illustrations are lucid: his arguments are solid: his views are practical: his learning is accurate, so that his entire book is read both with pleasure and profit. We have seen nothing in the country, in our opinion, so well adapted to the work of instruction in our High Schools and Colleges as the present excellent abridgment. Whatever Prof. Bain's religious errors, they do not seem to have been intruded into his Mental Philosophy.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By **JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., LL. D.**, Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York, Author of "A Treatise on Human Physiology," "A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," etc., etc. In three volumes. Vol. II., containing the events from the Inauguration of President Lincoln to the Proclamation of the Emancipation of the Slaves. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1868. 8vo., pp. 614.

It is not often that the same person is both a Philosopher and an Historian. The man who traces principles is not usually qualified to describe events. Induction and Narration require antagonistic gifts. Besides, speculations upon history cover so vast a field, and are so frequently colored by the individuality of the writer, that, while injuring, and invalidating his record, they are seldom read with any degree of satisfaction.

We think Dr. Draper erred in his previous volume. He carried the chair of the Professor into the domain of History. He transported us into ancient geological periods before he commenced the narration of plain facts. More than this — influenced by the theories which Buckle applied to society, and Taine to literature, he seemed inclined to make every human development depend upon physical causes, and to consider man as much controlled by climate as the Stoic believed him subjected to fate. Judging from the former volume we scarcely supposed that Prof. Draper could sketch a character, or describe a battle. It was a mistake. Many of his delineations are admirable. As Kinglake possesses the faculty of statement almost tediously, and painfully minute, our gifted countryman has that power of condensed, rapid, vivid narration essential in describing the events of a war where battles were almost innumerable, and waged by many gigantic armies over an extent of territory so vast that their success seemed an impossibility to the most experienced generals of the European world. This volume is one of the ablest contributions we have yet seen to the very vigorous, and prolific, literature originated by a struggle, perhaps never exceeded in the greatness of its enterprises by land, and sea; and certainly never surpassed in the importance of its results to our Republic, and to humanity.

A NEW PRACTICAL HEBREW GRAMMAR, with Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew Exercises, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy. By SOLOMON DEUTSCH, A. M., Ph. D. New York. 1868. Leypoldt & Holt. 8vo., pp. 268.

The plan of this grammar seems excellent. Most writers on the subject have been either so condensed as to be obscure, and unsatisfactory, or so voluminous as to be tedious, and burdensome. It is marvelous that the desired mean has not been attained during ages, amid the numberless authors who have sought to explain the majestic and venerable language in which Jehovah communicated His ancient oracles. We trust this work will be found by teachers and pupils to supply a deficiency both long and painfully felt.

THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY, with an Introduction, connecting the History of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. With Maps and Woodcuts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. 8vo., pp. 780.

This volume contains a vast amount of information, clearly expressed, and admirably arranged. Commencing with the time of Nehemiah, it proceeds to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, that maddest of tyrants, and then describes those heroic Maccabæan achievements which delivered Judea, and purified the temple. Then follows a history of the Idumean dynasty, concluding with the Roman war, which resulted in the utter destruction of the Jewish nation. In the second part we have the life of the Baptist, and that of our

Saviour chronologically arranged, and fully illustrated, while in the third book is an excellent history of the Apostles, and the establishment of the Christian Church. Dr. Smith was evidently fitted for this useful work by the compilation of his unrivaled Dictionary, and he has given to the world a volume replete with practical information, for which we predict an instantaneous appreciation, and a wide circulation. We can equally recommend it for its orthodoxy, its learning, and its adaptation.

THE AMERICAN EDITION OF DR. WILLIAM SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. Revised and Edited by Prof. H. B. HACKETT, D. D., with the co-operation of EZRA ABBOT, A. M., A. A. S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868. Parts XII. and XIII.

Perhaps in no city have been centred so many interests, temporal, and eternal, as Jerusalem. It was the venerable and majestic metropolis of ancient Judaism, and of primitive Christianity: the place of the temple; the home of prophets; the city which heard our Redeemer's last instructions, and was hallowed by association with his cross, his tomb, and his ascension, and from which the fires of Pentecost were borne by Apostles around our world. When earth is consumed it will be remembered during eternity as a type of heaven. The compiler of this admirable work has therefore done well to give an unusual space to a description and history of Jerusalem through the vicissitudes of ages, difficult to excel in the extent and accuracy of information.

The account of our Saviour in the succeeding part, is exceedingly minute, and exceedingly valuable. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give the scheme of the writer harmonizing the seeming incongruities of the Evangelists in their narration of our Lord's appearances after his Resurrection, as more fully explained in the "New Testament History." We have —

- I. The Resurrection itself, related only by St. Matthew.
- II. The visit of the women to the sepulchre.
- III. Mary Magdalene carries the news to St. Peter and St. John.
- IV. The vision of an angel to the women in the sepulchre.
- V. The *first* appearance of Jesus, which was to the women on their return from the sepulchre.
- VI. The visit of St. Peter and St. John to the sepulchre.
- VII. The *second* appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre.
- VIII. The *third* appearance of Jesus, which was to St. Peter.
- IX. Our Lord's *fourth* appearance, which took place on the journey to Emmaus.
- X. Our Lord's *fifth* appearance, which was to the Apostles when Thomas was absent.
- XI. Our Lord's *sixth* appearance, occurring when the Apostles, including Thomas, were all present.
- XII. Our Lord's *seventh* appearance to the Apostles by the Lake of Galilee.
- XIII. Our Lord's *eighth* appearance, which was to the great body of the disciples in Galilee.
- XIV. Our Lord's *ninth* appearance, made to James the Less.
- XV. Our Lord's *tenth* appearance, when he ascended from the midst of the Apostles into Heaven.

HARPER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION. Nos. 33, 34 and 35. 1868. Folio, pp. 69.

This vast enterprise has steadily progressed, until, we infer from the added index, it has reached its completion. From the first gun of Sumter to the final surrender of the Confederate armies, what battles, what defeats, what victories, what anguish, what desolation, what individual heroism, what public prowess, what mighty results for all ages to our Republic and the world! Perhaps there has never been before such ample materials for reliable and interesting History, collected by both private and national enterprise. Of course until our Republic is securely settled on its new foundation, and fully prepared for its final mission, we can only furnish necessary information to the Present, and provide for that master-genius, who, in the Future, shall be elected, to combine events in their true relations, and paint, for all Time, a picture of the unruled struggle. The publishers of the book, of which we are now perhaps writing our final notice, deserve the thanks of the country for their enterprise, and will be remembered by posterity.

LIFE IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC IN THE DAYS OF THE TYRANTS; OR, Civilization and Barbarism. From the Spanish of DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO, LL. D., Minister Plenipotentiary from the Argentine Republic to the United States. With a Biographical Sketch, by Mrs. HORACE MANN. First American, from the Third Spanish Edition. New York. 1868. Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 8vo., pp. 400.

A characteristic of the Argentine Republic is immensity. Its vast silent plains, terminating in the hazy sky, are covered with herds, composing the chief wealth of families, separated from each other by the distance of miles, and from their very isolation, doomed to barbarism. The young men grow up in ignorance, with no other accomplishments than a marvelous horsemanship, and a desperate daring. In Buenos Ayres, and a few other cities, there is a higher civilization which excites the envy and enmity of the wild inhabitants of the plains, and thus between different classes of the same people springs a perpetual struggle which has desolated the Republic. Quiroga, the chief hero in Mr. Sarmiento's volume, concentrated in himself all the worst traits of the Argentine barbarians, and became a gloomy, bloody, horrible monster, whose career was fitly terminated by assassination. No Patagonian savage ever was stained with more brutal cruelties, or guilty of more unprovoked murders. In his early life he was pursued by a tiger, and to escape, he climbed a slight tree, which the mad beast shook with his paws, and then crouched, and glared, and leaped, and roared, fixing his eyes of blood on the trembling Quiroga. That frenzied animal was not more furious than became the miserable man who was delivered from his fangs. Lopez, Rosas, and Aldao were almost equal desperadoes. General Paz, and Don Sarmiento seem the only men of the Republic who were not odious monsters. If the statements of this volume are true, we see nothing before the country of the author but perpetual blood and outrage. While his varied pages are so full of startling information, so graphic, so interesting, we almost regret that he felt himself compelled to depict the land of his birth in such dark and terrible colors, and sometimes wonder whether disappointed ambition, or personal enmity may not have unconsciously imparted blackness to the lines of his picture. However this may be, his animated style, his thrilling narrations, his thorough acquaintance with a region attractive from its isolation, its fertility, and its history, are sufficient to make his book deservedly popular. Perhaps in no other volume can we become acquainted with the social earthquakes which have shaken this volcanic Argentine Republic.

COMER'S NAVIGATION SIMPLIFIED. A Manual of Instruction in Navigation, as practiced at Sea, adapted to the wants of the Sailor, containing all the Tables, Explanations, and Illustrations necessary for the easy understanding and use of the practical branches of Navigation and Nautical Astronomy, with numerous examples, worked out by the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac for several years ahead. Compiled at (and expressly for the Navigation students of) Comer's Commercial College, Boston. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868. 8vo.

This manual seems thoughtfully prepared by that experience acquired only by the practical Teacher; and well adapted to the purpose it proposes.

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, AND ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS, FOR 1867. Albany, 1868. Van Benthuysen's & Sons, Steam Printing House.

This interesting volume, partly composed, and partly compiled by Dr. Wines, the accomplished Secretary of the New York Prison Association, embraces not only reports from our own State, but from England, Ireland, France, Italy, and Prussia. It exhibits the results of agencies most honorable to our country and our Christianity. Pious benevolence is rescuing persons from unjust condemnation; changing dungeons once filled with gloom, resounding with the lash, and horrible with curses, into places of cheerful industry, and useful discipline; and providing released criminals with opportunities of industrious employment. We can scarcely conceive a more noble enterprise, and there is abundant proof that it is practically successful. The results of twenty three years of labor in New York are as follows.

Visited in prison	83,314 persons
Complaints examined	23,716
Complaints withdrawn	6,508
Prisoners discharged	7,216
Released prisoners assisted	14,481
Discharged convicts provided with situations	3,804
Total	139,039

We are certain that the graceful pen of Dr. Wines will always give interest to his Reports.

A REVISION OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By A LAYMAN. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., No. 770 Broadway. 1868. 16mo. pp. 106.

Ours is indeed a marvelous age. It overlays with the railroad vast countries. It unites continents. It flashes thought around the world with a speed which darts by the morning. And now behold a greater prodigy! A Layman, without theological training, by the mere force of native genius, wiser than Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; wiser than Taylor, and Barrow, and Wesley; wiser than White, and Seabury, and Hobart; wiser than confessors, martyrs, doctors, bishops, who for ages loved, and used our Prayer Book, supposing it an eternal protest against Rome; wiser than the Christian learning of three centuries, and

two continents, undertakes to purify our venerable and majestic Liturgy. He first advocates schism, and then begins Reformation. We shrink from reciting the shocking mutilations which he makes in a service enshrined in the hearts of thousands with a sacredness next to the Bible, as embracing all that is essential in Christianity, all that is spiritual in experience, and all that is elevating in worship. Clarke, Chalmers, and numerous dissenting divines have repeatedly borne the noblest testimony to its purity, beauty, and wisdom. The man attempting such a work may be expected to instruct Providence, to improve Creation, and to perfect the Bible.

ARE THERE ROMANIZING GERMS IN THE PRAYER BOOK? New York, 1868.

We do not propose to answer an anonymous Book, which, if written by an honest Clergyman, must inevitably compel him from the Church. It is, we suppose, intended to sound the note of schism. Its key and refutation are found in a single sentence which we have perused with amazement. The author says, "*We regard as unfortunate the use of the Scriptural language, 'Eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood,' as it is used in some parts of the service.*" He who would abolish the words of our Lord from his own Sacrament, after expurgating the Prayer Book, will correct the Divine Oracles. The use of the word "Romanizing" in the title and throughout the pamphlet, where "Romish" was plainly intended, is a most singular mistake.

A PSYCHE OF TO-DAY. By MRS. C. JENKINS. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 451 Broome Street. 1868. 12mo., pp. 280.

This sprightly story exhibits in a graphic picture the rebellions of the heart against that artificial system of mercantile marriages in France, which proceeds on the supposition that affection is a fancy, or a fiction, and that all connubial arrangements are simply to consider the pecuniary and social interests of the parties. The foundation of Mormonism itself is not more false. Licentiousness and crime will always result from disregard of the great universal and eternal Laws of the Creator. The fountain both of domestic happiness and political prosperity is the true love existing between the true man and the true woman.

THE PERIODIC LAW. By REV. GEORGE A. LEAKIN, A. M., Baltimore. New York: Pott & Amery, Publishers, 5 and 13 Cooper Union. 1868.

This little volume points out many remarkable facts in regard to the periodicity of events. It wisely contents itself rather with describing phenomena than venturing theories. Many of its statements are exceedingly interesting and suggestive, and may prove germs of important generalizations.

THE COMEDY OF CANONIZATION. In Four Scenes. First Thousand. New York: Pott & Amery, No. 5 Cooper Union. 1868.

This pamphlet has some excellent hits, and evinces no inconsiderable learning. If it has not all the sprightliness of the work which provoked its shafts, it has far more fairness, and argument. Rome offers innumerable marks for satire, and we hope the Author will remember that his arrows will polish by use. They have all the essential solidity, and only need that brightness imparted by the constant bow. The inimitable "Provincial Letters" of Pascal are the most perfect models of such literature found in any language. They admirably unite the learning of the Scholar and the sparkle of the Wit.

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK. By MURRAY HOFFMAN. New York : Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union. 1868.

This work was placed on our table too late for any minute examination, and owing to a deluge of volumes from our various enterprising publishers, extended notice now is impossible. However, we are consoled by the fact that it is unnecessary. Judge Hoffman's former standard book on the Law of the Church, his lofty reputation as a jurist, his admirable qualifications for the work he has undertaken, will secure for him universal confidence and respect. It is a rare, and noble spectacle when we see a lawyer of his eminence pausing amid the pressing pursuits of his Profession to expound the Law of the Church.

THE ANNUNCIATION. A Poem. By JOHN HILLHOUSE. With Illustrations from original designs by the Author. New York : Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union. 1868. 12mo., pp. 64.

While this book certainly does not evince the glow of genius, the piety of its sentiments, the sacredness of its theme, and regularity of its versification, shield it from severe criticism, and make the heart inclined to bestow praises which the judgment forbids.

FRANK STERLING'S CHOICE. By MARIA A. BULFINCH. 1867. Also, **RUTH AND AUNT ALICE.** 1868. Gen. Prot. Epia. S. S. Union and Church Book Society, 792 Broadway. C. G. Houston, Agent.

To tell a story well is a rare gift. It has undoubtedly been bestowed on Miss Bulfinch. She has the power to conceive character, and always seeks to interest by events rather than words. Her unpretending books abound in dialogue and action. Besides, she has the happy art of exactly suiting herself to the apprehensions of children, never either sinking too low, or rising too high. There is also pervading her volumes a sweet purity reminding you of the bright stream in the meadows which seemed to your youth to delight in visiting and refreshing every flower mirrored on its bosom. We sympathize with her in her work of love, and hope she will bestow frequent blessings on the children of the Church.

THE INTERLEAVED BOOK OF FAMILY PRAYERS. By WILLIAM H. LEWIS, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Watertown, Conn. Waterbury, Conn. : Abbott Brothers. 1868. 16mo., pp. 39.

The title of this work fully indicates its design. The prayers are simple, clear, comprehensive, unctuous ; breathing, everywhere, in pure words, an affectionate spirit of pious devotion. The plan of blank leaves for the insertion of new forms is excellent. We can recommend the work as well adapted to assist the devotions of the family.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CATHOLIC REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE ITALIAN CHURCH. By W. CHAUNCY LANGDON, A. M. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, 4th Avenue, New York. 1868.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Langdon for this clear and temperate state-

ment of the Italian Movement towards Reform. While always hopeful, he seems never carried away by extravagant anticipations. This volume contains most valuable information, not easily obtained elsewhere, and should be thoughtfully perused by every intelligent Churchman. There are certainly on the sky of Italy some decided signs of promise.

BEGINNING GERMAN. Lessons Introductory to the Study of the German Language, with a Vocabulary, Select Phrases for Conversation, and Reading Lessons. By Dr. EMIL OTTO, Professor of Modern Languages, and Lecturer at the University at Heidelberg. First American Edition, with additional matter, and notes arranged by L. PYLODET. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, F. W. Christern. 1869. 12mo., pp. 213.

NEW GUIDE TO GERMAN CONVERSATION. Arranged from the Works of Whitcomb, Dr. Emil Otto, Flaxman, and others. By L. PYLODET. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, F. W. Christern. 1869. 16mo., pp. 274.

PREMIERES LECTURES. Beginners' French Reader. Short and easy pieces in prose and verse. With a complete Vocabulary. Arranged by L. PYLODET. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, F. W. Christern. 1869. 12mo., pp. 235.

The country is greatly indebted to the enterprising publishers of these several volumes for enlarged means of acquaintance with European languages and literature, and their imprint alone is a strong recommendation.

SUNSHINE. E. P. Dutton & Company, Boston: 135 Washington St. New York: 762 Broadway. 1868.

A CANDID EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION WHETHER THE POPE OF ROME IS THE GREAT ANTICHRIST OF SCRIPTURE. By the late Rt. Rev. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Vermont. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 459 Broome St. 1868. 12mo., pp. 150.

We can never forget the wonder excited by the first perusal of Bishop Newton in that part of his great work relating to the Prophecies applied by him to the Papacy. They seemed divine photographs. They seemed bright with the very light of Heaven. They seemed the seal of Omniscience on the inspiration of the Bible. The work of the late venerable Bishop of Vermont, recanting his former opinion, has driven us back to an examination of the Prophecies in Daniel, S. Paul, and S. John, to see if we had been carried away by the influences of youthful fancy and enthusiasm. Our first impressions have been only strengthened. We agree with Bishop Hopkins that neither the Scriptures, nor the Fathers warrant us in calling the Papacy, technically, *the Antichrist*, yet it is hardly conceivable that Prophecy would have overlooked such a vast power of evil in the Church. But if not described in the sacred writers we have mentioned it is unnoticed in the Scriptures. We will very briefly enumerate some of the resemblances between the Predictions and the Papacy, which have been remarked by various writers.

I. According to Daniel, a power was to spring from the Roman Empire which was to "subdue three kings," "speak great words against the Most High," "wear out the saints," "and think to change times and laws."

II. According to S. Paul in his Epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy, there was to be "a falling away," and then a "man of sin," "a son of perdi-

tion," "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God — whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders," — "giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of demons," "speaking lies in hypocrisy," "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats."

III. According to S. John, the woman seen by him was a great "CITY," "reigning over the kings of the earth," seated on "seven mountains," supported by "ten kings," "arrayed in scarlet," numbered "666," and, just like the Papacy, succeeding six previous forms of Government — Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Triumvirs, Emperors.

All these marks seem to meet most wonderfully in the Romish Church, and nowhere else. We propose no comment, but simply to answer one or two objections suggested in the volume which we notice.

I. It is urged that the word "Apostasy" does not apply to Rome, since she has *added* to the Creed, but not *taken away*. May not, however, the word describe *practice*, as well as *doctrine*? Suppose a man remains intellectually orthodox, but becomes openly wicked, and dies in defiant hostility to God. Is he not an apostate? Satan believes, but is damned. Now remember the bloody persecutions of Rome, the shameless lives of some of her Popes, the corruptions of her monasteries, and the debaucheries of her priests before the Reformation, the superstitious worship of her people addressed to saints, to angels, to images, and answer, if this is not a "falling away" from the severe morality and pure worship of Primitive Christianity? But we hold, further, there is, *literally*, "a departure from the *faith*." The characteristic of Christianity, as taught by the very Creed, is belief in God as a Creator, and Christ as a Redeemer, prompting worship and obedience. I forsake my *faith* when I address an angel where I should supplicate the Almighty, or make a saint my intercessor where I should invoke Jesus, the only mediator.

II. It is urged that the descriptions of Daniel, and S. Paul do not apply to the Pope, because he speaks not against God, but in His name. Yet while assuming to be the vicergerent of the Almighty, has he not even transcended the divine prerogatives? When did Jehovah ever grant indulgence to sin? Look at the blaspheming, intoxicated, superstitious multitudes, who crowd Romish Churches, and throng the Confessional, and receive absolution, and partake the Communion! We cannot even imagine that Jehovah would pardon such penitence or admit such pollution to his presence. Here is a prerogative above the very throne of the Almighty. To this add the swelling titles of Popes! See the proud foot of one Pontiff on the neck of a prostrate king! Behold another kick away the crown of a royal abject! Remember the excommunications of private persons, princes, monarchs, kingdoms! Surely in the light of history the comment of this volume seems but verbal criticism.

While dissenting, however, from the lamented, and venerated Bishop of Vermont, we must admire the noble candor which produced his retraction. No virtue is so rare as the meekness which publicly recants even supposed error. We also heartily rejoice that nothing has been said in this volume which approves the corrupt additions of Rome to the Faith of the Creeds. The Bishop of Vermont still remains, where his former writings have inscribed him, on the noblest roll of those heroic defenders of the truth, who have contended valiantly against the superstitious and usurpations of the Papacy.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS. Conducted by Professors B. SILLIMAN, and JAMES D. DANA, in connection with Professors ASA GRAY, and WOLCOTT GIBBS of Cambridge, and Professor S. U. JOHNSON, GEO. I. BRUSH, and H. A. NEWTON of New Haven. Second Series, Vol. XLVI, No. 138, November, 1868, with two plates. New Haven.

To eulogize this admirable Journal would be like praising a famous landscape, or an admitted picture. When a lad, we hailed its periodic advent with joy, and now regret insufficient leisure to master its weighty pages.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1868. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton St.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1868. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 140 Fulton St.

However particular readers may dissent from views expressed in the great English Quarterlies, they are yet indispensable to the scholar. Their learning and ability are unquestioned.

THE NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1868. New Haven.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1868.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1868. Philadelphia.

THE CHURCH, AND THE BIBLE, by an American Priest. New York: Am. Ch. Press Co., 164 Fulton St., 1868.

We commend this as an interesting and well-expressed pamphlet.

REMARKS ON THE LATE ATTEMPT TO TAKE THE LIFE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, by one of her Children, with his Pamphlet, entitled "ARE THERE ROMANIZING GERMS IN THE PRAYER BOOK?" A Letter to the Author. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, 1868.

Learned argument is not here attempted. There are, however, some palpable hits, and the style is clear, sprightly, and felicitous.

AN ESSAY ON THE QUESTION OF THE LAWFULNESS OF MARRIAGE WITH THE SISTER OF A DECEASED WIFE, with some thoughts on a proposed Canon. By the Rev. W. I. SEABURY, M. A., Rector of the Church of the Annunciation. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union, 626 Broadway, New York.

We regret that want of space forbids a notice of this pamphlet. The theme and the author deserve our attention.

THE COMMON PRAYER, with Ritual Song. Edited by WM. H. WALTER, Mus. Doc. and Organist of Columbia College. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York: 762 Broadway. Boston: 135 Washington St. 1868.

A lengthy notice of this excellent work, prepared by a most competent person, must be deferred until our next number.

DISCOURSES. By the Rev. Dr. U. F. MORGAN, Rector of St. Thomas' Church. New York: American Church Press Company, 164 Fulton St.

These interesting sermons are models of graceful adaptation. Yet, to ob-

tain a full impression of the author's pulpit power, it is necessary to hear him, with his earnest and commanding elocution, pressing on his people the great verities of the Law and Gospel.

PRACTICAL WISDOM IN THE PLANTING OF A CHURCH. A Sermon preached at the consecration of the second Bishop of Vermont, Whitsun Week, June 3, 1868, in Christ Church, by A. CLEVELAND COXE, Bishop of Western New York. Published by request of the Diocesan Convention of Vermont. 1868.

This most able Discourse deserves the thoughtful consideration of every earnest Churchman. Recent events in this country and in England do not make its warnings less timely.

THE CHURCH REGISTER, November, 1868. Published by the Milwaukee Church Union.

Feeling especial interest in every Western enterprise, we most heartily wish success to this new Monthly.

THE SERMON PREACHED IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, BUFFALO, AT THE LAST CONVENTION OF THE UNDIVIDED DIOCESE OF NEW YORK. the Rev. GEORGE MORGAN HILLS, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Syracuse.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. New York: 27 Bible House.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER. New York: 3 Bible House.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE. Rivingtons, Oct. 1868. London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HOME FOR THE INCURABLES. New York. 1868.

We would call especial attention to the statements of this pamphlet. The Home is located at West Farms, West Chester Co., New York.

JOURNAL OF THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF PITTSBURGH, Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, June 9-11, 1868.

DIOCESE OF MINNESOTA. Eleventh Annual Journal. 1868.

DIOCESE OF WESTERN NEW YORK. Thirty-first Annual Convention. 1868.

DIOCESE OF IOWA. Fifteenth Annual Convention. 1868.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. 1868. New York: Trow & Smith, Book Man. Co.

BUTLER'S ANTHEMS. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union.

A LAYMAN'S APPEAL TO THE LAITY in Defense of the Church against the views of Drs. Newton, Tyng, and others. Second Edition.

PAROCHIAL AND MISSION WORK. The Report of a Committee of the Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey. 1868. John W. Amerman, New York.

THE BOOK BUYER. New York, November, 1868.

NEW YORK PROT. EPIS. CITY MISSIONARY SOCIETY. October, 1868.

SONG MESSENGER OF THE NORTHWEST. Chicago. 1868.

NEW YORK BIBLE AND COMMON PRAYER BOOK SOCIETY.

NEW YORK JOURNAL OF MUSIC. August, 1868.

- SOCIETY FOR THE INCREASE OF THE MINISTRY. Directors' Report. 1868.
- NEBRASKA CHURCH CHRONICLE. No. 5.
- ANNUAL APPEAL OF THE DOMESTIC COMMITTEE. Advent. 1868.
- PRANG'S CHROMO. A Journal of Art. Boston. 1868.
- "THE SHELTERING ARMS." Fourth Annual Report. New York. 1868.
- THE CHURCH PENNY MAGAZINE. New Haven, Conn. 1868.
- THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE. Boston. 1868.
- HOLIDAY CATALOGUE of the General Protestant Episcopal S. S. Union, and Church Book Society.
- "HE DESCENDED INTO HELL." Rev. W. HENDERSON, A. M., T. C. D., Pembroke, Canada. 1868.
- DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN. Thirty-fourth Annual Convention. 1868.
- RECORD OF VISITS TO THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. By JOHN HECKER. 1868.
- STAR OF THE MORNING. A Christmas Carol. Words by MARIA H. BULFINCH. Music by GEO. F. BRISTOW.
- Dr. CARBINE and Brother TENKER. Church Journal. 1868.
- We know of nothing on the subject presented in these letters that so unites unanswerable argument with pungent, but pleasing humor.
- KEMPER HALL. Kenosha. 1868.
- CATALOGUE OF WORKS IN REFUTATION OF METHODISM, from its origin in 1729 to the present time. Compiled by H. C. DECAMER. New York. 1868.
- RIVIDENDA. Philadelphia: 1224 Chestnut Street. 1868.
- THE PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE. London: 77 Great Queen Street. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 and 13 Cooper Union.
- THE QUINCE. London: Cassell, Potter, & Galpin, Ludgate Hill; and 596 Broadway, New York.
- E. P. DUTTON & Co's LIST OF BOOKS, suitable for Sunday School and Parish Libraries. Approved by a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church. New York: 792 Broadway. Boston: 135 Washington St. 1869.
- A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC. By JAMES WILLIAM WILLIAMS, D. D., Bishop of Quebec. Montreal. 1868.
- THE MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. A Record of Diocesan Missions in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1868.
- CATALOGUE OF THE OFFICERS AND STUDENTS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, 1868-69. Hartford.
- CATALOGUE OF VASSAR COLLEGE. Poughkeepsie. 1868.
- CATALOGUE OF THE OFFICERS AND STUDENTS OF YALE COLLEGE. New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor. 1868.
- THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. Hurd & Houghton: New York. December, 1868.

This Magazine deserves the attention of all parents interested in the amusement and instruction of their children.

THE DOWER HOUSE. A Story by ANNIE THOMAS. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers.

THE BRAMLEIGHS OF BISHOP'S FOLLY. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers.

MILDRED. A Novel by GEORGINA M. CRAIK. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers.

THE GORDIAN KNOT. By SHIRLEY BROOKS. New York. 1868. Harper & Brothers.

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN SOLDIER. November, 1868.

The enterprise and ability of this excellent paper commend it to the confidence and affection of all Church people. Improvements are contemplated for the present year which will make its appearance yet more attractive. We observe that our Mother in England has borrowed from her American Children the plan of a Missionary Army. The impress of Dr. Twing on the youth of the Church will be felt through all time, while the energy imparted by the Missionary Meetings during our General Convention have developed a popular element in which we were supposed deficient. Never will be forgotten the spectacle of those gathered thousands, tier above tier, in the Academy of Music — the recitations of the grand old Creed rising from such multitudes to Heaven — the admirable music — the electrical addresses — the glow of fellowship, warming so many hearts, and kindling hopes of future victory.

THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS. November, 1868.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Bolton, Robert.	Potter,	Nov. 13,	Ch. of Annunciation, N. Y. City.
Brouse, Henry K.	Stevens,	Oct. 11,	St. Peter's, Phoenixville, Pa.
French, Samuel F.	McIlvaine,	Sept. 17,	Christ Church, Springfield, Ohio.
Mendenhall, James K.	Stevens,	Oct. 11,	St. Peter's, Phoenixville, Pa.
Stranger, J. Newton,	"	"	"
Tyng, Morris Ashurst,	Potter,	Nov. 13,	Ch. of Annunciation, N. Y. City.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Buel, Clarence,	Potter,	Nov. 13,	Ch. of Annunciation, N. Y. City.
" Hefferman, John H.	"	"	"
" Warner, Hammond Arthur,	"	"	"

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Charles F. Robertson,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Smith, Potter, McCookry, Lay, Lee, </div> </div>	Oct. 25,	Grace Church, N. Y. City.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rt. Rev. Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
St. Luke's, St. Mark's,	Stevens, Randall,	Sept. 14, Aug. 23,	Blossburg, Pa. Cheyenne, Col.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CHURCH.

MR. AUGUSTUS O. STANLEY, in the Diocese of Georgia, formerly a Methodist Minister.

OBITUARIES.

On Sunday, August 23d, at 1.40, A. M., fell asleep in Jesus, the Rev. PAUL TRAPIER KEITH, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Charleston. Mr. Keith was called to St. Michael's as assistant Rector in August 1840. Upon the resignation of the Rev. Paul Trapiér, D. D., a few years later, he became Rector, and was at various times assisted by the Rev. Thomas J. Young, the Rev. J. M. Miles, the Rev. A. Moore, and the Rev. James H. Elliott. His health had been failing for some time past, and he finally sunk under an attack of congestion of the brain, in the 68th year of his age. On Monday, St. Bartholomew's Day, he was borne to the chancel where he had for so many years performed his priestly functions, the pall bearers being the Rev. Dr. Lord, and the Rev. Messrs. Porter, Gadsden, Seabrook, Prentice, Egerton, Green, and Wilson. The solemn services were performed by the Rev. Drs. Hancckel and Marshal, and the mortal remains of the beloved and venerated priest and pastor were laid to their rest under the shadow of his church. The church was densely crowded, even Romanists and Israelites pressing to offer this last tribute of affectionate respect to one who was universally beloved and esteemed for the gentle beauty of a consistent Christian life, and the memory of this good man will live long among all creeds and classes of the community in which his life was spent.

The Rev. M. L. OLDS, Rector of Christ's Navy Yard, Washington, D. C., died on Friday, Sept. 18th, 1868. His sickness was long, but borne with most wonderful patience. Speechless, yet conscious, he passed to his rest, made perfect through suffering; and is universally lamented on account of his godliness as a Christian, and his success as a Minister.

The Rev. JAMES O. SCRIPTURE died Aug. 9th, 1868, at Salem, Mass. He was born at Lowell, June 26th, 1839. He pursued his preparatory studies in the public schools of that place, and graduated at Dartmouth in the class of 1860. After teaching some time in his native city, he was ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop Eastburn in May 1865, and to the Priesthood in January 1866. He was called to the Rectorship of St. Peter's Parish, Salem, entered on his duties in November 1865, and died suddenly on the ninth day of August 1868. Perhaps not a young clergyman of the Church gave more brilliant promise of extensive usefulness than Mr. Scripture. His name is fragrant in his Parish. His Articles on the French Pulpit in the October and

January numbers of this Review are remarkable for scholarship, judgment, taste, and enlarged views of the genius of the Pulpit, and his ministerial career seems to have been a noble embodiment of his principles.

Died, in Brookfield, Sept. 14, the Rev. HENRY D. NOBLE, Rector of St. Mark's Church, Bridgewater, and St. Paul's School, Brookfield.

He was born in Watertown, Ct., in 1818, was a graduate of Trinity College, studied Theology at the General Theological Seminary in New York City, was ordained Deacon by Bishop Brownell, June 13, 1844, and Priest June 10, 1845.

Friday, September 14, at his late residence at Downingtown, Pa., the Rev. GEORGE KIRKE, in the 74th year of his age and the 41st of his priesthood, late Rector of St. John's Church, New London, Pa.

The funeral of the late Rev. H. N. BISHOP, D. D., who died in Paris, Aug. 31st, took place in St. John's Church, Chicago, of which he was the first and only Rector, on Tuesday, Sept. 29. Many of the clergy were present, together with an immense number of the other friends of the deceased, filling the spacious church and the street in front. The remains were borne from the rectory to the altar of the church, by the Rev. Drs. Park, Rylance, Locke, and Freeman, and the Rev. Messrs. Sullivan, Snyder, Lyle, and Nash. The services were conducted by the Bishops of Illinois and Nebraska, and the Rev. Messrs. Cooper and Cheney. A most eloquent and touching address was delivered by the Bishop of Nebraska, a bosom friend of the deceased for many years. The appointed anthem was impressively chanted, together with the hymns "Rock of Ages" and "Nearer, my God, to Thee." The clergy and parishioners then accompanied the remains to Graceland Cemetery, where they were solemnly committed to the earth by the Bishop of the Diocese, the sentences, "Man that is born of a woman," and "I heard a voice," being chanted by the clergy and others.

Died at Chester, Penn., on Saturday, Oct. 10, 1868, the Rev. JAMES DE PUI, A. M., aged 66 years, and in the 44th year of his ministry, having been ordained to the Diaconate and Priesthood by Bishop White of Pennsylvania. He was a graduate of Princeton College, and an Alumnus of the Theological Seminary of Virginia. He had formerly been Rector of the church at Pottsville, Penn., and Galena, Ill.; and was Post Chaplain at Fort Kearney for nine years. Although much enfeebled by disease, he more recently took charge of Calvary Church, Summit, N. J. To know Mr. De Pui was to love him. He was a remarkably amiable man, faithful parish priest, of extensive learning, author of a work upon "The Apocalypse," and as a reader and preacher was most acceptable. After a protracted illness, he fell asleep in Jesus. He died as he had lived, "having the testimony of a good conscience, in the communion of the Catholic Church, in the confidence of a certain faith, in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope, in favor with his God, and in perfect charity with the world."

At Bridgeport, Ct., of typhoid fever, October 12th, RICHARD MANSFIELD RICHARDSON, aged 23 years, son of the Rev. Dr. Richardson, formerly of the "American Quarterly Church Review."

He was a member of the General Theological Seminary, a candidate for Holy Orders, and a young man of much promise. Rarely have the sympathies of a whole community been so deeply aroused as by the death of young Richardson. A deputation of eight students of the General Theological

Seminary officiated as pall-bearers, and the venerable Prof. Dr. Johnson also was present, and officiated at the funeral.

Died at Poquetannock, Conn., on Thursday, Oct. 29, the Rev. JAMES ADAMS, Rector of St. James's Church in that place, in the 69th year of his age.

Mr. Adams was born in Franklin, Mass. Reared and educated under the Congregational system, it was not until he had reached a mature age that he became acquainted with the principles of the Church. Ordained by Bishop Doane in 1839, his ministry for nearly thirty years, with the exception of a short period, was devoted to building up some of the feebler parishes in New Jersey and Connecticut. His last public act, but a few days before his death, was to preach and administer the Holy Communion to his now sorrowing flock.

The Rev. JOHN MCVICKAR, D. D., entered into his rest on Thursday, Oct. 29th, 1868, in the 82d year of his age. The following extract from the minute of the committee appointed by the meeting of the clergy held at Trinity Chapel Nov. 2d, most touchingly expresses the estimate which the Church has of his long service, and venerable character.

It is with no ordinary emotion that the clergy of New York witness the departure from among them of the senior Priest of this Diocese. His birth was anterior to the organization of the Church in these United States; and his personal recollections gathered into a living reality the traditions of three generations of the Churchmen of New York. His intimate relations with Bishop Hobart especially, clothed him with a degree of veneration which rested upon no other priest of this or any other American Diocese. Always placed in positions of high trust and responsibility, he was singularly identified with those Church institutions which struck their roots into the soil of this Diocese under the masterly hand of Bishop Hobart, devoting himself to their service with a rare tenacity of purpose, and a prophetic foresight of their growing importance; yet in the discharges of these, as of all his other high responsibilities, his keen conscientiousness and intrepid fidelity were mingled with a courtesy and gentleness which won the admiration even of opponents. In him great principles were the perpetual fountains from which all his varied streams of service flowed. In the pastoral office, whether ministering to the wealthiest in the land, or among the humblest privates in the Army of the United States; in the field of Church literature, in the high seats of education, where, for two generations, he has watched the choicest youth of the country passing under his hands, and has far excelled all others in the numbers whom he has won for the ministry of the Church; in the ever youthful vigor of head and heart which kept him abreast of the great Church movement of our age, and made him a leader of its vanguard in this country down to the very last; in the cool and sagacious wisdom of counsel, and in the bravery of prompt action when others faltered; but especially in the tender love for Christ and His Church which penetrated throughout his whole life, binding all its manifold activities into a perfect and beautiful unity: in all these, his younger brethren have seen the accumulating fruits of the devotion of a life-time, continued with indomitable perseverance, even beyond the boundary of fourscore years; and while they stand sorrowing beside his open grave, with one voice they call his memory blessed.

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